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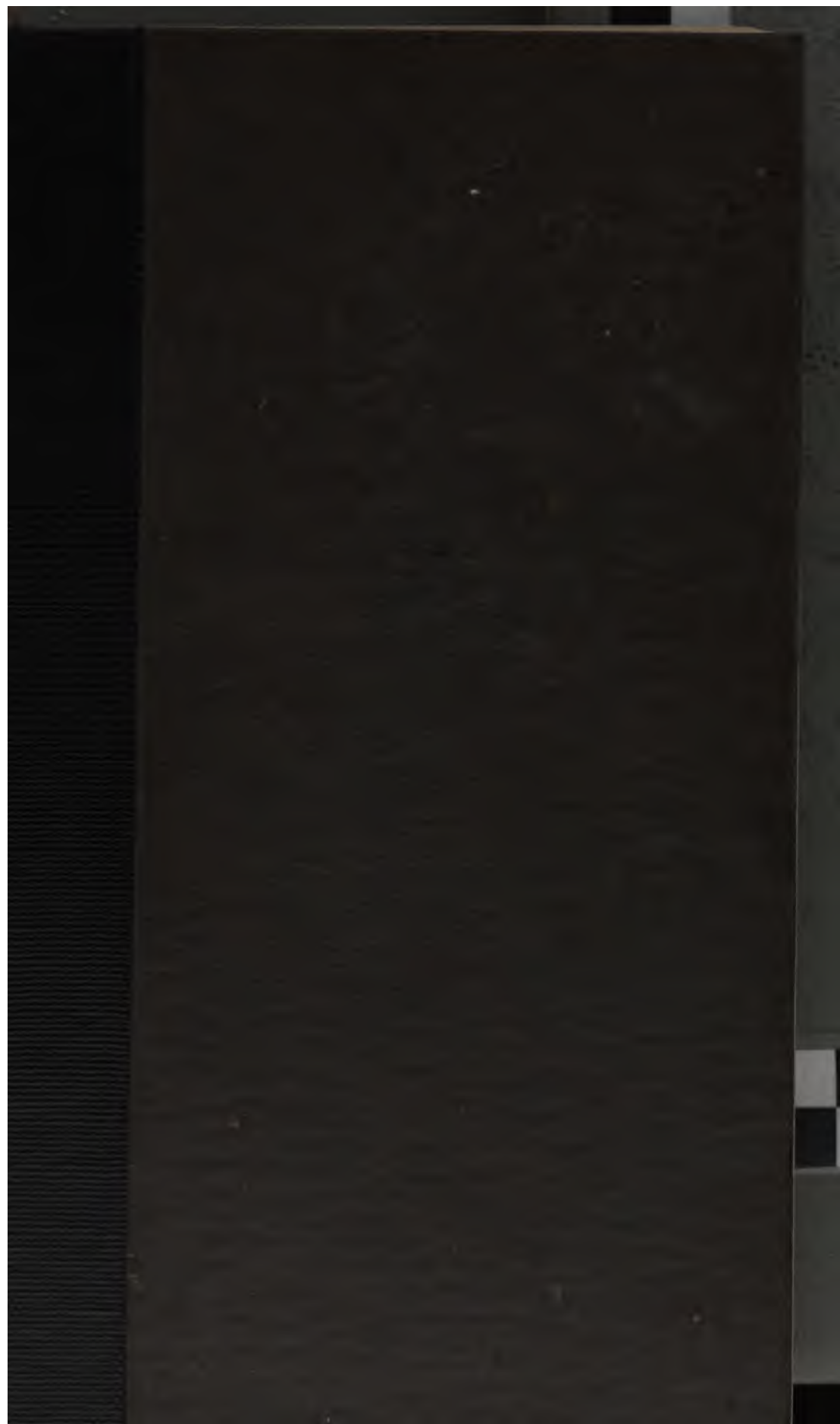
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**PAPERS**  
**OF THE**  
**PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY**  
**AND ETHNOLOGY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**

**VOL. VIII.—No. 1**

**INDIAN VILLAGE SITE AND**  
**CEMETERY NEAR MADISONVILLE**  
**OHIO**

**BY**  
**EARNEST A. HOOTON**

V. 8

*WITH NOTES ON THE ARTIFACTS BY*  
**CHARLES C. WILLOUGHBY**

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*THIRTY PLATES AND FIVE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT*

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**CAMBRIDGE, MASS.**  
**PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM**  
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## NOTE

THE explorations which form the basis of the following paper were carried on intermittently under the auspices of the Peabody Museum from 1882 to 1911. During this period, Dr. Charles L. Metz of Madisonville, the discoverer of the site, had general supervision of the work.

By the terms of the will of Miss Phoebe Ferris, the late owner of the land upon which the cemetery is situated, the right to complete the explorations after her death in 1897 was granted the Museum, and the work was then carried on principally by students in the Division of Anthropology, connected with the Museum, under the general oversight of Dr. Metz.

The extensive collections of skeletal remains and artifacts, and more than two hundred and fifty photographs taken during the investigations are in the Museum.

It is hoped that the study of these remains as set forth in the following pages will prove of special value to students of the archaeology of the Ohio region, as it connects the culture of the occupants of this site definitely with the protohistoric and late prehistoric period of the valley.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
July 7, 1920



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## INDIAN VILLAGE SITE AND CEMETERY NEAR MADISONVILLE, OHIO

### THE DISCOVERY OF THE SITE AND HISTORY OF THE EXPLORATIONS

**The Discovery.** The discoverer of the important Indian village site and cemetery near Madisonville, Ohio, was Dr. Charles L. Metz, a resident of Madisonville, physician by profession, archaeologist by avocation.

Prior to his explorations of the site, Dr. Metz published a paper on the prehistoric monuments of the Little Miami Valley in which he described and located on a chart the principal earthworks and mounds in Columbia, Anderson, and Spencer townships, near the Little Miami River.<sup>1</sup> Group A of Dr. Metz's classification includes the site of the prehistoric cemetery and the neighboring monuments. He describes it as follows:<sup>2</sup>

Group A is situated partly in section 9, and partly in section 15, Columbia township, Hamilton County, Ohio, one mile west of Plainville station on the Little Miami Railroad, and on the second bottom or plateau of the Little Miami River on a narrow sandy ridge of reddish color.

This ridge has an elevation, averaging from 10 to 25 feet above the general level of the plateau on which it is situated. It lies between the Wooster Turnpike and the Little Miami Railroad and River, elevated about 200 feet above the latter. On this ridge the principal work of this group is situated.

Commencing at the east end of the ridge, and in a wood known as "Stites Grove" we find an earthwork consisting of a circle, central tumulus, and an oval-shaped tumulus impinging on the outer southeast edge of the circle.<sup>3</sup>

West and to the south of this tumulus, and on the same continuous sand ridge mentioned above, are four or five elevations or tumuli with an average height of three to four feet, being from two to three hundred feet apart. The ridge is here under cultivation; numbers of relics, flint chips, and broken bowlders are ploughed up on this ridge.

<sup>1</sup> Charles L. Metz, M.D., *The Prehistoric Monuments of the Little Miami Valley*, Journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History, vol. i, no. 3, October, 1878, p. 119 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Here Dr. Metz quotes the description and account of the excavation of this work by Florian Giauque, *The Mound Builders*, Harvest Home Magazine, August, 1876.

Northwest of these tumuli, and on the general level of the plateau, one-fourth mile distant, is a mound which has a circumference at the base of 200 feet, and an elevation of 7 feet; it is as yet unexplored, but cultivated annually.

Four hundred yards to the northeast of this mound, and at the junction of the Wooster and Madison turnpikes, can yet be traced a circular work, which has a circumference of 600 feet. . . .

*Continuing on to the southwestward of the small tumuli and along the previously described sand ridge, we come to what is known as the "Pottery Field." Here the ridge slopes gently to the south and southeast, with an elevation of from 60 to 80 feet above the level of the Little Miami River. This field is a plateau of about four acres in extent, sloping back to the higher ground. On this plateau fragments of pottery are found in great abundance. Flint chips, arrowpoints, broken boulders, burnt limestone, and shells of the freshwater mussels (*Unio*) are found all over the surface. Human remains have been found in the adjoining ravines, and on the slopes; the graves were isolated and shallow, and the method of burial was not uniform. Bones of various wild animals are also found.*

Two hundred yards north of the pottery field are several small tumuli; the largest has a circumference at base of about 100 feet, height  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet; this mound has been dug into, but not yet explored. The pottery field and also the tumulus are situated in section 9, Columbia township, in what is known as Ferris Woods, in Still Home Hollow.

The pottery field above described was the site of the cemetery later discovered by Dr. Metz. The circumstances of the discovery are as follows. During the fall and winter of 1878-79, Dr. Metz explored several of the mounds of Group A, in the vicinity of the cemetery site.<sup>1</sup>

During the progress of the work on this mound [5, Group A] the laborer, employed by Dr. Metz, had been prospecting by digging holes in the surrounding forest, until finally, on the 20th of March, in the southwestern section of the plateau, he came upon a human skeleton at the depth of about two feet; these remains were, however, so much decayed that they could be preserved only in fragments. This was the initiatory step toward a most important archaeological discovery, as further investigation has revealed the interesting fact that the entire plateau is the site of an ancient cemetery, from which have since been exhumed upward of four hundred skeletons of a prehistoric people, accompanied by numerous evidences of their handiwork, in the shape of flint and stone implements, pipes, pottery ware, charred matting and corn, tools and ornaments of bone, shell, and copper, some of which are believed to be unique, all indicating an industrious people, who lived in large communities, and obtained their support by cultivating the soil, as well as by fishing and hunting.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles F. Low, *Archaeological Explorations near Madisonville, Ohio*, Journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History, vol. iii, no. 1, April, 1880, p. 40 et seq. (Gives an account of the excavation of the mounds. See also *American Naturalist*, May, 1879, p. 328.)

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 43.

The above account corresponds accurately with the data in Dr. Metz's field notes, in which the following entries relative to the discovery occur:<sup>1</sup>

*March 16, 1879.* Britten [the laborer] began digging trenches 4 ft. square and 3 ft. deep and 200 ft. apart, beginning at the Spice Bush Mound (No. 5), and extending in a southwestern direction to the point of the second plain. . .

*March 20.* Britten dug 3 pits today, the last one on the southwestern point of the plateau. Just before quitting work he found a skeleton at the depth of 2 ft.

A brief sketch of the discovery was contributed also to Short's *The North Americans of Antiquity*, published in 1879. This account is quoted by Low as follows:<sup>2</sup>

This cemetery, which is distant about one and one-half miles southeast from Madisonville, occupies the western extremity of a plateau overlooking the Little Miami River, and situated from eighty to one hundred feet above the water-line. It is bounded on the south by the river "bottom," on the north and west by a deep ravine, through which flows a small stream known as Whiskey Run; on the east the plateau slopes gradually up to the general level of the surrounding country, of which it is in fact a continuation or spur, its character of an elevated plateau being derived from its position between the eroded river valley and the deep ravine above referred to. The precipitous but well wooded bluff which forms the southern limit of this plateau extends eastward, facing the river, for perhaps half a mile; and distributed along its edge are a number of mounds and other earthworks; at its base are the Cincinnati and Eastern and Little Miami Railways, the nearest station being Batavia Junction, distant about half a mile east of the cemetery. The original forest still covers the site of the cemetery, and measurements of some of the principal trees are recorded by Dr. Metz. The locality has long been known to local collectors and others interested in archaeological matters as the "Pottery Field," so called on account of the numerous fragments of earthenware strewn over the surface; and it was until recently supposed to be a place where the manufacture of pottery had been carried on by the ancient inhabitants of the valley, the fragments being considered the debris. A few scattered human remains had also been found in the adjoining ravines, but it was not until some time in March, 1879, that its true character and extent as a cemetery were brought to light.

**Excavations by Dr. Charles L. Metz.** The excavation of the Madisonville cemetery was begun by Dr. Metz on March 20,

<sup>1</sup> Charles L. Metz, Superintendent of Explorations, *Field Notes, 1878-1882*, Archaeological Explorations by the Literary and Scientific Society of Madisonville, O. (Ms. book I, p. 4.) These notes are deposited in the Peabody Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 43 et seq. quoting, J. T. Short, *North Americans of Antiquity*. New York, 1879, pp. 524-525.

1879. The point at which his laborer came upon the cemetery was at the southwestern corner of the plateau bounded on the west by the valley of the little stream called Whiskey Run, and on the south by the bottom lands of the Little Miami River. From this point, Dr. Metz began to trench eastward along the edge of the plateau and his labors were quickly rewarded by the finding of numerous and thickly grouped burials. On the first of April the Madisonville Literary and Historical Society took charge of the work, with Dr. Metz as superintendent of excavations. Successful explorations were conducted on the southwestern slope until June 23, when in accordance with instructions from the society, work was begun on the Stites property known as "Spice Bush Woods." This tract of land was on the eastern portion of the same plateau on which the cemetery was located. During the next two weeks Mound 8 in the Spice Bush Woods was explored and four hut circles were trenched. Further excavations yielded but meager results; and on the 7th of July work was resumed in the old trenches of the cemetery on the Ferris property, and carried on steadily with abundant results up to the end of the year. During this year's work 360 skeletons were exhumed and 176 cache-pits explored; only 31 of these burials and 16 of the cache-pits are plotted upon the plan (plate 30). About 140 earthenware pots and many other specimens were discovered. Toward the end of the year, Dr. Metz inaugurated the system of dividing the areas to be explored into blocks approximately 40 feet square. The boundaries of the blocks were usually determined by trees enclosing roughly square or rectangular spaces, and the burials were located with reference to one or other of these corner trees or other prominent trees within the blocks. All of the excavations prior to the inception of this system were lumped together into one large block. As early as April 12 of the first season, the ground had been staked off by Mr. Low and the principal features sketched. As the excavations in the successive blocks progressed, it is presumed that the burials were plotted on maps, but these maps are not in the possession of the Peabody Museum, nor has the present writer been able to consult them.

Throughout the succeeding year (1880) excavations were continued in the cemetery up to the 18th of December, when the exploration of Block 12 was completed, the local society having

been aided by an appropriation from the Cincinnati Society of Natural History. During this year 239 skeletons were exhumed, 170 cache-pits examined, and over 75 earthenware pots recovered. Such of the burials and cache-pits as could be plotted with a fair degree of accuracy are shown in the plan (plate 30, n). A good deal of work was also done in two kitchen-middens discovered at the heads of ravines, one on the western slope of the plateau, the other on the western slope of the gully which divides the southern portion of the plateau, running north from its edge.

Dr. Metz's work, in 1881, was commenced on the second of March and continued to August 13, when the entries in his field note-book leave off. Block 17 was completed and 58 skeletons and some 84 cache-pits were discovered.

Professor F. W. Putnam visited the site in July of this year and again in September, at which time he made arrangements with the Madisonville Literary and Scientific Society, by which the Peabody Museum, by paying a portion of the expenses of exploration, would receive its share of all that was obtained as the work of excavation progressed. Work was continued by Dr. Metz during the fall, and in February, 1882, Professor Putnam wrote in his report on the Museum:

We have already received the first instalment of the material obtained since the coöperation of the Museum, and information that a second lot has been forwarded to the Museum. Our connection with this work has also resulted in the presentation of many specimens by those who have heretofore sustained the principal cost of the explorations, as will be seen by a reference to the list of additions over the names of Messrs. C. F. Low, P. P. Lane, C. L. Metz, and E. A. Conkling.<sup>1</sup>

**Excavations by Professor F. W. Putnam.** Professor Putnam again visited the cemetery from May 2 to May 16, 1882, during which time the "Putnam Block" was excavated for the Museum. There is deposited in the Museum a small sketch map of this block, apparently made by Dr. Metz, and the note-book in which Professor Putnam recorded the excavations. This block yielded 8 skeletons and several cache-pits and was located near the eastern line of the Ferris property (plate 30, l). During this visit four of the large hut circles on the Stites property northeast of Ferris Wood were explored also.

<sup>1</sup> *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. iii, p. 67.

Excavations were not carried on in the cemetery except sporadically for some time after Professor Putnam's visit, since he and Dr. Metz began explorations elsewhere in Ohio which continued over a period of several years. In 1891, when Professor Putnam was Chief of the Anthropological Department of the Chicago Exposition, work was again resumed at the Madisonville site under the charge of Dr. Metz, with Harlan I. Smith as assistant, and Block M was excavated on the Stites property for this Department.

Early in 1897 the Museum received notice from Dr. Metz that

Miss Phebe Ferris of Madisonville had bequeathed to the Museum about twenty-five acres of land, on which is situated a large part of the ancient Indian cemetery where, in connection with Dr. Metz, since 1881, the Curator has carried on extensive explorations, and from which place a considerable collection has been made and exhibited in the Museum. This bequest was confirmed by a notice from the executor of Miss Ferris' will. It was known that Miss Ferris was much interested in the explorations on her farm to which she always gave her consent and kindly aid; and it was her expressed desire that the Museum should have the right to continue the work, and that after the explorations were completed the land should be used as a public park, thus marking the site of the ancient village and cemetery.<sup>1</sup>

As it was deemed desirable for the Museum to carry on the work of exploration during that year, R. B. Dixon and J. R. Swanton, with Ingersoll Bowditch of the class of 1897, assisted by the coöperation of Dr. Metz, explored a portion of the ground. Mr. Bowditch made a survey and plan of the site which forms the basis of the final plan (plate 30).

**Excavations by J. R. Swanton.** The account of the excavations conducted in 1897 is derived from the report of J. R. Swanton, his field notes and map, all of which are in the archives of the Museum. Work was carried on from July 27 to October 20.

Mr. Swanton says in his report:

The work was under the general supervision of Dr. C. L. Metz, and under the more immediate charge of Mr. R. B. Dixon and myself, Mr. Dixon taking charge during the first five weeks and myself during the remainder of the time. Mr. Ingersoll Bowditch assisted in the work throughout and executed surveys of the bequest to the Museum and the location of the Indian burial place upon it.

The general location of the Madisonville cemetery is well known to students. . . . The hilltop on which it is situated sinks south to the lower bottom lands of the Little Miami River. On the west it is bounded by a small

<sup>1</sup> *Thirty-first Report of the Peabody Museum*, p. 10.



MADISONVILLE SITE

Portions of Trenches II and III, showing skeletons and positions of pottery vessels found with them, also the distribution of cache-pits, hearths and post-holes. This area is indicated on plate 30 by the rectangle enclosed by broken lines.





steep-sided stream known as Whiskey Run and on the other two sides by less considerable declivities. The extreme eastern portion extends beyond the Museum lot into the Stites estate, but this together with the southern part of the cemetery included in the lot itself has already been explored. Our explorations this summer were consequently the western part of the hilltop toward Whiskey Run. . . . Our trench lines were run bearing N. 58°E. and stakes were driven every ten feet from which to locate the articles discovered. Five trenches were run in all, four of them of the regulation forty feet width and one of twenty feet. The length was determined at one end by the boundaries of previous explorations, at the other by a straight line two hundred feet from the lower line of Trench I which extended to the edge of the hill. Trenches I, II, and half of III were extended to this line but work had to be discontinued before Trenches IV, V, and the second half of III were carried so far.

The soil of this hill was composed of three strata, . . . First came black forest mould two to three feet thick at the edge of the hill and decreasing slowly to one foot and a half or a foot at the upper end of the trenches. Beneath this was four or five feet of hard yellow clay, and underlying all at a depth of perhaps six feet a very deep deposit of sand. On the Stites estate much of the hill had been removed for this sand.

Trench I yielded 67 burials, 71 cache-pits, 7 pots; Trench II, 51 burials, 50 cache-pits, 4 pots; Trench III, 66 burials, 21 cache-pits, 11 pots; Trench IV, 38 burials, 31 cache-pits, 18 pots; Trench V, 3 burials, 4 cache-pits. The total number of skeletons excavated during the season was 230. One hundred and seventy-seven cache-pits and 13 fire places were explored; 42 pots were found. Plate 1 is a copy of a part of Mr. Swanton's plan showing in detail the position of burials and the distribution of cache-pits. The area illustrated is indicated on plate 30 by the rectangle enclosed by broken lines in Trenches II and III.

**Excavations by R. E. Merwin.** The next exploration of the site was conducted in 1907 by R. E. Merwin, Hemenway Fellow in the Museum, assisted by Irwin Hayden, also Hemenway Fellow. The work continued from July 6 to November 7, 1907. The results of this season's excavations may be summarized from Mr. Merwin's report, maps, and field notes.

Mr. Merwin's Trench A included the tract of land lying between Trench I of the 1897 excavations and the northwestern edge of the plateau as delimited by the banks of the creek, Whiskey Run.

The side of this trench adjoining the previously explored territory is comparatively regular, but the other side is very irregular, due to the meander-

ings of the ravine bank. In size it is 150 feet long, at both ends practically 10 feet wide, its greatest width at the center being approximately 100 feet. The depth necessary to carry the trench to hard-pan varied from 1 to 2 feet.

This trench yielded but 4 skeletons, 15 cache-pits and one hearth. It marks the northern boundary of the cemetery.

Trench B extended northwest from the head of the ravine which divides the southern part of the plateau into east and west portions. The southern and western sides of this trench adjoined land previously explored by Dr. Metz.

Explorations were started in the southeast end of the trench so that the work might be carried forward to a better advantage, for there is a decided elevation in the ground to the northwest. A fifty foot trench was laid out, but owing to the irregularity of the previously explored ground, its width varied from 35 to 75 feet. Its length was 130 feet.

Sixty skeletons were found in this trench. Forty cache-pits and two hearths were explored.

After carrying Trench B forward about 130 feet, it was thought best to start another trench parallel and adjacent to it. But opening the trench in line with the southeast end of Trench B, it was found that former explorations had not been carried this far. So instead of running a trench to the northwest as in the case of Trench B, one was run in an opposite direction, following along a narrow ravine now used as a road. This made an irregular shaped trench; and it was also necessary to vary the width of it in order to take in all the unexplored territory adjoining it. This trench was extended for a distance of 110 feet, the width varying from 30 to 50 feet.

There were found in Trench C, 21 skeletons and 31 cache-pits. A portion of this trench was occupied by a large kitchen-midden which had been partially explored by Dr. Metz in earlier years.

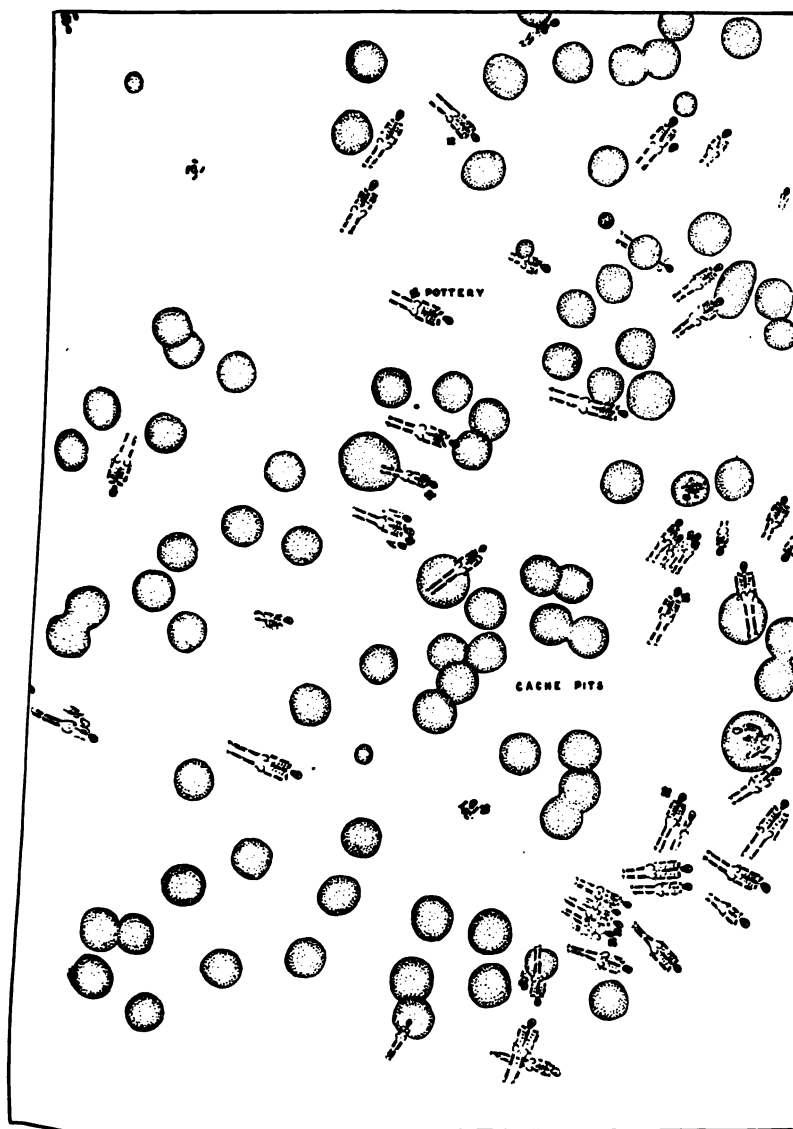
The total finds of the season's work were 85 skeletons, 32 pots, 88 cache-pits, and 3 hearths or fire places.

In the following year (1908) Mr. Merwin excavated in the site of the cemetery from April 1 until September 15, opening three trenches. The portion explored in 1908 was adjacent to that excavated in the latter portion of the season of 1907 (see plate 30).

Trench D was a continuation of Trench C northward, and adjoined Trench B on the west.

As can be seen by the map, this trench had a width of 80 feet, and in general was 180 feet long, with an irregular strip on the south side.

This trench yielded 101 skeletons and 147 cache-pits.



MADISONVILLE SITE

The greater part of Trench D, showing skeletons and the positions of pottery vessels found with them, also the distribution of cache-pits. This area is shown on plate 30 by the rectangle enclosed by broken lines.



Trench E was merely a continuation of Trench B of the explorations of 1907. It varied in width from 35 to 55 feet and extended toward the bluff of the ravine, a distance of 170 feet. As can be seen on the map of this trench the finds were very good in the southern portion, but the northern part is practically devoid of skeletons or cache-pits.

The reason for the barrenness of this portion of the trench is, as can be seen from the general map, because this tract had already been explored. There were 38 skeletons and 41 cache-pits found in this trench.

Trench F was a continuation of Trench D.

Perhaps one of the most striking things in connection with its exploration was the depth at which some of the skeletons were found. Many of them were from 3 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. below the surface and extended 2 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. into the hard-pan.

There were 37 skeletons and 59 cache-pits found in this trench.

The total number of skeletons exhumed in the season was 176 and 247 cache-pits and 3 hearths were explored.

**Excavations by B. W. Merwin.** In 1911 B. W. Merwin, brother of R. E. Merwin, conducted explorations for the Museum in the northeastern portion of the tract. The data in regard to his excavations are derived from his field notes and maps.

Trench G was east of Trench E and north of Trench F and extended N. 76° E. As laid out, the block was 290 feet long and 30 feet wide. Beginning at the west end the trench was excavated 90 feet eastward and a trial trench was dug at its eastern extremity. This trench yielded only 3 skeletons and 7 cache-pits and seems to have marked the northeastern limit of the cemetery.

Trench H ran parallel with Trench G. Its southeastern corner was 200 feet south of the corresponding corner of Trench G. Trench H was 150 feet long and 50 feet wide; it yielded 43 skeletons and 72 cache-pits.

Trench I was 80 feet square and ran parallel and adjacent to Trench H on the south. Trench I contained 26 skeletons, 52 cache-pits, and 23 post-holes.

Trench J was a plot 30 feet by 50 feet laid off north of the eastern portion of Trench H and adjacent to it, and east of Trench I. Several trial trenches were dug in this tract and two cache-pits were discovered.

Trench K was an irregular tract situated on a southern point of the plateau. In this trench were found 12 skeletons and 13 cache-pits.

In addition to the above, Mr. Merwin dug several trial trenches in the tract north of Trench G and south of the plateau edge, and was able to establish the fact that the cemetery did not cover this northern portion of the plateau. Six other trial trenches, dug north of Whiskey Run toward the eastern boundary of the Museum tract gave negative results.

### THE BURIALS

**Depth of Interments.** The depth of the burials varied in the different parts of the cemetery and in individual cases. Usually the graves were dug in the soft leaf mould overlying the hard yellow clay, and did not extend down into the latter. Consequently, where the leaf mould lay thick, the depth of the interments tended to be greater, and where the leaf mould was thin, the graves were likely to be shallow. Naturally, in certain places denudation of the surface soil took place, so that burials were exposed or their original depth decreased. Mr. Swanton says:

The skeletons were usually buried in the lower part of the black mould or the upper part of the hard-pan. The depth was eighteen to twenty-four inches.

Tabulation of the depth of interment of 151 burials (all the skeletons excavated by Dr. Metz in 1879 in which depth was recorded) gives the following result:

	Less than					
Depth .....	12 in.	12-18 in.	19-24 in.	25-36 in.	37-48 in.	4 ft.
Number of burials....	8	53	77	12	0	1
Per cent.....	5.3	35.1	51.0	8.0	0.0	0.6

This random sample agrees well enough with Mr. Swanton's statement. R. E. Merwin also says:

A few were found in the hard-pan, but for the most part they were resting directly upon the hard-pan or above it in the black soil.

Mr. Merwin notes, however, that in Trench F some of the burials were of unusual depth:

Many of them were 3 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. below the surface and extended 2 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. into the hard-pan. Of 37 burials in this trench, 6, or 16.2 per cent,

were at a depth of more than 3 feet from the highest point of the skull to the surface; 17, or 46 per cent, were between 25 in. and 36 in.; 8, or 21.6 per cent, were between 19 in. and 24 in.; 6, or 16.2 per cent, from 12 in. to 18 in.

**Forms of Burial.** The following table shows the distribution of forms of burial for 650 skeletons exhumed by Dr. Metz:

	Contracted	Horizontal	Sitting	Collective and disturbed	Total
<b>Number</b> .....	38	491	32	89	650
<b>Per cent</b> .....	5.8	75.6	4.9	13.7	100.00

Of 231 skeletons found by Mr. Swanton, 164, or 71 per cent, were extended or horizontal burials; 66, or 28.6 per cent, were collective or disturbed burials; there was but one contracted burial. He says in his report:

The position was invariably full length, except in the cache-pits. Not infrequently a skull with a small pile of long bones would be found beside a regular full length burial. [See plate 3, b.]

**Horizontal or Extended Burials.** More than 75 per cent of all the burials in the Madisonville cemetery were horizontal or extended burials. In addition to these a large number of the disturbed or "bunched" burials may have been originally extended burials which had been moved to make room for later interments. In most cases the bodies were laid flat upon their backs, with the faces either upward or turned to one side. The arms were usually extended at the sides (plates 3, a, b and 4, b).

**Contracted Burials.** Dr. Metz records 38, or 6.3 per cent, of his burials as contracted or "in the doubled-up position." Contracted burials seem to have been confined to the southern portion of the cemetery excavated by Dr. Metz, since the subsequent excavators found them only in cases where bodies had been buried in cache-pits and were necessarily flexed.

**Burials in Sitting Posture.** These were also confined to that portion of the cemetery which Dr. Metz explored. He records 32, or 5 per cent of the skeletons exhumed by him. Of these, all but one were found during the excavations of the first season, and in the first few weeks of the work. Burials in the sitting posture seem, therefore, to have been confined to the extreme southwestern portion of the cemetery.



**Collective and Disturbed Burials.** The collective burials found seem to have been secondary in character. In certain places a number of old burials may have been cleared away to make room for new ones and the disarticulated bones from the old graves buried in a common pit. Dr. Metz records the following find on April 12, 1879:

A circular excavation,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter, was made, and from it were taken twenty-two skeletons. The bottom of this pit was paved with the river mussel shells (*Unio*); over them were the bones of the lower extremities and trunks, and above these the skulls.

Another more typical collective burial, consisting of one articulated skeleton and a miscellaneous heap of bones of several individuals, was found by Dr. Metz, September 24, 1879:

An adult female with small foetal bones in pelvic region, and a confused mass of bones about her lower extremities, among which were five crania, two facing upwards and three downwards.

Finds analogous to the above are reported by all of the excavators (see plate 3). Very commonly odd portions of a disturbed burial were found in a subsequent interment.

In some instances burials were disturbed in order to make room for cache-pits. Dr. Metz on September 3, 1880, reports:

Block 10, skeleton 1, head east, adult male; arms flexed on the humeri. The body was disarticulated at the second lumbar vertebra; the lower extremities together with the pelvis were buried separately, probably to make way for cache-pit 1 of this block.

R. E. Merwin makes the following note on skeleton 37 in Trench D:

Adult; ash-pit 71 had been dug through this skeleton, and the portion in the way of the pit had been removed; the parts removed were the right femur, right pelvic bone, sacrum, some of the lower right ribs, right ulna and radius, and about two inches of the distal end of the right humerus, and all of the right finger bones.

Burials disturbed by the digging of cache-pits are not infrequently reported throughout the excavations (see plate 4, a, d).

**Burials in Cache-pits.** In rare instances bodies were buried in the cache-pits. The first of these burials was recorded by Dr. Metz on January 20, 1880:

Skeleton 3. Block 3, in the bottom of above pit (cache-pit 2), lying on back, face up, head northwest, legs sharply flexed on thighs. The portion of

*b**c**d***MADISONVILLE SITE**

*a*, Skeleton 19, Trench IV, showing a common method of burial. A tobacco pipe and food vessel were found near the skull; *b*, Skeletons 1-4, Trench IV, an extended burial and a collective burial of the skulls and principal bones of three individuals; *c*, Collective burial, skeletons 34, 35, Trench H; *d*, Collective burial, skeletons 19-25, Trench H.



the pit surrounding the skeleton and below the layer of charcoal was walled, but not floored, with flat limestones, 10 to 12 inches square, and all distinctly showing the action of fire, having been burnt, however, before being placed in their present position, as the walls and floor of the pit do not show any traces of having been burnt.

Cache-pit 8 in Block 14 contained a calvaria unaccompanied by any other portion of the skeleton.

In Mr. Swanton's excavations, skeletons II, 4, III, 19, and IV, 7 and 8 were buried in cache-pits.

Skeleton III, 19 lay in a rather confused heap near the bottom of cache-pit III, 5. The body seems to have been doubled up, heels on the thighs and the knees drawn up toward the chest. The skull was not in its proper position but lay on the right side. Depth of skeleton, 5 ft. 3 in. Under it was a large stone, and above three others, one a grindstone.

In Mr. Merwin's report on Trench B, he says:

Skeleton 14 was that of an adult buried dorsal side up, in the bottom of cache-pit 15. The walls of the pit had been slightly widened at the bottom to make room for the head and feet. Above the skeleton were the usual contents to be found in cache-pits of this trench.

In regard to the cache-pits of Trench C, he says:

Another noticeable feature was the presence of human bones, and oft-times of entire skeletons, in the pits. In 7 pits there were found human bones — lower jaw, portions of skull, finger and toe bones, etc. In three pits there were bunches of human bones. It seems very probable that when digging a cache-pit a skeleton had been disturbed and the bones placed in a pile over the pit, while that portion of the skeleton not disturbed by the pit was left in its original position.

In Trench E, skeleton 9 was buried in the bottom of cache-pit 1, and above it and separated from it by a stratum of black earth, two to four inches in thickness, were five disarticulated skeletons. Skeleton 24 of this trench was buried in a sitting posture in cache-pit 14.

Burials over cache-pits were also common and in many cases portions of the skeletons above the cache-pit had sunk down into the pit, owing to the settling of the earth underneath.

**Anomalous Burials.** Writing of a family group of six skeletons (Block 6, 25-30), Dr. Metz says:

The earth above these skeletons was baked hard and of a brick red color in several places with layers of ashes. The leaf mould here was 6 inches deep against 16 inches elsewhere.

Mr. Swanton records a stratum of burnt clay two inches thick, eight inches above skeleton II, 7, and extending all over the body. These burnt areas may well have been fire places.

In Block 12 of Dr. Metz's excavations the head of skeleton 582 rested on a large limestone. Another large limestone was placed over the chest, and one over the thighs just above the knees. The stones showed evidence of having been exposed to the action of fire. Skeletons with the heads pillowed on large flat limestones which had been exposed to the action of fire were occasionally found.

In Trench F the grave of skeleton 10 had been paved with limestone slabs, and both at the head and at the foot of the grave two slabs had been set up on end. On plate 4, a, is shown a grave lined with limestone slabs through which a cache-pit has been dug.

In Trench III, skeletons 33, 35, 36 were laid on blocks of limestone and were also covered with them.

**Grouping of Burials.** Often a number of burials were arranged in a group in a way that would seem to indicate either simultaneous burial of a number of individuals, or, perhaps, a species of division into family lots.

The most common form of grouping consisted in placing horizontal burials side by side and close together, with the heads laid in the same direction. Skeletons 3, 4, and 5 of Block 15 were an adult male in a horizontal position, an adult female parallel and close to the male, and a child of about two years buried in extended posture between the legs of the female with his head resting on the pelvis of the mother. In Block 11, skeleton 25, that of a child, was similarly buried between the legs of an adult female with his head resting on her pelvis. Two feet to the north were the skeletons of three children, one in a horizontal position and the other two in disarticulated heaps on either side of the lower extremities of the extended burial. Fourteen inches to the south of the left ilium of the central adult female burial of the group, was a single adult detached cranium. Another isolated cranium was found fourteen inches to the south of the left tibia of the central burial. North of this same burial and 20 inches from the lower extremities was a heap of bones sufficient to make up two adult skeletons and, as Dr. Metz says: "seemingly the bones of the skeletons



MADISONVILLE SITE

*a*, Skeleton 10, Trench F. The grave was originally lined with limestone slabs. A cache-pit was subsequently dug through the grave; *b*, Extended burial; *c*, Grouped burial, skeletons 8-10, Trench B; *d*, Skeleton 82, Trench D, an extended burial through which a cache-pit has been dug.



belonging to the detached crania." Apparently in this instance one family group had been disturbed in order to make room for the burial of another.

In Block 6 skeletons 25-30 were apparently a family group. They were all horizontal burials on the same level and covered with a layer of baked earth. The adult male was buried underneath the adult female and the children whose ages ranged from 3 to 5 years were on the same level as the mother, but further to the east.

Not infrequently husband and wife were buried side by side or in the same grave, one above the other. An instance of the latter case was found in Block 11 where skeleton 547, an adult male, was buried head to the north, face up, with the tibiae flexed at right angles to the body. An adult female skeleton was buried in a horizontal position with the cranium resting on the thorax of the male.

Block 16 presented an interesting group consisting of a male adult buried in the horizontal position and three immature persons, each buried in the contracted posture on his back, the three superimposed in one grave. This same block included a group in which two adult skeletons, sex not stated, were buried in a contracted position on the lower extremities of an adult male lying in a horizontal position. A good example of a grouped burial is illustrated in plate 4, c.

**Orientation of Burials.** The following table shows the direction in which the head was laid in 453 burials of which the orientation was recorded by Dr. Metz:

	N.	S.	E.	W.	NE.	SE.	NW.	SW.	Total
Number	35	139	122	13	37	80	15	12	453
Per cent	7.7	30.6	26.9	2.8	8.1	17.6	3.3	2.6	100.00

It will be observed from the above that the bodies were laid in all directions, but prevailing with heads toward the south, the east, and the southeast. Three hundred and forty-one, or 75.2 per cent, of 453 burials were orientated in this general direction. Mr. Swanton says in his report:

The bodies were laid with the heads in all directions. The great majority have their heads bearing east, while south seems to be the next most popular direction.



The following table summarizes the orientation of Mr. Swanton's burials:

	N.	S.	E.	W.	NE.	SE.	NW.	SW.	Total
Number	2	4	21	0	62	55	11	14	169
Per cent	1.2	2.4	12.4	0.0	36.7	32.5	6.5	8.2	100.00

The apparent result seems superficially not to agree with that obtained by Dr. Metz since the table shows very few burials with heads south and a larger number with heads northeast. This difference, however, is probably due to the fact that Dr. Metz merely estimated his orientations, whereas Mr. Swanton and subsequent excavators took their bearings accurately with a compass. Consequently very few burials are recorded as due north and due south and none due west. On the other hand 12.4 per cent were due east.

Eighty-one and six-tenths per cent of the burials recorded by Mr. Swanton were orientated east, northeast, or southeast.

**Objects Associated with the Burials.** This section deals with the finds in the cemetery only in relation to the burials.

The following table shows the number of pots found by the principal excavators and recorded in the field notes deposited in the Peabody Museum. It also indicates the position of the pots with reference to the body, where found in association with burials, and mentioned by the investigators.

	Number of pots	Head	Feet	Right side	Left side	Between knees
Dr. Metz.....	228	137	11	4	11	3
J. E. Swanton.....	46	26	0	5	4	3
R. E. Merwin.....	72	49	1	6	7	6
B. W. Merwin.....	7	7	0	0	0	0
F. W. Putnam.....	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total.....	354	219	12	15	22	12

Of 354 pots recorded to have been found by the excavators, their position, in relation to the body, is stated in 280 instances. Of the remainder practically all were found with skeletons, but in the first year of his excavations Dr. Metz frequently omitted to note the position of the pots in relation to the associated burials.

It will be observed that in the vast majority of cases the pots were found at the head, either above the vertex or to the left or right without apparent distinction.

About 28 per cent of the entire number of burials recorded had pots associated with them, usually one pot to a burial. The pottery finds were more numerous by far in the southwestern portion of the cemetery excavated by Dr. Metz in 1879. In the northwestern portion excavated by the Merwin brothers, pots and artifacts of all kinds were rare.

The pots were buried with individuals of both sexes and of all ages without distinction. Mr. Swanton says:

As a rule one unio shell was found in each pot, seeming to indicate that it contained — if indeed it contained anything — something of a liquid nature. These pots were frequently such as had been broken around the rims before burial.

R. E. Merwin also states that an examination of the contents of the pots usually showed one or more unio shells and a few small fragments of animal bones. All of the investigators found occasional pots containing traces of red ocher.

It is perhaps worthy of note that on April 1, 1879, Dr. Metz found a pit containing four crania and four pots. One of these pots was inverted and rested on a skull.

Stone implements were frequently found in the burials. These included adze blades, grooveless axes, hammers, scrapers, arrow and spear points, chisels, knives, and perforated disks. Finds of stone implements in the burials seem to have been far more common in the southwestern portion of the cemetery, first excavated by Dr. Metz, than in his later explorations and those of the subsequent excavators. The majority of the implements seem to have been found in the cache-pits and kitchen-middens, and in the leaf mould, rather than in the graves. Arrowpoints, grooveless axes and knives were the commonest implements found with the bodies. In several instances arrowpoints were found imbedded in portions of the skeletons. On April 12, 1879, Dr. Metz found a collective burial consisting of 22 skeletons.

A sacrum belonging to one of these skeletons had imbedded in the anterior surface near the upper border a flint arrowhead, which in order to reach that position in the living body must have passed through the abdominal walls and intestines in an oblique direction, from above downwards and to the right.

On July 10 of the same year the skeleton of an adult was exhumed, one of the dorsal vertebrae of which had a flint arrow-

point embedded in its dorsal aspect. Mr. Swanton and Mr. Merwin record similar finds.

Pipes of limestone or catlinite were often found with the skeletons of males. Dr. Metz mentions 47 of these in his field notes, and it is probable that he found many more than that number. Mr. Swanton says that he found 18 complete pipes, and twice as many broken ones. Pipes were usually found clasped in the hand or laid by the neck.

On June 6, 1879, Dr. Metz discovered a burial with which were associated "two inscribed stones," one of which seems to have been incised with double-pointed arrow designs, and the other with checker-board pattern.

Bone objects commonly found with the burials were beads, cylinders, scrapers or gouges, and awls. Miscellaneous unworked animal bones frequently occurred with the human burials.

Aside from unio shells which were commonly found in the pots and loose in the graves, objects of shell were rare in the burials. There occurred, however, shell beads, disks, pendants, perforated box tortoise shells, and at least one ornamented shell spoon. (Metz, skeleton 222, 1879.) Other objects found with the skeletons include points, cylinders, harpoons, arrow straighteners, combs, and arm-bands.

Ornaments of copper and pieces of hammered copper were found alike in graves and cache-pits, in the kitchen-middens, and among the surface relics. Dr. Metz records the finding of more than 50 flat pieces of copper, 40 copper rolls or beads, 5 strips of copper, also many beads, rings, and one copper cross. Mr. Swanton and Mr. Merwin also found many copper beads and hammered strips with the burials.

Objects of iron in the burials were exceedingly rare. On December 17, 1880, Dr. Metz discovered the skeleton of an adult female (Block 12, 597), over the chest of which was placed "a piece of iron resembling a sword hilt" (plate 18, t). Mr. Swanton found a skeleton (I, 40), with which was associated an iron bead or cylinder (plate 18, s) embedded in the deerskin. These seem to be the only cases in which the association of iron with the burials was definite. Several pieces were found in the leaf mould and also in the cache-pits.

Mr. Swanton states that blue glass beads, apparently of European origin, were found about the head of skeleton I, 39. A few small shell beads were found with the glass beads. Fragments of the same kind of glass beads were also found by Mr. Swanton in three of the cache-pits. These glass beads were not found by the other excavators, with the exception of Mr. B. W. Merwin, who found one in a cache-pit.

Lumps of cannel coal were found with comparative frequency in the burials. In some instances the pottery vessels contained red ocher. Dr. Metz records a burial (Block 7, 1) in which a handful of charred corn was found about the cranium. Bird crania used for pendants, and animal teeth pierced for suspension or for stringing, were also found in the graves.

**Burials of Special Interest.** Certain burials deserve special mention, either because of some anomalous feature, or because of the special interest of the associated objects. Some of these have already been mentioned, and others, which seemed of special importance to the investigators, will be described briefly here.

In Trench I of Mr. Swanton's excavations, skeleton 60 was associated with some interesting finds:

These consisted of several copper plates one and a half by two inches square which had been clasped around deer hide still preserved with the hair on it by action of the copper. With these plates were found a number of shell beads made from the inner whorls of univalves, two or three copper beads, etc. A very small sea shell which had been rubbed down in some way and discolored by ocher, was identified as *Marginella apicina*, a variety of shell from the Gulf Coast and the Carolinas. All these articles were between the thigh bones of the skeleton.

#### Grave 18 of Mr. R. E. Merwin's Trench D.

This grave, primarily constructed for the burial of an adult skeleton, contains portions of at least three skeletons. The only bones not disarticulated were those below the pelvis of one of the skeletons and these were on the bottom of the grave. The right femur was slightly burned. Directly above and in contact with this portion of the skeleton was a mass of burnt and unburnt bones of two other skeletons and the upper bones (burnt and unburnt) of the first skeleton. Many of these bones were broken. The mixed earth in contact with these bones and extending to the surface of the hard-pan was burnt, although the bottom of the grave shows but little action of fire. Of the bones in the lower end of the grave some were burnt, while others in contact with them were unburnt. In this grave were found two pieces of worked antler and thirteen pieces of copper.

## Grave 32 of Mr. Merwin's Trench E.

Adult; that portion of the skeleton above the pelvis was in cache-pit 26 and the portion from the distal ends of the femora down was in cache-pit 25. Those portions in the pits had settled to a lower level than the remainder of the skeleton. Along the inside of the right ulna and radius, resting partially on the right pelvic bone, and at the left of the lower jaw, were the skulls of some species of long-billed birds. Between the pelvic bones were two bird bones; on the breast had evidently been placed a bone with a series of perforations.

**Total Number of Burials.** The following is a summary of the total number of burials exhumed by the principal excavators and recorded in the field notes deposited in the Peabody Museum.

NUMBER OF BURIALS					
C. L. Metz	1879	360	J. R. Swanton	1897	230
" " "	1880	239	R. E. Merwin	1907	85
" " "	1881	58	" " "	1908	176
F. W. Putnam	1882	6	B. W. Merwin	1911	82
					Total 1236

To the above total should be added a number of burials sufficient to account for those washed out prior to the discovery of the cemetery, and for those discovered by Dr. Metz in sporadic excavations subsequent to August 13, 1881, at which date the field entries stop. We know that when Professor Putnam arrived in Madisonville on May 2, 1882, Dr. Metz was excavating Block 22, whereas his field notes for the preceding year cease during, or at the end of, the excavations of Block 17. Blocks 2-17 inclusive averaged about 18 burials to the block. As the burials were fewer in the portion of the cemetery explored during the latter part of the excavations, it is probable that an allowance of 12 burials to the block, for Blocks 18-22, would be sufficient. This would bring the total up to 1296 and allowing for burials destroyed or undiscovered it is probable that the total number of burials made in the cemetery was not less than 1350.

**Death Rate as Indicated by Burials.** In order to calculate the population of the village site to which the cemetery belonged we should know the total number of burials, the length of time during which the cemetery was used, and the average death rate per annum.

There exists very little reliable data concerning the death rate of modern primitive peoples. However, the following method of approximation seems legitimate in this instance. The proportions of different ages in the burials of the cemetery will be compared with the mortality statistics for different ages in various European countries. If we find the constituent age proportions agreeing closely with those of some European country of which the average annual death rate is known, it may reasonably be concluded that the annual death rates are also approximately the same.

Fortunately, Dr. Metz carefully recorded the approximate age in the case of more than five-sixths of the burials he found.

SEX AND AGE						
Year	Adult Sex undeter.	Adult Male	Adult Female	Adol. Age 13-11	Child. 10-3	Infants
1879.....	114	21	10	8	75	3
1880.....	25	59	53	10	56	30
1881.....	10	15	12	1	10	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	149	95	75	19	141	42
Per cent.....	28.6	18.2	14.4	3.7	27.1	8.1
						Total 521
						100.00

In this connection the following table will be instructive.

AGE AT DEATH					Aver. Annual Death Rate	
Place	Year	Age 0-10	10-20	20+	Year	
Italy.....	1872-77	52.37	4.22	43.41	1865-78	2.99
France.....	1866-77	32.28	4.25	63.47	1865-77	2.46
England.....	1860-70	44.23	4.56	51.21	1865-78	2.20
Prussia.....	1875-77	52.43	3.51	44.06	1865-78	2.72
Bavaria.....	1871-77	52.61	2.22	45.17	1865-78	3.09
Austria.....	1865-77	52.38	4.05	43.57	1865-78	3.18
Spain.....	1865-70	51.86	4.37	43.77	1865-70	3.12
Russia.....	1870-74	62.33	4.13	33.54	1865-75	3.67
Switzerland...	1873-77	36.94	3.72	59.33	1870-78	2.38
Madisonville..		35.2	3.7	61.1		

In the above table it should be observed that the average annual death rate in the various European countries seems to be correlated closely with the number of deaths per hundred under the age of ten years. Thus, France, with a low percentage of infant and child mortality, has a very low average annual death rate; and Russia, with a very high infant and child mortality, has the

highest annual death rate. In this table the average annual death rate seems to vary more or less directly with the child and infant mortality, except in the case of England, which shows a somewhat lower death rate than would be expected from the number of deaths per hundred under the age of 10 years. This may be due to the fact that the average annual death rate given for England includes Wales, whereas the percentage of ages per hundred does not; or that the period, during which the calculation of the annual death rate is made, is different from the period of calculation of the ages at death per hundred. On the whole it appears legitimate to infer the approximate annual death rate from the distribution of ages at death per hundred deaths.

Next it appears that the distribution of ages at death in percentage of entire number of burials recorded in Dr. Metz's sample of the Madisonville cemetery agrees most closely with the distribution of ages at death per hundred in Switzerland. The Madisonville cemetery shows a mortality per hundred under 10 years of 35.2 against 36.94 in Switzerland; from ages of 10-20 years 3.7 against 3.72 in Switzerland; over 20 years, 61.1 in Madisonville against 59.33 in Switzerland. The average annual death rate in Switzerland was 2.38 per hundred. We might, therefore, conclude that the death rate per annum in the Madisonville cemetery would be approximately the same.

On the basis of Dr. Metz's sample of 521 burials — almost one half of the total burials recorded in the cemetery — the child and infant mortality is lower than in any of the European countries except France during the period recorded. In selecting data from European countries, I have purposely chosen a period some years back, before the recent improvements in sanitation and medical science brought about the modern lowering of the death rate. Conditions in Europe at that time more closely approximated the primitive, and are, therefore, more comparable with the conditions of health in an aboriginal American cemetery.

It might be argued that we ought to expect a higher annual death rate in a village of Indians, presumably engaged from time to time in warfare, and living under very primitive conditions; but primitive warfare is not deadly, and it is probable that the number of deaths due to war in pre-Columbian America north of Mexico was proportionately smaller than in Europe at most

Periods of history. Epidemics also were probably lacking in the New World before the coming of the Europeans.

We may therefore consider 2.3 per hundred as a reasonable approximation for the average annual death rate during the period in which the Madisonville cemetery was used, and if we base our calculations on an average annual death rate of 3 per hundred, we shall be making ample allowance for infant burials overlooked or unrecorded.

**Population, and Period of Use of Cemetery.** We must next consider the question of the length of time during which this cemetery was used by the Indians. This problem may be approached in two ways — through the historical evidence, and through the evidence of the burials themselves.

The territory at the mouth of the Little Miami River was first colonized in 1788, by a party of 18 persons led by Major Benjamin Stites, within the limits of a tract of 10,000 acres purchased by Major Stites from Judge Symmes. Major Stites constructed a log fort and laid out the town of Columbia.<sup>1</sup>

At the time that Major Stites first settled here there was in all probability no village on the Madisonville site. Cyrus Thomas states that Ohio was not inhabited at the time when it first became known to Europeans.<sup>2</sup> Colonel M. F. Force says:<sup>3</sup>

In the latter half of the Seventeenth Century, after the destruction of the Eries by the Five Nations in 1656, what is now the State of Ohio, was uninhabited.

The earlier occupants of this region around the mouth of the Little Miami River seem to have been, according to tradition, the Shawnee. The original home and subsequent migrations of this powerful tribe have been a subject that has aroused considerable controversy, into which we shall not enter at this time. It can only be remarked that if we assume the Madisonville Indian village to have been inhabited in the post-Columbian period (and the archaeological evidence supporting this assumption is irrefutable), the following considerations point toward the Shawnee as its probable occupants.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Dodge, *Red Men of the Ohio Valley*, Springfield, 1860, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrus Thomas, *Indians in Historic Times*, History of North America, vol. ii, 1903, p. 261 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Col. M. F. Force, *Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio*, p. 238.



The western Shawnee of the Cumberland basin are first mentioned in the Jesuit relations of 1645 under the name of *Ouch-sawneeag*. In 1670, as *Chacouanoon*, they are described as living *some distance* southeast of their neighbours, the Illinois. Dodge says of them:—

At the period of the settlement of Virginia, they were doubtless the occupants of what is now the state of Kentucky, from the Ohio River up to the Cumberland Basin, to the country of the Cherokees. The main body, by invitation of the Andastes and Mississ, crossing the Ohio assisted in conflicts with the Five Nations.

They are supposed to have shared the defeat of the Andastes and about the year 1672 fled to escape destruction.

Early in the Eighteenth Century, the Shawnee, as a result of a war with the Cherokee and Chickasaw in the Cumberland region, again moved into Ohio. According to Dodge, when West Virginia began to be civilized they occupied the Scioto Valley and extended as far west as the Little Miami and Mad Rivers, having been invited thither by the Wyandot, at the instigation of the French.

When the region about the mouth of the Little Miami River was colonized in 1788, the Shawnee were still in the vicinity, according to a quotation from Judge Burnet's note by Dodge:<sup>1</sup>

During these transactions the Judge was visited by a number of Indians from a camp in the neighbourhood of Site's settlement. One of them, a Shawnee chief, had many complaints to make of the frauds practised on them by the white traders.

The archaeological evidence as to contact with Europeans, yielded by the burials in the cemetery, seems to indicate that the inhabitants were influenced by white culture to a very slight degree, only at the close of the period during which the site was inhabited. A few glass beads and a few bits of iron and brass in the most recent portion of the cemetery are the only traces of European contact.

Traders began to filter through this region about 1750. The inhabitants of the Madisonville site may have been an outlying group of the Shawnee of the Cumberland region who were expelled from Ohio about 1705-15. There is further the possibility that this was a Shawnee village, the occupation of which termi-

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 22 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 374.

nated at the time when the tribe was first driven southward out of Ohio after the defeat by the Five Nations in 1672. It scarcely seems probable that this cemetery could have belonged to a Shawnee village of the subsequent migration northward, which took place about 1750, since the site was apparently occupied intermittently for generations, and there is not sufficient time between 1750 and the period of European colonization of the Little Miami Valley to permit the growth of such a necropolis. Further, it seems that a Shawnee settlement subsequent to 1750 ought to show more traces of European contact than are exhibited here. Moreover we are informed that the Shawnee were entirely nomadic bands at the time of the first coming of the traders, but the archaeological evidence points to a sedentary population for this site. Finally, if we are to trust the historical tradition, Ohio was uninhabited in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century.

It should be understood quite clearly that the only reason for connecting this cemetery with the Shawnee tribe lies in the fact that the historical traditions mention no other tribe as occupying this general region during the probable period of the occupation of the Madisonville village and cemetery site. As we know practically nothing of the archaeology and physical anthropology of the Shawnee, it is impossible either to verify this tradition or to refute it. It is equally possible that the site under consideration may have been inhabited by some other tribe concerning which local historical records are silent.

If we assume that Madisonville was a Shawnee site, there are then two possibilities as to the period of its occupation. Either it was occupied up to about the middle of the Eighteenth Century or for a period anterior to 1672. The latter seems the more probable.

A priori it seems unlikely that, considering the movements of tribes in early post-Columbian times, any Indian village in this region would be occupied continuously for more than one hundred years. But the Madisonville cemetery must have been used for a very long time, since a considerable change in burial customs took place within the period of its utilization. Contracted burials and burials in the sitting posture were found only in the oldest portion of the cemetery — the extreme southwestern portion. There are a number of mounds in the vicinity of the cemetery and these

almost certainly suggests the necropolis, although it cannot be stated with certainty that the same Indian group was responsible for local forms of burial. In the more recent portion of the cemetery the majority of skeletons were buried unaccompanied by artifacts and there are occasional finds of objects indicating European contact.

But the strongest evidence of a long continued use of the cemetery seems to be afforded by the very large number of burials that have been disturbed in order to make room for later interments. Not only were there found frequent instances in which one body was laid in a grave over some portion of an earlier grave, but even more commonly an old grave was cleared out and its contents deposited in a heap in a corner of the new grave or nearby. Some of these "buried" burials may be the remains of those who died away from home and whose bones were subsequently interred in the local cemetery, but in most instances they are probably due to the necessity of finding room in the sacred burying ground which brought about the disturbance of the earlier burials by the late dwellers on the site.

Now it seems very improbable that people who buried their dead with the comparatively elaborate funeral furniture which is found in many of the earlier graves in this cemetery, would be likely to desecrate the graves of their ancestors within the time when the identity of the individuals who occupied the various graves could be remembered. In other words a man would be loathe to disturb the remains of his great-grandfather, as long as he knew where that ancestor was buried. Allowing twenty years to a generation it is probable that the fifth generation would have been entered upon before all the members of the first were dead and their burial places forgotten. If this argument is valid, it would then seem that the minimum period which could be considered to have elapsed between the first burials in the cemetery and the subsequent ones, to make room for which the former were dislodged, must have been between eighty and one hundred years.

But, as has been stated above, it seems improbable that any Indian group during this general period of tribal movements would have occupied the same site continuously for much more than one hundred years. Therefore, we may accept one hundred years as the approximate length of time during which the Madison-

ville village site was inhabited. This may perhaps be considered a minimum estimate. Assuming the total number of burials in the cemetery to have been about 1350 and the annual death rate to have been about 3 per hundred, a village of 450 to 500 inhabitants would have been sufficient to fill this cemetery in a century.

We may be able to secure some check on this estimate of the size of the village by considering the house remains on the site adjoining the cemetery. In 1879 Dr. Metz excavated four hut circles, and in 1882 Professor Putnam excavated four more. Those excavated by Professor Putnam varied in diameter from 40 to 60 feet. It is therefore evident that there were at least eight communal houses in the village, although these may not all have been contemporaneous. Each of these communal houses must have been the home of grandparents, parents, and children, averaging forty to fifty individuals to the house. Taking the lower figure, we should have a total of 320 inhabitants for the 8 houses, if they were occupied at the same time. But it is pretty clear that Professor Putnam and Dr. Metz did not excavate all of the hut circles on the site. There were at least four others in the group northeast of the cemetery. Twelve such houses should contain 450 to 500 inhabitants.

This group of hut circles to the northeast would probably represent the location of the latest village on the site. The sites of the earlier houses are indicated by the hearths found from time to time by the excavators in the various portions of the cemetery. The original settlement probably was on the southwestern corner of the plateau. The dead were buried about the houses, and as rubbish and graves accumulated, the house sites gradually moved northeastward.

It thus appears that this cemetery was probably the burying place of a village from 450 to 500 in population for a period of about a century.

#### THE CACHE-PITS

**Discovery.** The cache-pits, called "ash-pits" by Dr. Metz and the other excavators after him, are scarcely inferior in interest and importance to the burials. The first of these was explored by Dr. Metz on April 1, 1879. The first cache-pit to be described fully was dug on April 22 of the same year. Of it Dr. Metz says in his field notes:

An ash-pit was excavated to a depth of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet and a diameter of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The sides and bottom showed no evidence of the action of fire. It appears that the pits had been dug and the ashes put in them *as ashes* to a depth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet . . . In it were numerous bone implements, shells, and animal remains, none of which bore any traces of the action of fire. A few fragments of charred bones that had probably been in the ashes previous to their deposition here were also found.

Hereafter, Dr. Metz carefully explored every cache-pit encountered, noting, in most cases, the depth, diameter, stratification of contents, and character of associated objects.

**Number and Depth of Cache-pits.** The following table gives the totals of pits recorded by the excavators in their field notes that are in the possession of the Museum.

#### NUMBER OF CACHE-PITS

C. L. Metz,	1879-81	429	J. R. Swanton	1897	177
" " "	1882	12	R. E. Merwin,	1907-08	247
F. W. Putnam,	1882	7	B. W. Merwin,	1911	118
					Total 990

In order to give an accurate idea of the main dimensions of these pits, the data in regard to those excavated by Dr. Metz in 1879 have been tabulated. By far the majority were round or oval in shape. The few oblong ones have been omitted from consideration in the following tables.

#### DIAMETER OF CACHE-PITS

	Less than 2 ft.	2 ft.	2 ft 6 in.	3 ft.	3 ft 6 in.	4 ft.	4 ft. 6 in. and over	
Number.....	1	6	19	70	36	13	2	Total 147
Per cent.....	.7	4.1	13.0	47.6	24.5	8.8	1.4	Mode 3 ft.

#### DEPTH OF CACHE-PITS

Depth	Number	Per cent
2 ft. 6 in.-2 ft. 11 in.	1	.7
3 ft.-3 ft. 5 in.	16	10.8
3 ft. 6 in.-3 ft. 11 in.	12	8.1
4 ft.-4 ft. 5 in.	22	14.9
4 ft. 6 in.-4 ft. 11 in.	14	9.4
5 ft.-5 ft. 5 in.	32	21.6
5 ft. 6 in.-5 ft. 11 in.	27	18.2
6 ft.-6 ft. 11 in.	22	14.9
7 ft.	2	1.4
Total.....	148	

#### DEPTH OF ASHES

Depth	Number	Per cent
1 ft.-1 ft. 5 in.	9	7.9
1 ft. 6 in.-1 ft. 11 in.	20	17.7
2 ft.-2 ft. 5 in.	24	21.1
2 ft. 6 in.-2 ft. 11 in.	18	15.9
3 ft.-3 ft. 5 in.	22	19.1
3 ft. 6 in.-3 ft. 11 in.	9	7.9
4 ft.-4 ft. 5 in.	5	4.4
4 ft. 6 in.-4 ft. 11 in.	4	3.9
5 ft.	2	1.7
Total.....	113	

It will be observed from the above table that almost three-fourths of the pits were between 3 feet and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter; that the depths varied greatly but were in the majority of cases from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet to 6 feet; that the depth of ashes was usually from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

**Contents and Stratification.** Some of the pits were stratified and some were not. In order to give a clear idea of the stratification and contents of typical pits descriptions have been copied from Dr. Metz's notes.

**Cache-pit 396**

Depth 5 ft. 3 in.; diameter 3 ft. 3 in.

10 inches leaf mould

28 inches sand and gravel

25 inches ashes

Contents: animal remains, shells, sherds, burned limestone, flint and bone relics.

**Cache-pit 400**

Depth 5 ft. 10 in.; diameter 3 ft. 2 in.

10 inches leaf mould

12 inches sand

48 inches ashes

Contents: burned limestone, animal remains, flints, sherds, shells, one piece of copper.

**Cache-pit 401**

Depth 6 ft. 8 in.; diameter 3 ft. 3 in.

10 inches leaf mould

24 inches sand

46 inches ashes

Contents: animal remains, burned limestone, shells, perforated unios, a large quantity of deer skulls, awls, cylinders.

**Cache-pit 402**

Depth 5 ft. 6 in.; diameter 3 ft. 2 in.

10 inches leaf mould

5 inches sand

19 inches yellow sand and ashes

3 inches yellow sand

19 inches sand and ashes

4 inches sand

6 inches ashes

6 inches ashes in depression in middle of bottom

Contents: animal remains, burned limestone, large sherds of pottery, shells, elkhorn implement, awls, flints, record stick.

## Cache-pit 404

Depth 4 ft. 1 in.: diameter 4 ft.  
 10 inches leaf mould  
 40 inches ashes

Contents: two bushels of snail shells.

## Cache-pit 409

Depth 5 ft. 2 in.: diameter 3 ft. 10 in.  
 10 inches leaf mould  
 30 inches sand  
 22 inches ashes

Contents: animal remains and fish hook.

## Cache-pit 411

Depth 5 ft. 6 in.: diameter 4 ft.  
 10 inches leaf mould  
 32 inches sand  
 3 inches yellow sand  
 10 inches sand and ashes  
 11 inches ashes  
 6 inches of ashes in depression in bottom

Contents: animal remains, a stone pipe, and an elk-horn implement.

The following cache-pits are less typical but present features of special interest:

Extract from Dr. Metz's notes, August 27, 1879:

One of the most remarkable "finds" since the prosecution of the work on this cemetery was a large quantity 4 or 5 bushels of burnt corn, in a pit which was opened and explored August 26 and 27. The shape of the pit was oblong and contracted toward the center, a horizontal section showing somewhat like a figure 8. Its dimensions were: length 6 ft. 5 in.: diameter 3 feet at each end: total depth 6 ft. 3 in.

Beginning at the bottom the contents were as follows:

- 1 A layer of bowlders, pottery sherds, ashes, with a few animal bones, about 6 inches in thickness.
- 2 Above this a layer of completely carbonized corn on the cob.
- 3 Matting, composed of reeds and coarse grasses — two inches.
- 4 Then about 4 bushels of shelled corn, also completely carbonized. The corn and flint of bowlders occupied one half of the pit or one loop of the figure 8, its superficial area being a circle of about three feet in diameter, its depth 10 inches.
- 5 Above the corn was a layer of coarsely woven matting composed of grass, cornstalks and reeds, also completely charred, depth 4 inches.
- 6 Next came a layer of ashes 10 inches in thickness, intermingled with which were bones of deer, elk, bear, racoon, opossum, turkey, mink, muskrat, squirrel, and beaver, together with many shells of various species.

- (7) Fifteen inches of gravelly clay also containing numerous animal remains with occasional implements of flint, bone and stone, and unfinished stone pipe representing a bear sitting on his haunches, and sherds of pottery.
- (8) Two feet of black leaf mould.

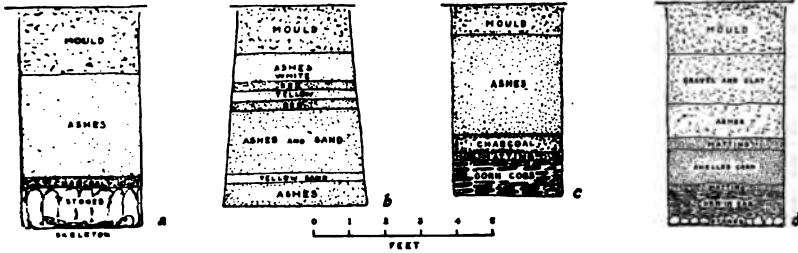


FIG. 1. MADISONVILLE SITE

Cross-sections of abandoned and filled cache-pits from Dr. Metz's note-books; a, Cache-pit used for burial purposes, opened January 21, 1880; b, Pit opened August 8, 1881; c, Pit opened in May, 1881; d, Pit opened August 26-27, 1879. Aside from the materials shown in the cross-sections, the pits contained potsherds, bones of various animals, implements and other objects of stone, bone and antler.

It is quite obvious that this peculiar shaped pit was really two intersecting and independent round pits, one of which had been used for a corn cache; a cross-section of this is given in figure 1, d.

#### Cache-pit 377

Depth 5 ft. 8 in.; diameter 3 ft.

10 inches leaf mould

36 inches ashes containing animal remains

6 inches charcoal and animal remains

4 inches matting

12 inches corn cobs

Contents: "At a depth of 4 ft. 4 in. a layer of charred animal remains was found and below this a layer of matting 4 inches deep, and below this matting carbonized corn cobs. On the matting a layer of plaited grass rope was found [figure 1, c].

Mr. Swanton found a layer of corn cobs in the bottom of pit I, 33, and small quantities of corn in other pits.

A layer of corn 2 inches thick and 4 feet from the surface was found in cache-pit II, 23. Two feet, 8 inches from the surface of the hard-pan was a concreted mass of gravel discolored by fire and about 9 inches thick. The mass seems to have become solidified under the influence of a hot fire though whether this fire occurred before the concretion was thrown into the cache-pit or subsequently could not be determined.



**Fauna Represented in the Cache-pits.** The following is a quotation from Mr. Swanton's report:

By studying the contents of over one hundred cache-pits, twenty-one species of animals were identified, one species of bird, two of turtles, and two of fish. These are deer, bear, dog, elk, buffalo, racoon, opossum, beaver, porcupine, woodchuck, lynx, fox, puma, wolf, otter, squirrel, skunk, mole, rabbit, marten, badger, turkey, leather-back turtle, turtle, catfish and perch (?). Deer bones overbalanced all others in the proportion of at least three to one. Few badger, squirrel, skunk, wolf, puma, and rabbit bones were

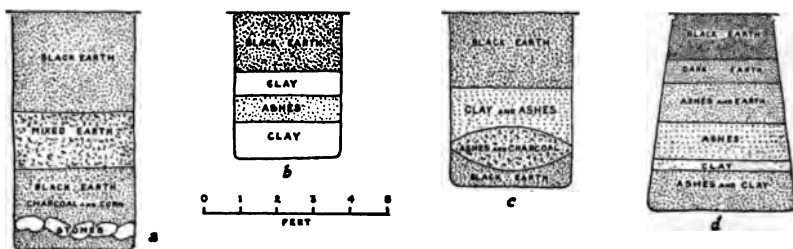


FIG. 2. MADISONVILLE SITE

Cross-sections of abandoned and filled cache-pits from Mr. Swanton's note-books; a, Pit 6, Trench IV; b, Pit 54, Trench I; c, Pit 15, Trench II; d, Pit 64, Trench I.

found. In the case of the rabbit this is very remarkable since rabbits are very plentiful in the region.

Of the mole and marten only one skull each was found, the latter associated with a burial; of the otter only two skulls, also associated with burials, and a fragment of a third were found.

Below is an analysis of two pits showing approximately the proportion of bones belonging to each species which they contained.

Cache-pit III, 6

Deer .....	80	per cent
Turkey .....	8	"
Bear .....	2.5	"
Elk .....	2.5	"
Dog .....	2.5	"
Turtle (2 species) .....	2.5	"
Raccoon .....	0.5	"
Beaver .....	0.5	"
Opossum, puma, fish, fox, otter, wood- chuck, badger. ....	1.0	"
Total .....	100.00	"

Cache-pit III, 8

Deer .....	75	per cent
Dog .....	7.5	"
Elk .....	7.5	"
Bear .....	5.0	"
Beaver, racoon, tur- key, turtle, fish .....	5.0	"
Total .....	100.00	"

The finding of the skulls of the marten and otter with burials without other bones of these animals indicates that they formed portions of medicine bags made of the whole skin of these animals with skull attached.

Similar bags of otter skin were used in the well-known Shell Society and the presence of these skulls seems to indicate that this ceremony was known to these Indians.

The shells found belonged principally to the genus *Unio*. Most of the species having smooth shells could not be identified, but of the following there can be no doubt: *Unio rectus* (Lamarck), *vermicosus*, *tuberculatus*, *ovatus*, *undulatus*, *cornutus* (Barnes), *alatus* (Say), *Margitana rugosa* (Barnes). One small species of the uni-

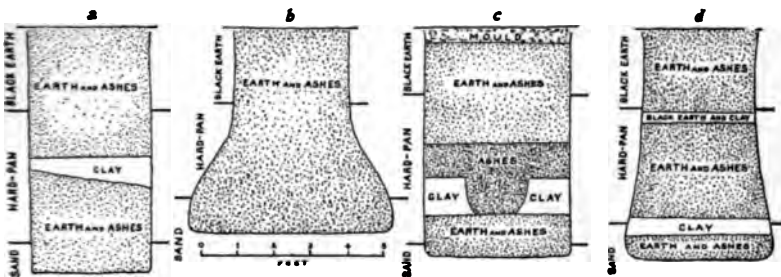


FIG. 3. MADISONVILLE SITE

Cross-sections of abandoned and filled cache-pits in Trench D, from R. E. Merwin's notebooks. Mr. Merwin's cross-sections were the first to show that probably most of the pits were dug through a stratum of hard-pan, and into the substratum of sand which afforded excellent drainage and served to keep the contents of the caches dry.

valve (*Fulgur carica*) was found in addition to a small sea uni-valve *Marginella apicina*. The latter species is found on the Gulf Coast and the shores of the Carolinas.

**Artifacts from the Cache-pits.** The following extracts from the notes of Mr. B. W. Merwin give a sufficient idea of the number and character of artifacts found in typical cache-pits.

**Cache-pit 51, Trench H**

Depth of leaf mould, 8 in.

Depth to hard-pan, 1 ft. 8 in.

Depth to bottom, 5 ft. 2 in.

Diameter at hard-pan, 3 ft. 8 in.

Specimens: 1 bone scraper, 3 antler cylinders, 1 antler point, 2 worked antlers, 1 fragment bone scraper, 1 notched rib, 1 celt, 1 fragment celt, 1 perforated shell, 1 flint point, 1 flint scraper, 2 worked stones, 100 bones, 75 unworked stones, 40 shells, 25 flint flakes, 40 potsherds.

**Cache-pit 7, Trench K**

Depth of leaf mould, 5 in.

Depth to hard-pan, 1 ft. 1 in.

Depth to bottom, 4 ft. 8 in.

Diameter at hard-pan, 3 ft. 2 in.

**Specimens:** 1 worked beaver tooth, 1 bone bead, 1 long bone perforator, 1 fragment bone scraper, 1 perforated shell, 1 small whetstone, 1 perforated bone, 150 unworked bones, 30 stones, 25 shells, 30 potsherds, 15 flint flakes.

**Cache-pit 10, Trench H**

Depth of leaf mould, 9 in.

Depth to hard-pan, 1 ft. 9 in.

Depth to bottom, 3 ft. 7 in.

Diameter at hard-pan, 2 ft. 8 in.

**Specimens:** 2 antler cylinders, 2 fragments bone scrapers, 1 bone perforator, 5 flint points, 8 reject flint points, 1 worked bone, 1 fragment pipe, 2 rough hammerstones, 1 grinder, fragments of bones of two kinds of dog, 100 stones, 175 bones, 50 potsherds, 40 flint flakes, 30 shells, 4 quarts charred wood.

Pit filled with black earth and clay with a 5 inch layer of bones and ashes about 2 ft. 9 in. from the surface.

Occasionally pieces of copper or ornaments of copper were found in the pits. These finds were more common in the portion of the cemetery excavated by Dr. Metz. Beads were the commonest objects of copper found by Mr. Swanton in the pits. From pit I, 50, were recovered three copper discs made by clinching thin pieces of copper over bone. In pit I, 55, was a small copper ornament 4 inches long, in shape of a serpent.

Iron was of very infrequent occurrence in cache-pits. On September 19, 1879, Dr. Metz found a piece of an iron hatchet or tomahawk, 13 inches below the surface in the leaf mould between two cache-pits. Mr. Swanton found a flat piece 2 inches long by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide in the first pit he opened. This was 3 feet 1 inch below the surface and at least 1 foot below the level of the hard-pan. In pit I, 66, another piece was encountered at a depth of 3 feet below the level of the hard-pan and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the surface.

R. E. Merwin found an iron ring in pit 98, Trench D. The ring was 27 inches below the surface of the ground, the leaf mould being 4 inches in depth. There was no evidence of its intrusive origin as there was no root hole above it. Skeleton 65 was buried with its head in the cache-pit on the level with the ring, but the ring was 21 inches from the skull.

B. W. Merwin found a piece of iron in pit 27, Trench I. This was a perforated piece of iron, little oxidized. It came from a depth of one foot eight inches, the soil above it being black earth mixed with potsherds and shells. Merwin thought that it must have worked down a root hole, as there was a root hole 5 inches away, about 3 inches in diameter.

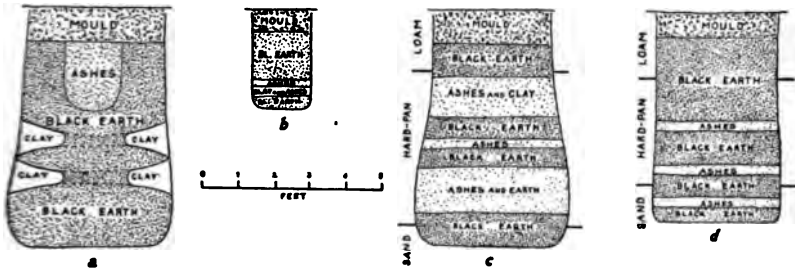


FIG. 4. MADISONVILLE SITE

Cross-section of abandoned and filled cache-pits from B. W. Merwin's note-books; a, Pit 3, Trench G; b, Pit 24a, Trench H; c, Pit 30a, Trench I; d, Pit 26, Trench I. In common with nearly all pits of this site, potsherds, various implements and the bones of animals were found in the refuse with which they were filled.

Mr. Swanton found fragments of blue glass beads in three cache-pits (I, 44; I, 64; IV, 31). Mr. B. W. Merwin also found a blue glass bead in one of the pits that he excavated.

**Form of the Cache-pits.** The great majority of the pits were round or oval in shape, but Dr. Metz discovered some that were oblong. He records about ten of these. The first of this shape, opened May 19, 1879, was 3 ft. 2 in. in depth, 7 ft. 3 in. long, and 4 ft. 6 in. wide. It contained 16 inches of ashes. The following is his description of one of the oblong pits:

October 17, 1879

**Large oblong cache-pit.** Depth 4 ft. 3 in., length 8 ft., width 6 ft. 5 in.

Contents: leaf mould 10 in.

Ashes and sand 10 in.

Pure ashes 15 in.

Sand 6 in.

Ashes, charcoal, and bowlders, 10 in.

**Specimens:** one grooved stone hammer, one elkhorn implement, one large piece of elkhorn, broken bowlders, potsherds, bear cranium, flints.

It will be observed that the contents of the oblong pits are not different in character from the round ones. Apparently the later investigators did not find any of these oblong pits.

The circular and oval cache-pits occasionally had a larger diameter at the bottom than at the top and often the reverse. Bottle-shaped cache-pits also occurred.

**Grouping in Relation to Burials.** The cache-pits were often found in groups, as may be seen from the plan of the cemetery (plate 30). Sometimes two or more pits were dug so close together that their sides intersected.

Generally speaking the site was divided into portions rich in cache-pits and with very few burials on the one hand, and parts with many burials and few pits on the other. It seems that for the most part the pits are not connected with the burials except fortuitously. In a few instances, which have been dealt with under the consideration of the burials, bodies were buried in the cache-pits, simply because the empty pit offered a convenient ready-made grave. In other cases bodies were buried over these pits, or cache-pits were dug through burials. Yet there is nothing that points to any special relationship between the graves and the pits.

On the other hand there is no doubt at all that the graves and the pits were made by one and the same people during the same period. The identity of artifacts in the pits with those found in the graves establishes this fact beyond question.

**Purpose of the Cache-pits.** The earlier excavators seem to have considered the existence of this large number of pits, laboriously dug down through the hard-pan, as more or less of a mystery. Yet there is no evidence of their having subserved any obscure esoteric purpose. On the contrary it seems that they were dug for a very practical end.

All of the investigators note that for the most part the bottoms and walls of the pits show no trace of the action of fire, but that the ashes and other charred debris seem to have been dumped into the pits after having been subjected to the action of fire. In a few instances fires seem to have been made in partially filled pits, or burning embers were emptied into the pits.

In the opinion of the present writer the cache-pits were constructed primarily for the storage of corn and other goods. At

the harvest time the maize crop belonging to each family was deposited in a number of pits grouped together and located conveniently near the house-site or place of habitation. Indeed these pits may often have been within the houses or huts. In the course of the winter the pits were emptied one after another and the empty pits became successively the receptacles into which were swept the accumulating ashes, food remains, and other debris of the hearth and home. When a pit showed stratification of contents it was because it was filled with rubbish gradually, and when the contents were unstratified it was due to the dumping of a large amount of refuse into the pit at one time. Some of the stratified pits were probably left partially filled for a considerable length of time; fires were occasionally made in them, and in a few instances the empty or partially filled pits were utilized as graves.

Ample indication that the pits were used as granaries is afforded by the two pits described above, in which Dr. Metz found charred shelled corn and charred corn on the cob covered with matting (figure 1, c, d).

Historical evidence confirms the conclusion that the pits were granaries. Wood says in speaking of the customs of the New England Indians:<sup>1</sup>

Their corne being ripe, they gathered it, and drying it hard in the Sunne, conveyed it to their barnes, which be great holes digged in the ground in the form of a brass pot, seeled with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corne.

Morgan also states the following in regard to the corn pits of the Iroquois:<sup>2</sup>

The Iroquois were accustomed to bury their surplus corn, and also their charred green corn, in caches in which the former would preserve uninjured throughout the year, and the latter for a much longer period. They excavated a pit, made a bark bottom and sides, and having deposited their corn within it, a bark roof, water-tight, was constructed over it, and the whole covered up with earth. Pits of charred corn are still found near their ancient settlements. Cured venison and other meats were buried in the same manner, except that the bark repository was lined with deer-skins.

The above also explains the reason for the carbonized condition of the corn found in the pits by Dr. Metz.

<sup>1</sup> William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 319.

Additional evidence is furnished by Catlin, who, in speaking the Mandan Indians says:<sup>1</sup>

The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festival and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened and packed away in "caches" (as the French call them), holes in the ground some six or seven feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these caches, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

Alice C. Fletcher, also, in speaking of the expeditions of the Omahas, says:<sup>2</sup>

If any were so fortunate as to possess a surplus supply of food or clothing they would store it in a cache, which they might either conceal or leave undisguised. The cache was dug in a dry place, sometimes lined with pole but often left with no wall but the hard soil. The goods were covered with skins, the earth was thrown over, and the place marked with piles of stones — meat, corn, clothing, and other personal property were kept for months in this manner, and no one disturbed the hidden store.

That caches of this character were used by the Indians over a very wide area in North America is shown by their existence among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia. In regard to their methods of storing food, James Teit says:<sup>3</sup>

The most common cache is the Indian cellar. This is used solely for the storing of berries, fish, etc. A circular hole about four feet in depth, and of the necessary diameter, is dug. In it are carefully laid the articles to be stored. If these are berries or roots, they are placed in baskets, and wrapped over with birch bark. The roof is then put on. It consists of small poles laid close side by side across the excavation. Above them are laid in the same manner but at right angles, another row of poles. The structure is then covered with pine needles and earth.

H. I. Smith states that pits which are supposed to be the remains of the cellars are found near the ancient underground house-sites in the Thompson River region.<sup>4</sup>

In the mound region in general, archaeological confirmation of the identity of the "ash-pits" with caches mentioned by the historians is not lacking.

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Catlin, *North American Indians*, vol. i, p. 121 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Alice C. Fletcher, *Tribal Life Among the Omahas*, Century Magazine, January, 1896, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 198 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> H. I. Smith, *Memoirs American Museum Natural History*, vol. ii, no. 6, p. 403.

Speaking of the enclosures in New York, Squier says:<sup>1</sup>

The first feature which attracts notice upon entering them is a number of pits or excavations in the earth, usually at points which are most elevated and dry. These pits are occasionally of considerable size, and are popularly called "wells," although nothing is more obvious than that they could never have been designed for any such purpose. They are usually 3 to 4, but sometimes from 6 to 8, feet in depth, and of proportionate size at the top. Their purpose became sufficiently evident upon excavation. They were the caches in which the former occupants of these works deposited their stores. Parched corn, now completely carbonized by long exposure, is to be discovered in considerable abundance in many of them. Instances fell under my notice where it has been found untouched to the amount of bushels in these primitive depositories. Traces of the bark and thin slips of wood, by which the deposits were surrounded, are also frequently to be found.

Thomas in his work on Mound Explorations identifies pits of this character with caches.<sup>2</sup>

Finally Alice C. Fletcher writes of the caches of the Omaha Indians as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Each family had outside the lodge a cache, and some of the families would have two. These caches would be used sometimes for two or three years, but after a time the posts would become worm-eaten or the rain get in and if the cache was not repaired, as it occasionally was, a new one would be built close beside it and the old one taken for other uses to be described. In the cache was kept the winter supply of corn, dried meat and other provisions and the gala dresses and ornaments of various kinds. These were kept in parfleche packs; also the sacred articles, such as medicine bags, or sacred bowls, etc. When a village was attacked it was always considered important to try and burn the caches. Fire was put in the cache and the articles consumed in the hole; sometimes they were only charred. A malicious person having a grudge would sometimes take revenge by burning a cache.

The old caches were used for ash-pits. The accumulations of ashes in the center fireplace (a circular depression in the center of the lodge) would be cleared, and the ashes thrown in the pit. So also the bones and refuse of eating, and of feasts, and the broken implements and weapons, worn-out moccasins, and other articles. When the pit was filled up it was closed over and another one taken. The sites of the old villages are honeycombed with these caches, the Indians say, and I am invited to examine them if I like, the Indians laughing heartily at my queer curiosity.

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Squier, *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. ii, p. 12 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thomas, *Twelfth Report Bureau American Ethnology*, p. 32 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. iii, pp. 357, 358.



## HEARTHES AND OTHER REMAINS

**Hearths and Fire Places.** J. R. Swanton says in his report:

Hearths are formed by a few stones laid side by side. They were usually a foot to a foot and a half in depth and two to three feet in diameter, though the outline was by no means always circular.

Mr. Swanton excavated thirteen of these hearths or fire places, R. E. Merwin describes four, and B. W. Merwin two. Dr. Metz apparently did not distinguish the hearths from the shallower cache-pits. From the number of burned stones which he, in contrast with the other excavators, describes as found in the cache-pits, it seems clear that the earlier inhabitants of the village often dumped their hearth stones with their ashes into the cache-pits at the end of the season, and that they often used the depressions in the earth, caused by partially filled cache-pits, as hearths.

The following discovery described by Dr. Metz is certainly a hearth:

*Monday, March 31, 1879.* Under the leaf mould I discovered a circular layer of ashes 4 inches deep and below it were burnt limestones and bowlders. Below these was a layer of mussel shells (*unio*) 3 inches thick. Below the shells a large round bowlder upon which rested an elliptical flint instrument, 3 inches long. The bowlder rested upon a layer of sand 8 inches deep, and on the clay partially covered by the sand and at a total depth of 2½ feet were two large prongs of elkhorn.

R. E. Merwin describes as follows certain of the hearths explored by him:

**Hearth 1, Trench A**

Depth of top of rocks below surface of ground, 13 in.

Total depth of depression, 25 in.

Depth of depression below surface of hard-pan, 6 in.

The depression or pit was of irregular shape being 5 ft. 2 in. long, and 3 ft. 9 in. at its widest part. Throughout the pit charred wood was found in great abundance. Within the pit and resting on the hard-pan were arranged irregular pieces of limestone varying in size from 1 inch in diameter to 10 inches, and also a number of pieces of sandstone. These stones showed action of fire as did the floor and walls of the pit. No charred animal bones were found or any artifacts. One potsherd was found above the pile in the loam 5 inches below the surface.

**Hearth I, Trench B**

Total depth below surface, 2 ft. 7 in.

Depth below surface of hard-pan, 5 in.

Leaf mould, 3 in.

Diameter, 23½ in.

This was a saucer-like depression in the hard-pan. The sides were not burnt. Four inches above hard-pan was a layer of large unburnt rocks, below this a stratum of black earth mixed with ashes. In this were found the fragments of the skull of a bear and a few fragmentary animal bones. Two inches below surface of hard-pan was a layer of burnt clay 1 inch thick, and below it was black earth with a great amount of ashes. All of the following finds in this stratum were burnt: a large potsherd, 6 grains of corn, fragmentary animal bones, and a burnt clay ball.

Mr. Swanton distinguishes between hearths and fire places. The latter he defines as " areas on the surface of the hard-pan where the soil had been reddened by fire."

There was a great variation in the size and shape of these areas. . . . Usually such fire places seemed to bear no definite relation to ash-pits or burials, though there may be an exception in the case of skeleton IV, 27, which lay over a stratum of charcoal covering a layer of red earth, probably a fire place. Ash-pit IV, 10 was surrounded by fire place 23. To the uniformity and apparent absence of importance of these fire places we must except fire places 29, 36, and 37, Trench IV. Fire place 29 from its singular shape and the peculiarity of its contents and surroundings I have ventured to call an altar. It bears some resemblance to the altars found at the Turner Group of mounds higher up the Little Miami River. This altar was a small saucer-like depression in the surface of the hard-pan, baked red by fire and filled with very fine white ashes. Its depth below the surface was 2 ft. 10 in. and its diameter 1 ft. 9 in. The depth of the hollow forming this altar was 7 inches. The head of skeleton IV, 30, lay beside this altar, and ash-pit IV, 26, was a short distance off. Fire place 36 was similar to the others except that it was connected with the altar and unlike other fire places, pieces of a pot or of pots were found imbedded in the discolored soil. This discolored soil was about 2 inches in thickness. Fire place 37 also in all probability had something to do with the altar, but it was not directly connected with it.

The present writer feels that the evidence upon which Mr. Swanton based his opinion that fire place 36 was an " altar " is insufficient.

B. W. Merwin found two of these burnt places in Trench E. It seems probable that these fire places and hearths mark the site of habitations or camp-fires.

**Post-holes.** Mr. Swanton writes in his report:

Under the general name of "post-holes" I have catalogued many ~~lit-~~ excavations too small for cache-pits, and of rather doubtful significance. These were usually one to two feet in diameter, by from two to four feet ~~in~~ depth, running one or two feet into the hard-pan. Their contents were ~~very~~ insignificant — a bed of ashes, some charcoal, a few bones, a little charred ~~wood~~, a few limestone pebbles, and a celt or two being about all that was ~~dis-~~covered. The pits containing charred wood may really have been post-holes. No one can tell about the others.

Dr. Metz probably did not distinguish these "post-holes" from cache-pits. Mr. Swanton records about a dozen of them, R. E. Merwin 30, B. W. Merwin 25. They were evidently found for the most part in the northeastern portion of the cemetery, and especially in Trench F and Trench I. The majority of them contained nothing but mixed earth and charred wood. Those reported by R. E. Merwin varied from 6 inches to 11 inches in diameter, averaging about 8 inches, the depths being from 2½ to 3 feet. They are therefore smaller than those reported by Mr. Swanton. Those excavated by B. W. Merwin were of similar dimensions but with a slightly larger range in diameter and depth. Sometimes there were a few bones, potsherds, stones, and ashes in them.

It seems probable that many of these "post-holes" of small diameter, were, as Mr. Swanton suggests, actually what the name implies. Some of the larger ones may have been small cache-pits, but they were usually unstratified.

**Kitchen-middens.** Dr. Metz discovered two kitchen-middens in the course of his work in the cemetery. The first of these he describes in his notes as follows:

March 20 to April 1, 1880

Work in the kitchen-midden was continued until April 1, and having reached the head of the ravine, it was deemed advisable to abandon further excavations at this point for the present. This deposit of kitchen refuse extended 34½ feet across the head of a ravine on the west side of the plateau, averaging in depth 6 to 7 feet, and was made up of irregular deposits of ashes, charcoal and sand, animal remains, unio shells, and sherds.

This midden also yielded a few burials and cache-pits, and many artifacts. On April 2, a second kitchen-midden was discovered on the eastern edge of the plateau. This is evidently the one subsequently explored by R. E. Merwin in 1907.

Mr. Swanton excavated a kitchen-midden in his portion of the cemetery which occupied a depression running east and west.

The width of this midden was about thirty feet; its length, as far as traced about seventy, though it ran a considerable distance further east. In the deepest place this kitchen-midden measured about four feet, shallowing gradually on each side. The average depth may have been about three feet. The soil composing this kitchen-midden was dark and rich and similar to the forest mould, except that layers of ashes were very common, often extending to the very bottom. A great deal of charcoal was scattered throughout but the proportion of animal bones was comparatively meager. Flints and flint points were common and so many small articles of interest were discovered that it was found advisable to pass all the earth through screens.

The kitchen-midden explored by R. E. Merwin near Trench C had been formed by filling up a small ravine with refuse. He states that it was about 40 feet long, 8 to 12 feet wide, and varied in depth from 3 feet 6 inches to 5 feet. The following is a list of the objects found in this refuse heap:

Human mandible, 1	Antler blades, 9
Human patella, 1	Fragments of bone fish-hooks, 2
Perforated shells, 30	Bone awls, 12
Stone celts, 3.	Bone awls (fragmentary), 12
Stone celts (fragmentary), 2	Notched bone awl, 1
Worked stones, 3	Fragmentary bone scrapers, 48
Sharpening stones, 21	Perforated bone (4 holes), 1
Flint points, 23	Notched bones, 2
Flint knives, 3	Notched antler, 1
Flint scrapers, 4	Grooved hammerstone, 1
Flint rejects, 21	Stone implements, 2
Bone cylinders, 12	Shell object, 1
Bone bead, 1	Piece cannel coal, 1
Worked antler tips, 23	Reject antler points, 2
Worked antlers, 29	

Mr. B. W. Merwin also explored a kitchen-midden in the ravine, running north and south. This midden had the following section:

Leaf mould, 10 in.	Ashes, 4 ft. 3 in.
Black dirt, 1 ft. 10 in.	Black dirt and ashes, 5 ft. 1 in.
Ashes and black dirt, 2 ft. 4 in.	Black dirt and clay, 7 ft. 7 in.
Clay, 3 ft. 2 in.	

Most of the specimens in this midden were found in the ashes at depths varying from 3 feet 2 inches to 4 feet 3 inches.

**House Circles.** Before the existence of the cemetery on this site was known, Dr. Metz in his survey of the monuments of the region had recorded the existence of a number of circular depressions on the Stites property on the northeastern portion of the plateau. On June 24, 25, 26, four of these circles were investigated by him, by running trenches 3 to 5 feet wide through their centers.

In one of these was found a bed of ashes 20 inches below the surface, containing potsherds, animal remains, and charcoal. Near the edges of the depressions were found an occasional implement or arrowpoint.

When Professor Putnam visited the site in May, 1882, he excavated four more of these circles (plate 30). The following are extracts from his note-book:

May 6, 1882. Circle No. 1

Trench started north and south. Outside to outside of circle 43 feet. At southern end of trench numerous animal bones, burnt limestones, unio shells, and potsherds in the leaf mould. Also a worked antler tip and several flint chips, a rude hoe (?), and on the clay or an inch or two below its surface was a rude grooved axe.

In the center of the circle lying on the clay we came to a layer of stones. Took the stones up and found ashes and charcoal and burnt clay under them. This was a fire place. Leaf mould  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet at north end, 2 feet in center and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet at south end of trench. At the north end of the ditch were many small burnt stones, a very few animal bones, and a few unio shells. In the central portion were a number of potsherds, clam shells, two broken flints, a broken flat stone with hole (gorget). The central ditch was run to the east. Finished the trenches but found nothing else of importance.

The fire place in the center was on the clay and there is every reason to believe that the floor of the house was hard clay. Now the question is how much of the leaf mould was in existence at the time the house was occupied? The two feet in the center over the fire stones has certainly formed since the house went to decay. How much have the earth worms done here? In digging the trenches very few worms were found, probably not over a dozen or twenty in the whole day's work of three men.

May 8. Circle No. 2 about 60 ft. northwest of No. 1.

Trench runs northeast to southwest. In the center under 6 inches of leaf mould was a bed of ashes 4 inches deep, about 5 feet in diameter. Ashes were fresh and comparatively recent. Under the ashes was 17 inches of leaf mould. To the south of the center were several bricks, a few inches in the leaf mould. It was evident that there had been some recent white man's work on the site of the circle, probably a sugar boiling camp. A few animal bones and a few potsherds, and several flint chips were found. On clearing out under the recent ash-bed we came to about 2 inches of very black old ashes on the

surface of the clay 17 inches from the surface of the leaf mould. In this bed of ashes were a few flint chips and fragments of pottery. The only thing found in the recent upper bed was a fragment of pressed brick showing its recent origin.

Circle 3 was about 40 feet south of 1. It consisted of an embankment 9 feet in width and had a diameter of 43 feet inside the embankment. Number 4 consisted of an embankment 12 feet wide which adjoined that of 3 on the southeastern side. The diameter from outside to outside was 58 feet. These circles yielded finds similar to those above described.

These circles certainly are the remains of houses or huts. As has been pointed out above it seems probable that these were the habitations of the later dwellers on the site, since the successive villages seem to have moved from the southwestern portion of the plateau in a northeasterly direction, probably owing to the accumulation of debris on the site and the large number of burials.



## ARTIFACTS FROM THE SITE

BY CHARLES C. WILLOUGHBY

**General Distribution of Types.** In studying the artifacts from this site, it should be remembered that most of them are of types used at the time of, or immediately preceding, the first intercourse of the northeastern Indians with Europeans. Perhaps the most distinctive stone implements are the mullers or pestles having a flat expanded base, the discoidal stones, and the chipped adze blades. Broadly speaking, these three types are characteristic of an area enclosed by a circle about five hundred miles in diameter, with its center near Louisville, Kentucky, and taking in the greater portion of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee. It is almost wholly within the Algonquian and Iroquoian areas.

The distribution of certain types of shell objects from the site is probably about the same. On the other hand, most of the ordinary forms of stone implements and shell ornaments have, of course, a much wider range.

So far as the distribution of the rarer types of antler and bone objects is concerned, but little data outside of Ohio are available for comparison. Probably the most distinctive and least widely ranging group of artifacts is the pottery. The group seems to be confined principally to southern Ohio and certain portions of Indiana and Kentucky.

**Knives and the Larger Projectile Points.** On plate 5 are illustrated most of the forms of flint knives recovered from the cache-pits and general refuse. It is, of course, possible that some of these may be projectile points, but the greater number were probably knife blades which were hafted in short wooden handles and were employed in the manifold uses to which the implement is adapted. In looking over the large number of tools made of antler, and the chips and refuse pieces of this material found everywhere upon this site, abundant evidence is shown of the efficiency of the flint knife as a cutting implement.



Perhaps the most interesting example in the collection is shown at k. This is made of white flint, and the broad blade, comprising the upper one-fourth of the implement, is thin and beautifully chipped to a sharp cutting edge. Its lower three-fourths forms the handle, which was undoubtedly wrapped with buckskin or similar material as a protection to the hand.

The knife or scraper figured in n, is of the uncommon beveled type. It is a little less than half an inch thick, with an abrupt chisel-like bevel at the left of the side shown in the drawing, and it also has the usual corresponding bevel upon the other side of the opposite face.

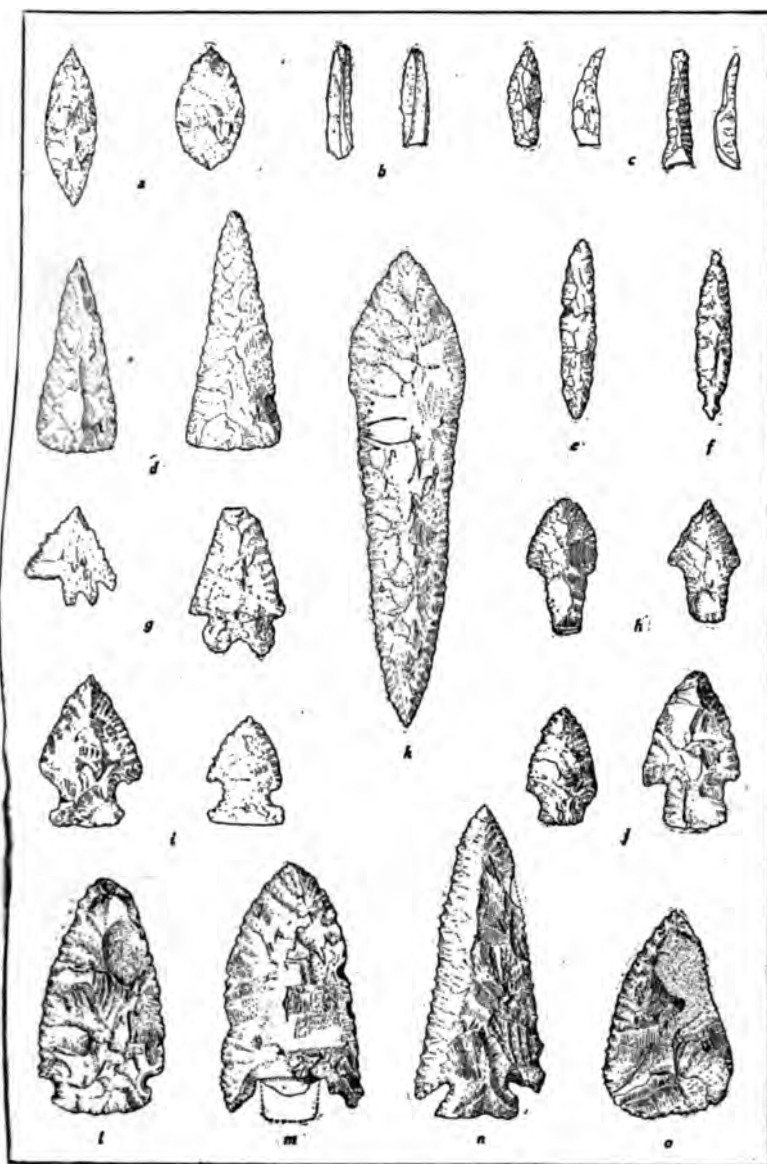
Nearly all knives of this type have the bevel upon the left side when held with the base toward the observer. The reason for this seems obvious, when we remember that most Indians are right-handed, and in using the modern steel curved knife draw the blade toward them in cutting. Experiments show that this form of flint blade with its wide-angled serrated edge is especially useful in working wood.

Very few of the larger blades, such as are illustrated in l, m, o, were found.

It is possible that m may have been a spear point, as the shank, which is broken off, seems to have been somewhat narrow for the attachment of a suitable knife handle.

The more ordinary forms of knife blades, such as are illustrated in g, h, i, j, with their broad strong shanks for the attachment of hafts, were fairly common, as were also the thin finely chipped leaf-shaped blades (a) which were probably employed in more delicate work, such as flaying and cutting up animals, cutting out buckskin garments, etc., for which they are especially adapted.

In the *American Naturalist* for January, 1902, the present writer figured and described ten prehistoric hafted flint knives from the cliff-houses and burial caves of the Southwest. The following forms shown on plate 5 were represented: triangular (d), leaf-shaped (a), stemmed (h, j), and notched (i). These were secured to the handles in most cases with a cement made of gum. In one instance the cement was reinforced with twine wrapping, and in another example the notched blade was fastened with sinew. In two instances the blade was set at a considerable angle to the handle. One of the specimens resembled a pocket knife somewhat more than half



MADISONVILLE SITE  
Knives, projectile points and scrapers. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



open. In the Mexican collection of the Museum are eight prehistoric hafted blades of the leaf-shaped and triangular types, about two and a half to seven inches long, with handles ranging about five to seven inches, which illustrate the manner of hafting the larger chipped implements of these forms. The blades were secured to the handles with gum only.

Very few of the sharp edged flaked knives, shown in b, were found during the explorations. The making of these required exceptional skill, and they were used necessarily for the most delicate work, such as cutting hair and thin dressed skin and trimming feathers, for the edge is very easily dulled.

A considerable number of the ordinary flint rejects and chips were recovered such as are nearly always found upon Indian village sites, but there is no indication that chipped implements were manufactured here in unusual quantities.

**Arrowmaker's Tools.** On plate 6, a-g, are shown several flint-working punches of antler. A considerable number of these were obtained, the majority being about one and a half inches long and three-eighths of an inch in diameter. A few, however, were larger. These were used undoubtedly with a hammer of stone or hard wood, in flaking suitable pieces of flint from large masses, and for the roughing out of blades and projectile points. In a number of specimens, one end is battered or split from repeated blows of the hammer. Unlike the ordinary antler flakers used in finishing blades by pressure, the ends of these punches are nearly always symmetrically rounded.

A piece of antler from which punches have been cut is shown in h. The antler was worked into a rod several inches long, with an unworked portion at one end for a handle. The rod was then cut into sections. Many of these refuse pieces were found in the debris.

In the accounts of the process of flint chipping by the Indians there are few references to the punch and hammer. It is apparent, however, that their use was wide-spread as a preliminary process to the final pressure flaking by the ordinary antler tools with special working ends. In the collections of the Museum there are examples of these punches from the village sites in other sections of Ohio, from the Iroquoian sites in New York, one good specimen from a Maine shell-heap, and a number from various places in the Mississippi Valley.

Catlin, in describing the process of arrowmaking among the Apache, says that the flint to be worked was placed in the left hand where it was firmly held by two or more fingers. The punch was grasped between the thumb and two fingers of the right hand, and a coöperator sitting in front with a mallet of very hard wood struck the punch upon its upper end. Both the holder and striker sang, and the strokes of the mallet were given in time with the music.<sup>1</sup> This apparently refers to the blocking out of suitable pieces for finishing by pressure flaking.

In his illuminating paper on Yahi archery<sup>2</sup> Dr. Pope gives an interesting description of Ishi's method of making arrowpoints.

A boulder of obsidian was shattered by throwing a rock upon it. The chunks thus obtained were broken into smaller size by holding a short segment of deer horn or piece of bone against a projecting surface, and smartly striking it a glancing blow with a stone. The resulting flakes of obsidian best suited for arrow heads were roughly three inches long, an inch and a half wide, and half an inch thick.

These were chipped into arrowpoints with the aid of the ordinary pressure flaker of antler.

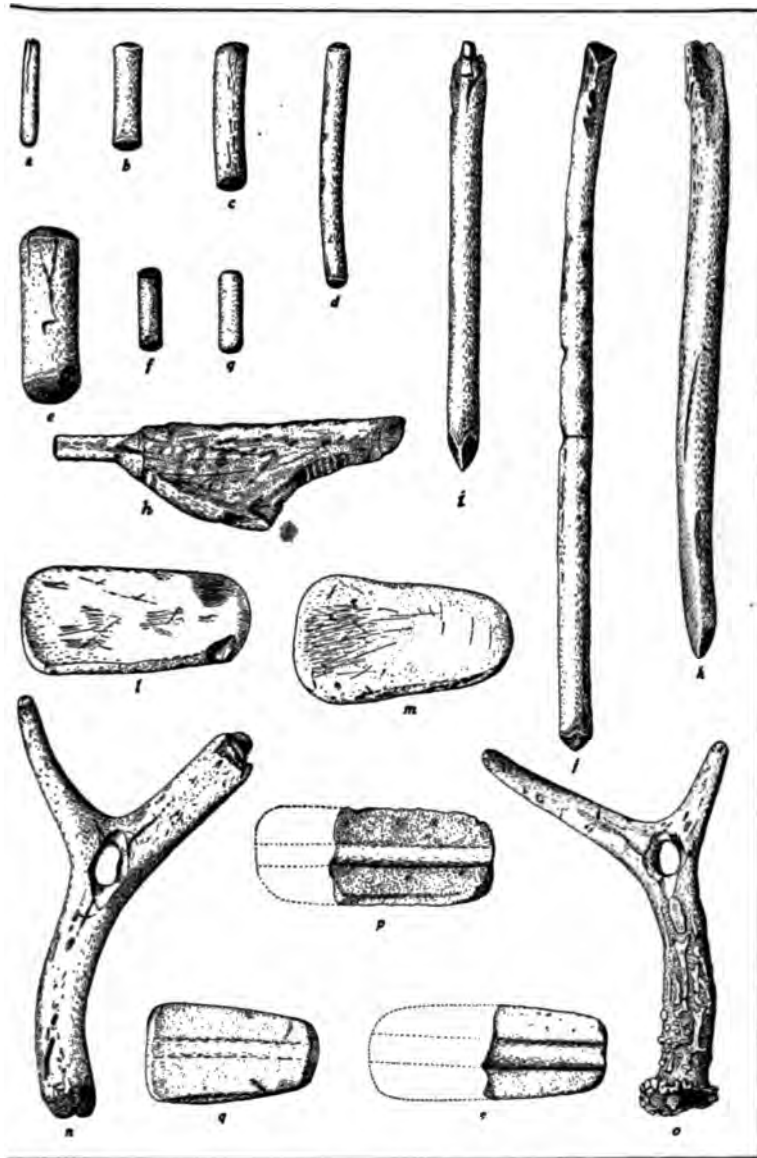
The longer pressure flakers were much less common on this site than the punches. Three of these, made of antler, are shown in plate 6, i, j, k. Their lower ends are specially formed for the kind of work required. They were used in the more delicate flaking necessary in finishing the finer blades and points. These long flakers may have been used without a haft, but some of the shorter ones of the same type from existing tribes are fastened to handles of varying lengths, some of which are long enough to allow the free end to be held between the arm and body of the worker.

The relatively large number of the short antler punches found in comparison with the long pressure flakers (the ratio being roughly about one hundred to one) would seem to indicate that the smaller punches may have been used in the final flaking of at least a considerable portion of the coarser chipped implements.

Figures l, m, plate 6, represent examples of a certain group of stones, showing abrasions and other marks of use, which probably served in preparing sinew and perhaps as hammers for antler

<sup>1</sup> George Catlin, *Last Rambles*, pp. 184-185.

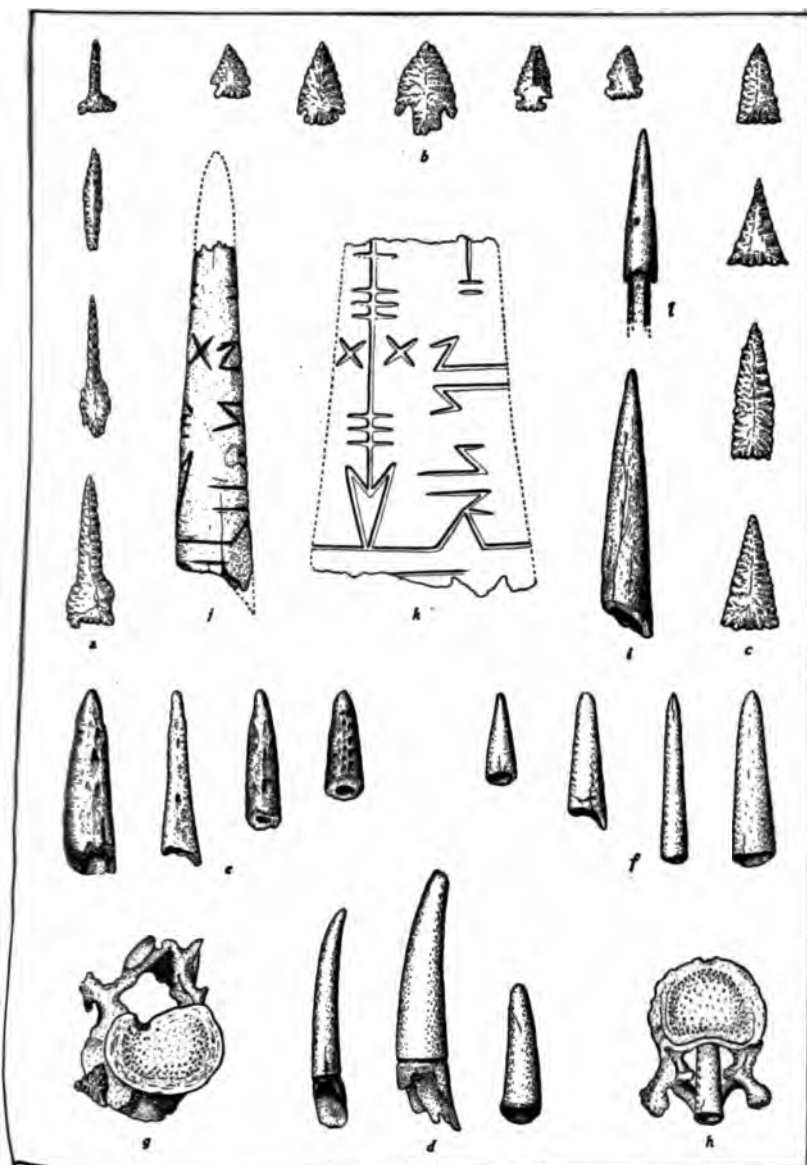
<sup>2</sup> Saxton T. Pope, *Yahi Archery*, Univ. of Calif. Publications, Amer. Arch. and Eth., vol. xiii, pp. 116-117, and plate 27.



## MADISONVILLE SITE

Arrowmaker's tools; a-g, Flint-working punches of antler; h, worked antler from which a punch has been cut; i-k, Antler tools for pressure flaking; l, m, Arrowmaker's stones; n, o, Arrowshaft wrenches; p-r, Arrowshaft finishers. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)





## MADISONVILLE SITE

a, Flint points for drills; b, c, Flint arrowpoints; e, Unfinished arrowpoints of deer antler; f, i, Finished arrowpoints of antler; d, Tip of antler from which arrowpoints are made; j, Spear point of antler with incised decoration; k, Design incised upon j; g, Flint arrowpoint embedded in human vertebra; h, Antler arrowpoint embedded in human vertebra from a grave at Turpin's Farm, near Madisonville; l, Antler point on very old arrow from the southeastern Indians. (About 1.)





punches in arrowmaking. Stones of like character were found with three arrowmaking outfits in Iroquoian graves during the Peabody Museum explorations in western New York.

On the same plate, n, o, are shown two arrowshaft straighteners of antler. These were used in preparing the twigs out of which the shafts were made. The twig was heated and passed through the hole in the implement which was used as a wrench or lever to straighten its bends and irregularities. Arrowshaft straighteners of wood, horn, and ivory, from the Eskimo, Athapascan, Shoshonean and other tribes are in the collections of the Museum. In this connection it is interesting to note the resemblance of these Madisonville implements to the so-called "bâtons de commandement" of the French caves, some of which were probably used to straighten the shafts of arrows or darts. The end of the small tine of the straightener, shown in n, is rounded and smooth and has evidently been used as a flaker.

Specimens of the typical sandstone arrowshaft smoothers or finishers are illustrated in p, q, r. Most of the examples found were fragments. In use, the shaft was drawn through the grooves of a pair of these stones held faces together in the hand.

**Arrowpoints.** Plate 7, f, shows four specimens illustrating the range in size and form of the antler arrowpoints, which are relatively abundant on this site. Those having a barb are comparatively rare. A number of unfinished points were recovered which illustrate clearly the process of making. In d, are figured two antler tips which have been encircled by a groove and then broken off. These were evidently cast aside for the reason that it would involve more labor to cut away the broken portion below the groove, than to groove another tine and break it squarely off as in the third example. After detachment the tip was trimmed down and shaped as illustrated in e, probably with a beaver tooth chisel or flint knife, then drilled and finished by grinding or scraping.

These points have a wide distribution and were used over a considerable portion of the central and eastern United States. Beautiful examples are in the collections of the Museum from the Ohio burial mounds, and also on very old historic arrows from the southeastern Indians. One of the latter is figured in l.

An antler point of this type embedded in the vertebra of a human skeleton is shown in h. This was taken from a grave at

Turpin's Farm not far from Madisonville. The Indian had been shot from behind.

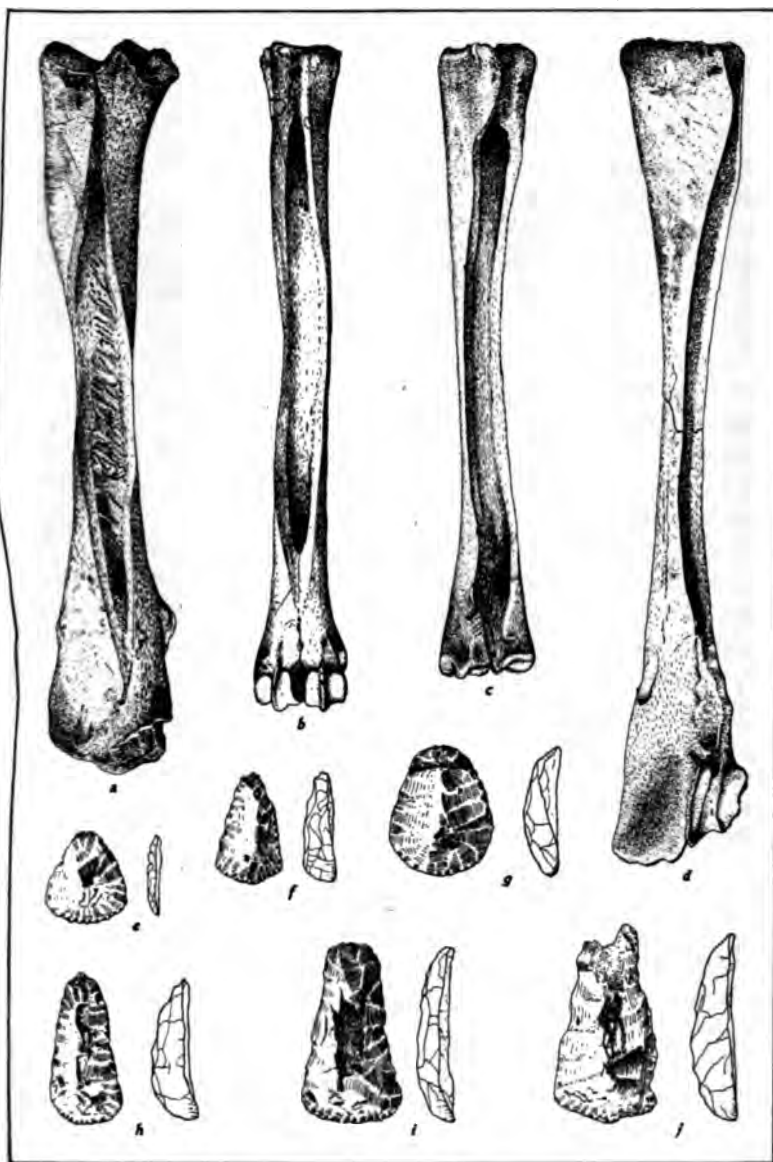
The point figured in i, seems to be too large for an arrow and it may have been used on a small spear. Only a very few as large as this were found. The specimen illustrated in j, however, is undoubtedly a spear point. The design shown in k, consisting of crosses, zigzag lines, and what seems to be an inverted spear with ornamented shaft and large head, is cut upon it in incised lines. This is from a cache-pit in Trench H.

So far as can be judged from the specimens collected, the triangular flint points of the type illustrated in c, seem to have been the favorite among these Indians, although the antler points above described were nearly as common. They are made mostly from a yellowish gray flint of various shades and are quite delicately chipped. This form was also the favorite among the Iroquoian tribes. A vertebra of a skeleton from Trench D with one of these points embedded in the bone is shown in g.

Very few notched or stemmed arrowpoints were recovered. Some of these are illustrated in b. One cannot be certain, however, that all were used as points for arrows, although most of them probably were, as they seem too small for knives, and the width of the bases between the notches is not sufficient for the attachment of a practical knife handle.

**Flint Drills.** Several flint drills are represented in a, of this plate. A considerable number of these were obtained from the cache-pits and general debris.

A few drills of like form, hafted in wooden handles, have been taken from cliff-houses and burial caves in the Southwest, which indicate in general the probable method of hafting the Madisonville specimens. The most common way seems to have been to insert the broad end of the drill into a notch in one end of a handle six or eight inches in length, where it was secured with pitch and twine wrappings. This handle or shaft was twirled between the hands, or with the aid of some mechanical contrivance like the bow, which was in use for this purpose in the Southwest previous to the arrival of the Whites. Another method is shown by a specimen from Colorado. A short stick was split through the center, and the broad face of the drill was placed between the two pieces at about equal distance from the opposite ends, with the drill



MADISONVILLE SITE

a, Beaming tool made from the femur of the puma; b, c, Beaming tools made from the cannon bones of the deer; d, Beaming tool made from the spinal process of the buffalo; e-j, Flint scrapers. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



point projecting at right angles to the length of the stick. The two halves of the handle were then bound securely together. In use the handle must have been grasped with the drill projecting between the two middle fingers.

**Skin-dressing Tools.** On plate 8 are illustrated four bone beamers for removing the hair from skins which were first made wet and folded, or left in a pile until the hair became loosened by fermentation. The skin was then thrown hair-side uppermost over a rounded piece of wood or section of tree trunk. The beamer was seized with one end in each hand, and applied to that portion of the skin lying over the beam. A light scraping with the sharp edges of the tool rendered the skin clean and free from hair. By far the greater number of beamers were made from the cannon bones of the deer. Two of these are shown in b, c. Fragments of several hundred of these were obtained. They were usually broken near the middle as this was the thinnest and most fragile part of the tool. Only a comparatively small number of unbroken ones were recovered. Among these are a few which are unfinished and clearly show the process of making. One method was to widen and deepen the natural longitudinal groove on the broad face of the bone, probably with the rounded edge of a flint scraper, until the required sharp edges upon either side were produced. Another was to cut a longitudinal slit through the wall and scrape away the bone upon either side until the proper edges were formed.

As the edges became dulled by use they were again sharpened by scraping, and the process was repeated until, in many instances, the middle of the tool became so weakened that it apparently broke in use and was thrown aside.

Another favorite bone from which beamers were made was the long spinal process of the buffalo (d). These were less common than those made from deer bones. Fragments of sixty or seventy were recovered, together with a few perfect ones. Their length ranged from about eleven to sixteen inches. Other bones of the buffalo were rarely found in the refuse.

It is probable that during the occupation of this site, buffalo were not uncommon in the section of the Little Miami Valley which the village overlooked. If they were hunted to any great extent, however, the Indians evidently brought the meat to the village upon the headland, leaving most of the bones, excepting such as were

selected for the making of implements, in the valley. Zeisberger,<sup>1</sup> who wrote in 1780, says the buffalo at that time were found near the mouth of the Muskingum, and were reported in considerable numbers along the Scioto.

Judging from the large number of bones of the deer in the refuse of the site, it seems to have been the favorite food animal of these Indians.

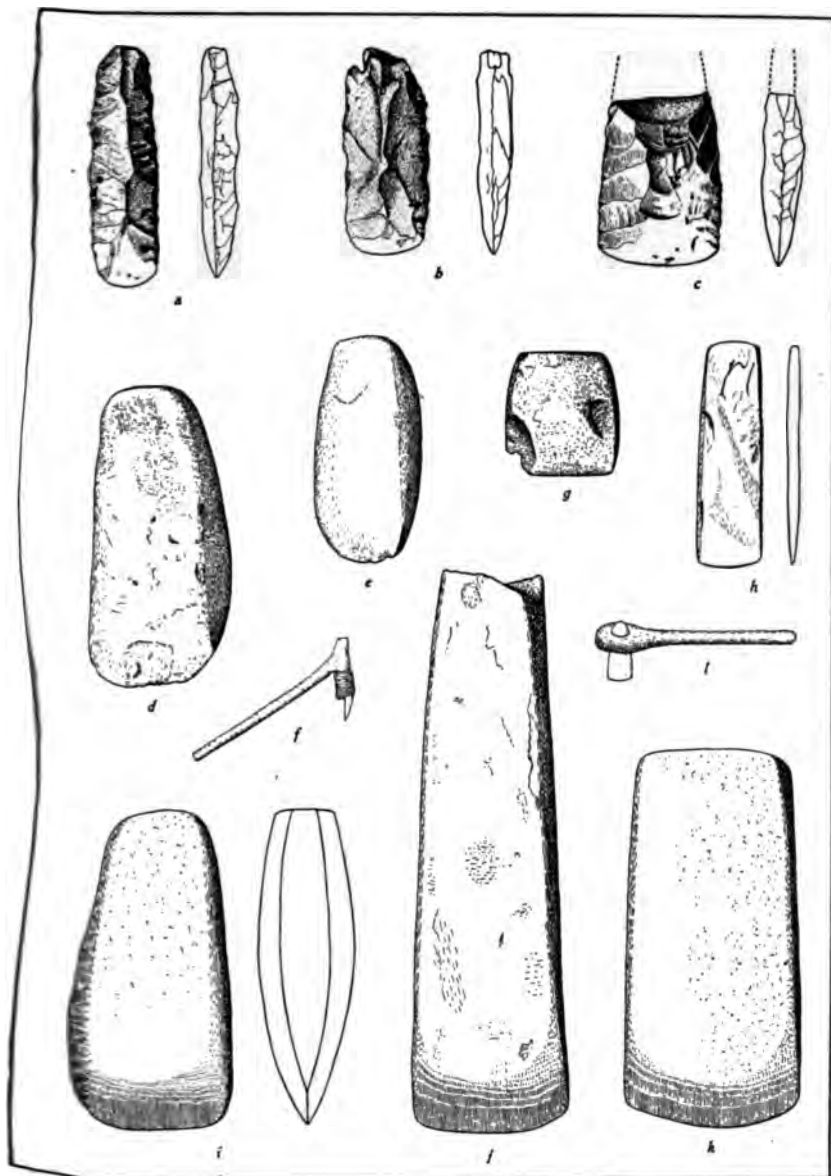
A very few beamers were obtained wrought from the larger leg bones of the deer and elk. The example shown in a, is made from a femur of the puma.

The more essential tools employed in skin-dressing are the beamers above described, and the scraper or "grainer," which is used for removing from the inner side of the skin the adherent fat and skin muscles, and also for "graining" or softening the skin as it dries. Various kinds of these instruments were in use by Indians in general. They were often made of the tibia of the deer, cut to a chisel-shaped edge which was notched or serrated to render it more efficient. This seems to be a much more practical tool than the adze-like scrapers with smooth edges used for this purpose by some of the tribes of the Plains region. There is no evidence, however, that the people of this site used a bone "grainer" of this form. Another and equally effective tool of chipped flint seems to have been preferred.

One of the most effective skin-scrapers employed in recent times by the Eskimo, but now abandoned among tribes who have lost the art of stone chipping, is the form shown on plate 8, e-j. Among the Eskimo they were usually hafted in short wooden handles elaborately wrought to fit the hand perfectly. They were also sometimes hafted in ordinary straight handles.

Flint blades of this form with their scraping edges often beautifully serrated were recovered in large numbers from the general refuse of this site. They were probably hafted by inserting their narrower ends into straight wooden handles, and were doubtless used largely in skin-dressing, but were probably also employed in working bone and wood. It is not improbable that certain types of antler blades (plate 14, e, f) may also have been used as skin-scrapers.

<sup>1</sup> David Zeisberger, *History of the Northern American Indians*, p. 59.



MADISONVILLE SITE

a-c, Chipped flint adze blades ground near the cutting edge; d, e, Adze blades; g, Hematite blade; h, Small slate blade or chisel; i-k, Grooveless axes. (About 1/2.) The adze blades were probably hafted as shown in f, the grooveless axes as in l.





Chipped scrapers of erratic shapes, such as occur in most collections, examples of which are shown on plate 5, c, were very rare. Only about a dozen were found during the explorations by the Museum.

**Grooveless Stone Axes.** Perhaps the most highly developed stone implements from this site are the grooveless axes made of very compact varieties of stone, the majority being carefully formed and polished. Most of these were obtained from cache-pits. Three are illustrated in plate 9, i, j, k, and the common method of hafting is shown in l. Sometimes the shorter blades of this type were set into a hole which did not pass through the handle; but in the majority of cases the haft was perforated and the upper end of the blade projected, as is conclusively shown by five prehistoric examples in their original handles which have been taken from the beds of streams in the Iroquoian and Algonquian areas. In the sixth hafted specimen known to the writer, the blade is set into a hole which does not perforate the handle.

The larger grooveless axes were probably used principally as implements for cutting wood, both with and without the aid of fire, while the smaller specimens may have been employed both as implements and weapons. Most references to stone axes among the Indians by the earlier writers probably relate to the grooveless type. In New England a few were in use in the first half of the Seventeenth Century. Johnson in 1654 refers evidently to this form as follows: "They had a small number of Mawhawks [tomahawks] Hammers, which are made of stone having a long pike on one side and a hole in the handle which they tye about their wrists."<sup>1</sup>

Gookin refers to "tomahawks made of wood like a poleaxe with a sharpened stone fastened therein."<sup>2</sup> And Williams says that trees were felled with a "stone set in a wooden haft."<sup>3</sup>

As the grooveless axe was evidently highly prized by the occupants of the Madisonville site, it undoubtedly continued in use till replaced by iron blades similar to those illustrated on plate 18, o-r. Very few small stone blades of this class were recovered during the exploration. One of hematite, typical of the miniature axes of this material from Ohio and the neighboring region, is figured (g). This was found in a cache-pit.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Johnson, *A History of New England*, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections*, Mass. Hist. Coll. 1st S. Repr. 1859, vol. i, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Williams, *Key into the Language of America*, R. I. Hist. Coll., vol. i, p. 130.

So far as the explorations of the Museum show, the grooved axe was unknown to the occupants of this site.

**Stone Adze Blades.** Very few stone adze blades were recovered. They seem to have held a subordinate place among the implements of this people. The antler blades so common here may have served their needs as well. They certainly were more quickly fashioned and there was an abundance of material from which to make them.

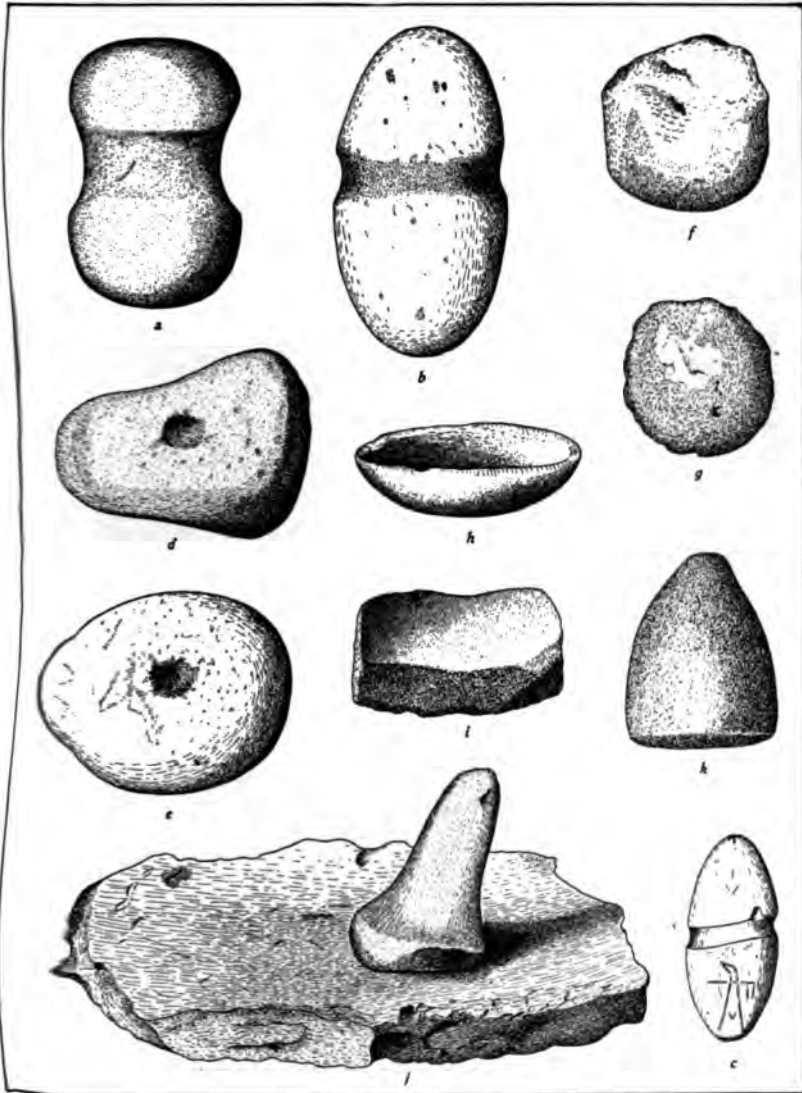
A few chipped stone adzes polished near the cutting edge were found, nearly all from cache-pits. These belong to a type much more common in the region of the lower Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, than in the north. Three are illustrated on plate 9, a—c. They are made of a cream-colored chert or flint. The one shown in a, was found with a skeleton.

Two adze blades of polished stone of the ordinary form are figured in d and e. The larger of the two lay near the right femur of a skeleton in Trench D. The probable method of hafting these implements is shown in f. A small and finely finished blade of compact slate carefully polished is illustrated in h. This was probably used with the aid of fire in making the finer perishable objects of wood which were undoubtedly common among the people, and which the fragment of wooden food bowl, figured in e, plate 21, will serve to illustrate.

**Anvils, Hammer-stones, and Grinding Stones.** Thomas Hariot, writing of the Virginia Indians in 1587, tells us that each household had stones for cracking nuts and for grinding shell and other materials.<sup>1</sup> This statement would doubtless be equally true if applied at that time to almost any tribe inhabiting the section east of the Mississippi.

Anvils, hammer-stones, and stones for grinding were very abundant on the site under consideration, and must have been common objects in all of the houses. The anvils, or pitted stones, as they are more commonly called, were of the type usually abundant on old village sites. Two of them are illustrated on plate 10, d, e. These stones vary considerably, some of them being much larger than the ones illustrated. Their form and size were, of course, determined by the water-worn stones from which they are made, for they are usually unmodified save for the depression pecked

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, Holbein edition, p. 25.



MADISONVILLE SITE

a, b, c, Grooved club heads; d, e, Anvils or pitted stones; f, g, Hammer-stones; h, i, Mortars or stones for grinding; j, Grinding stone and muller; k, Muller. (About 1.)



upon one or both sides. It is generally conceded that these household objects are primarily anvils on which acorns, hickory and other nuts were cracked. The bones of food animals were probably crushed on the larger anvils. They also undoubtedly served for other domestic purposes. Some of the smaller ones are battered along their edges, the result of being used as hand hammers.

A considerable number of the round hammer-stones were found, of the type illustrated in f, g, such as occur upon many of the village sites east of the Mississippi. These are usually made of chert, quartzite or other hard varieties, and are thought to have been used among other purposes for pecking or roughing out various stone implements.

A very large number of fragments of sandstone and limestone were found, with one or more abraded surfaces, which had been used for rasping or grinding in the making of various objects of shell, bone, antler, wood or the softer varieties of stone. In some instances these abrading stones were of special forms, like the grooved fragments of limestone shown on plate 21, f-h, which were evidently designed for finishing cylindrical objects of a nature similar to the shafts of arrows or arrowpoint flakers of antler. Slabs of limestone of various sizes were apparently used for grinding corn, acorns, paint and similar materials, one or both faces being worn smooth, or a depression formed by continued rubbing. Two of these are figured on plate 10, i and j. A shallow stone mortar probably for grinding paint or medicine is represented in h.

The pestles or mullers were mostly of the form shown in j, which is the type generally used by Indians of the Madisonville culture over a large portion of Ohio. Another and rarer form is illustrated in k.

Club heads, of the kind figured in a-c, plate 10, were not uncommon. They usually consist of an oblong pebble unmodified with the exception of the encircling groove, although occasionally one is wrought over nearly the entire surface, and in the case of c, the form is wholly artificial. These, as a rule, show no signs of having been used as mauls; they were probably all club heads, the weapon being similar to the well-known warclub of the Plains tribes.

Several well-finished objects of unknown use with carefully ground faces, and made of compact altered slate were obtained

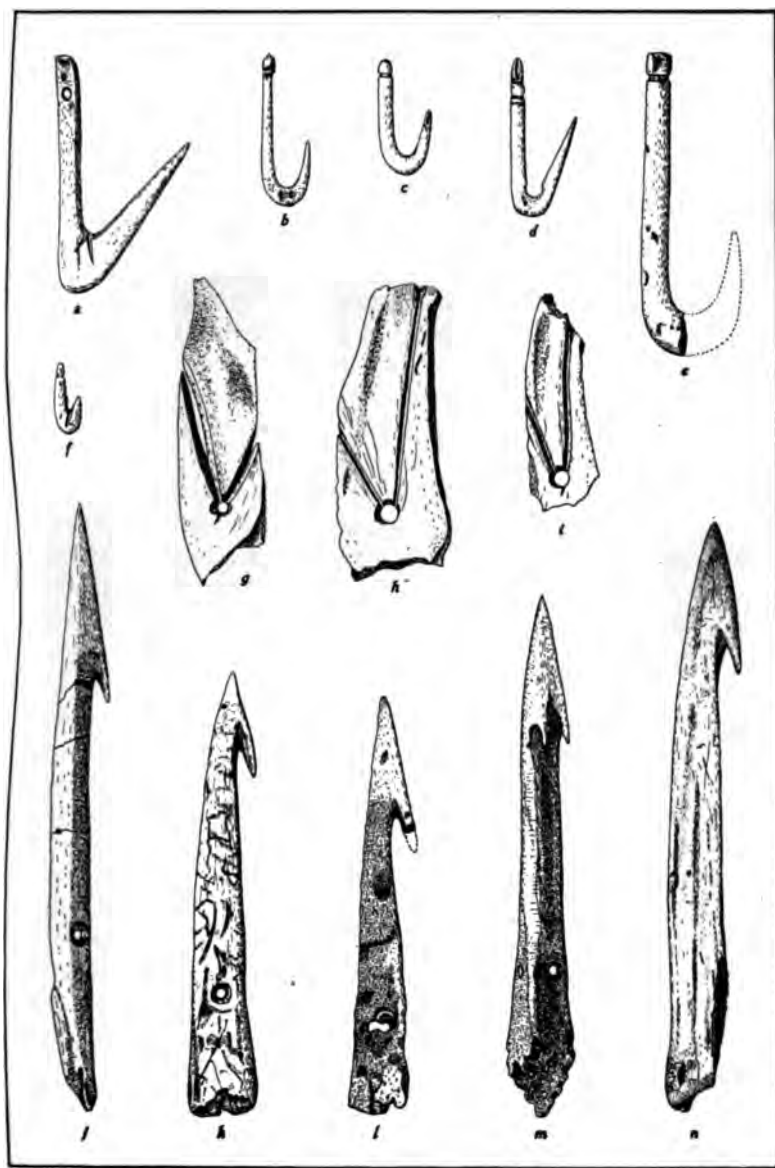
during the exploration. Three of these are figured on plate 21, i-k. They do not seem to have been employed as grinding stones or for preparing sinew. With our present knowledge, no definite use can be assigned to them. Five or six small discoidal stones of the usual type were recovered; two are illustrated in l and m of this plate. The upper one is perforated, and accompanied a skeleton. The one shown in m, was obtained from a cache-pit. They are probably gaming stones, and like the shell gorgets with the characteristic eye markings, seem to connect at least a part of the material culture of this people with that of the tribes more to the south.

The so-called winged ceremonial stones, which form so attractive a group from Ohio, are represented in the collection from this site by a single fragment. This probably belongs to an older culture and doubtless bears no relation to the people under consideration.

**Fishing Implements.** On plate 11, a-f, are illustrated a number of fish hooks made from fragments of the leg bones of deer or other large animals. These are usually grooved near the end of the shank for the attachment of the line. The one shown at a, however, is perforated at this point. Hooks in the process of making are shown in g, h, i. The fragment of bone was perforated near one end, probably with a flint drill, and grooved or cut through with flint knives. The piece was removed between the grooves which intersect at the perforation, and the hook finished by cutting and grinding. The variation in the size of the hooks perhaps indicates the wide range in the species of fish sought. One broken hook was obtained cut from a unio shell.

The harpoon points shown in j-n of this plate are made of antler. Their bases are irregular and do not seem to have been so carefully fitted to the socket in the shaft as is usual among northern tribes. A peculiar feature of the point, m, is the double barb and double perforation for the line. The harpoons, of which these are a part, were probably used principally in taking large fish. Most of these points are from the general refuse of the village site, but one specimen (l) was found with a skeleton.

**Awls and Needles.** Some of the more typical awls and needles are illustrated on plate 12. Mat needles made from deer ribs, such as were probably used principally for sewing together flag leaves in making mats for house coverings, are shown in a-c. Compara-



MADISONVILLE SITE

a-f, Bone fish-hooks; g-i, Unfinished fish-hooks showing process of making; j-n, Harpoon points of antler. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)





tively few were found as they are exceedingly fragile and perishable. These needles seem to indicate that mat coverings were used upon the houses of this village. The mats were undoubtedly of the type so widely distributed in Canada and the northern portion of the United States, which are made of a double layer of flag leaves, so fastened together that the junction of the edges of the leaves in each layer is covered by the central portion of each leaf of the opposing layer. When properly adjusted these mats make a practically waterproof covering.

A number of fragments of needles made of antler and having a circular cross-section were found, most of them showing more or less curvature. Two are illustrated at the left in e. In the third example figured, the upper portion has been much reduced in size, and notches were cut near the tip to which the thread was probably tied.

Several well-polished thin perforators of bone with sharp points were recovered, two of which are shown in d.

A series of antler pins is figured in f. They are well made and vary from one and three-fourths inches to eight inches in length. While they may have been used as bodkins, it seems probable that they were designed for another purpose.

The other implements shown upon the plate are mostly bodkins or perforators such as abound in the refuse of this village site. They are made from various bones of birds and quadrupeds, the tarsal bones of the turkey (g, h), and the ulnae of the deer (k), being favorites. They were used in basket making and for many other purposes.

A number of the type figured in h, made from the upper portion of the tarsal bone of the turkey, are notched along the upper part, as shown at the left in the figure. This is probably to prevent the fiber or thong wrapping, which sometimes serves as a protection to the hand in similar perforators, from slipping.

The specimen shown in i, is a half of a broken beamer made of the cannon bone of the deer. The end has been ground to a thin edge. The implement would be an effective one for use in the construction of coarse splint basketry. Only a few of these were obtained.

**Antler Blades.** Many blades were found, of different forms and sizes, made of elk antler, but it is difficult to determine their various functions with any degree of certainty. There were several of the

type illustrated on plate 13, a, b, each provided with a deep notch on the inner side near the upper end. In a, the upper portion has been broken off through the original notch, and repaired by cutting a second notch below, more shallow than the first and showing little wear. In the type specimen, b, considerable wear is present at the sides and back, near to, as well as within, the notch. The distribution of the worn surfaces seems to indicate hafting in the manner shown in d. All blades of this form have the base of an antler branch at their back, the lower portion of which in some specimens is considerably worn. It is probable that this abrasion was produced by a withe or stout thong arranged somewhat as in the drawing.

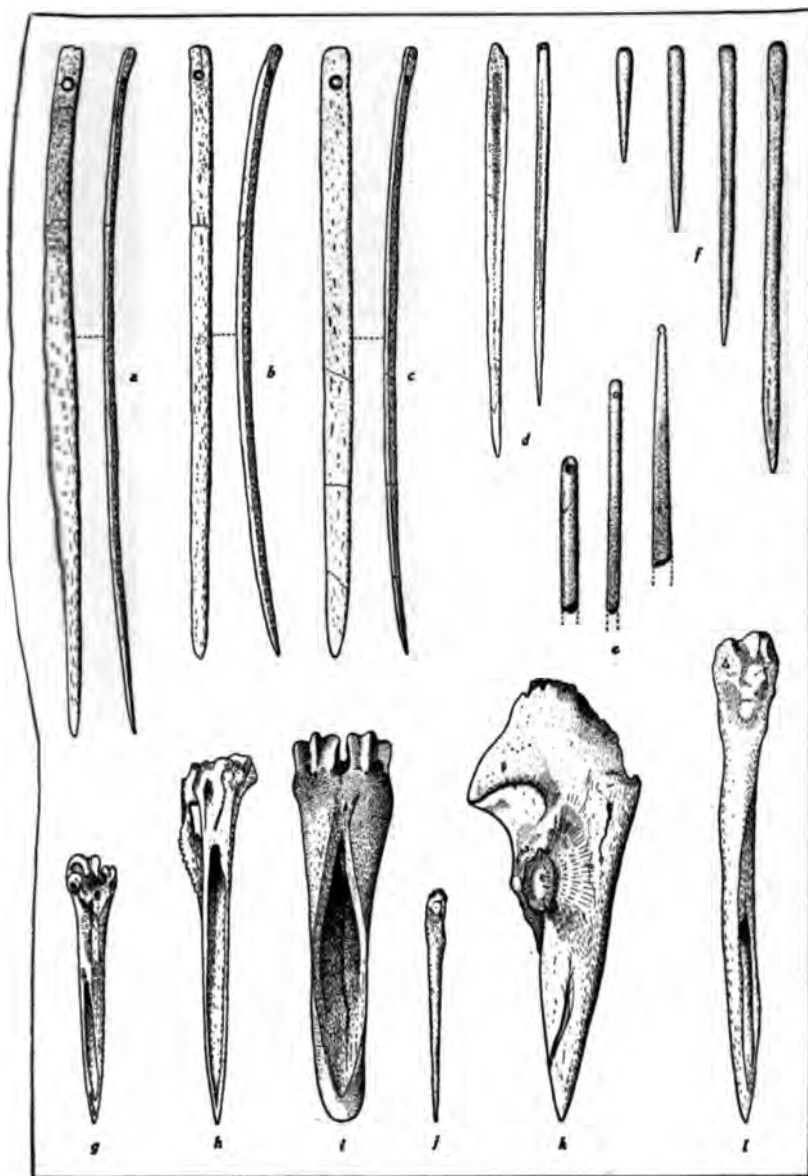
Another blade of similar shape, but probably hafted in a somewhat different manner, is illustrated in c. Upon either side, near its upper end, are shallow notches much worn. These indicate that the hafting must have been similar to that indicated in e.

The cutting edges of these instruments are sometimes well preserved, but they nearly all show wear. Some have the peculiar striae noticeable on certain stone blades generally supposed to have been used as hoes. This wear occasionally extends upward for a considerable distance above the edge, and it is very likely that they may have been used as mattocks. Others may have been employed in working charred wood for which their edges were well adapted.

On plate 14 are illustrated the more common forms. The type represented in d, e, f, was the most abundant. They vary in length from about four to nine inches, and many of them were probably hafted after the manner of adzes. Others, especially those with irregular edges, may have been used as hoes or digging implements in the planting and the care of gardens. One cannot readily understand how implements with edges like those in d and c, could be used advantageously for the ordinary purposes of an adze or scraper, while their employment as digging implements, might tend to produce this irregularity which would in no way impair their value.

Blades with straight or rounded edges, as in e and f, may have served as scrapers in skin-dressing or similar work.

The specimen illustrated in d, is especially interesting as it shows the marks of the binding material, probably bark or split roots, which secured the blade to its handle. The tool had evidently



MADISONVILLE SITE

a-c, Bone needles for sewing mats; d, Bone needles; d, g-l, Bodkins; f, Antler pins. (About  $\frac{1}{4}$ .)



been in or near a fire which consumed the bindings, leaving the blade blackened and charred where the burning wrappings came in contact with it.

A number of specimens are perforated as indicated in a, b, c, but the holes show little wear. The perforations probably served in some way for securing the lashing which bound the implement to its handle. The specimen, c, has notches near its upper end to assist in hafting. The example illustrated in b, has less conspicuous notches near its upper extremity and also a small notch upon either side below the perforation. The original length of a few of the blades has apparently been much reduced by repeated sharpening.

**Beaver Tooth Chisels.** The Indians who inhabited the Madisonville site, as well as nearly all the tribes living in the beaver country, used the incisors of this animal for chisels or cutting implements.

Chisels made from the upper and lower incisors are illustrated in plate 15, e. The lower incisors are much more commonly used for this purpose as the curvature is less. The hard outer enamel of these teeth can be ground to a keen edge, and the tool is admirably adapted for making the smaller and more delicate objects of wood, bone and antler. These blades were hafted in short handles, usually of wood or antler. Antler hafts, some of which were probably used with beaver tooth blades, are found on certain Ohio village sites, but none which could be definitely attributed to this use were obtained at Madisonville. One handle of antler is shown in f, plate 15. This, however, more probably served in hafting a small flint blade.

All of the beaver tooth cutting implements obtained during the Museum exploration were of the chisel type. None of the side cutting knives, such as occur also with this form in New England and certain other sections, were found.

Historical references to the use of these implements are rare. Captain John Smith<sup>1</sup> writes of the Virginia Indian:

to make the noch of his arrow, he hath the tooth of a Beaver, set in a stick, wherewith he grateth it by degrees.

He also says that bone fish hooks were worked out in the same way — "grated as they noch their arrows."

In the collections of the Peabody Museum are two old beaver tooth chisels in wooden hafts, which were obtained years ago from

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages and Discoveries*, Arber edition, vol. i, pp. 364-365.

the Eskimo of Bristol Bay. The sharpened tooth is inserted into a curved perforation running from one end through to the side of the handle. As the tooth becomes shortened by regrinding, it is adjusted by being pushed forward from the side of the haft.

The remarkable wood cutting habits of the beaver undoubtedly exerted a marked influence in the choice of the incisors of this animal for blades of cutting implements, and it is in keeping with what we know of the workings of the unsophisticated Indian mind if supernatural powers were attributed to these tools.

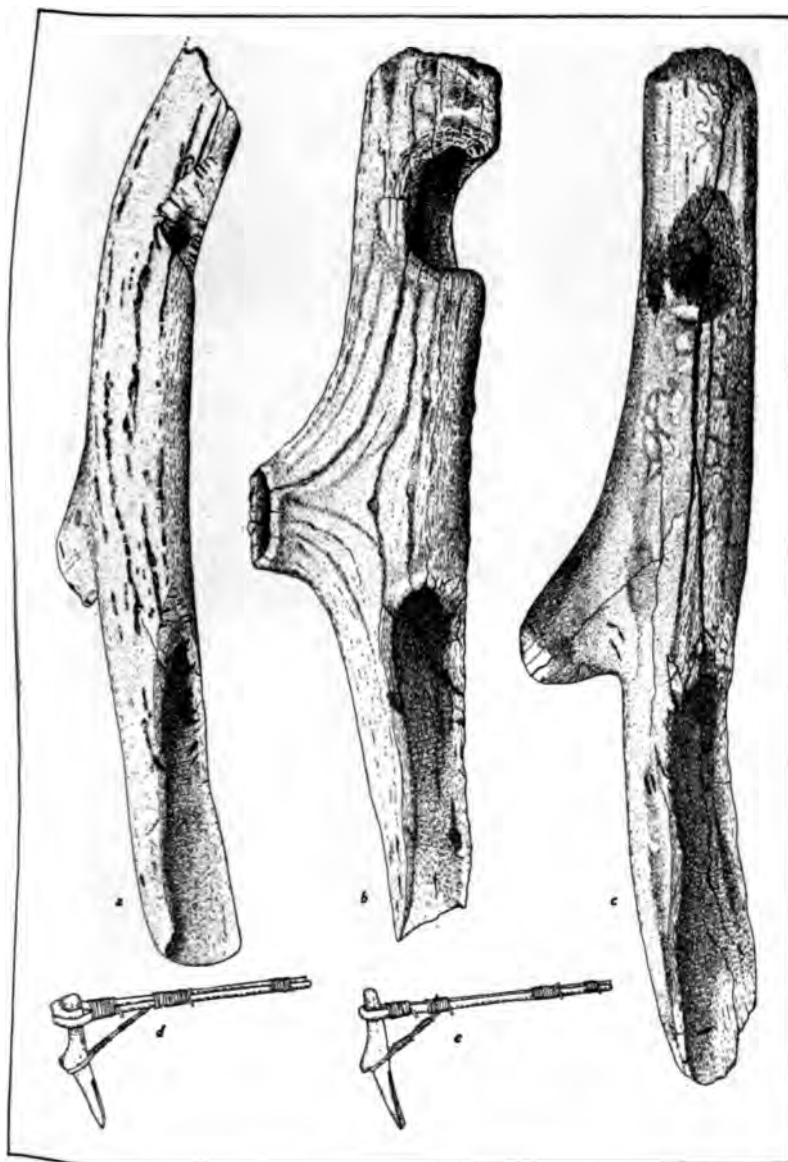
**Musical Instruments.** About twenty of the flute-like objects of the type shown in plate 15, d, made from the long bones of birds, were found during the explorations by the Museum. They are mostly small, and judging from the unbroken specimens recovered the number of finger holes range from five to nine, the usual number being five or six. The holes were commonly about one-half inch apart, but in one specimen the centers of the perforations are placed about one-fourth inch from each other, too near, it would seem, for its successful manipulation by the fingers of an adult.

These instruments are, of course, distinct from the bone whistles of the modern Plains tribes which have no finger holes, and they differ materially from the small bone flutes of the Pueblo region which have a large orifice near one end like the modern flute.

Similar instruments are still found among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia, where they are used by pubescent girls in their ceremonies. The girl's mouth must not touch the surface of the water, so she drinks through a bone tube. These are generally plain, but some of them are furnished with holes along one side so as to be used also as a whistle, from which a number of notes are produced in imitation of various birds. Sometimes birds are called with them. There is in the Museum, an instrument of this type collected by Mr. James Teit which is almost a duplicate of some of the Madisonville specimens.

A considerable number of fragments of ribs of deer and elk were found with shallow transverse grooves, about one-fourth to one-half an inch apart. Two of these are shown in b and c, plate 15, and an unbroken specimen is illustrated in a. In addition to the transverse grooves this example is notched along the convex edge, these notches apparently having no relation to the grooves. A few small ribs were also found without the transverse grooves,



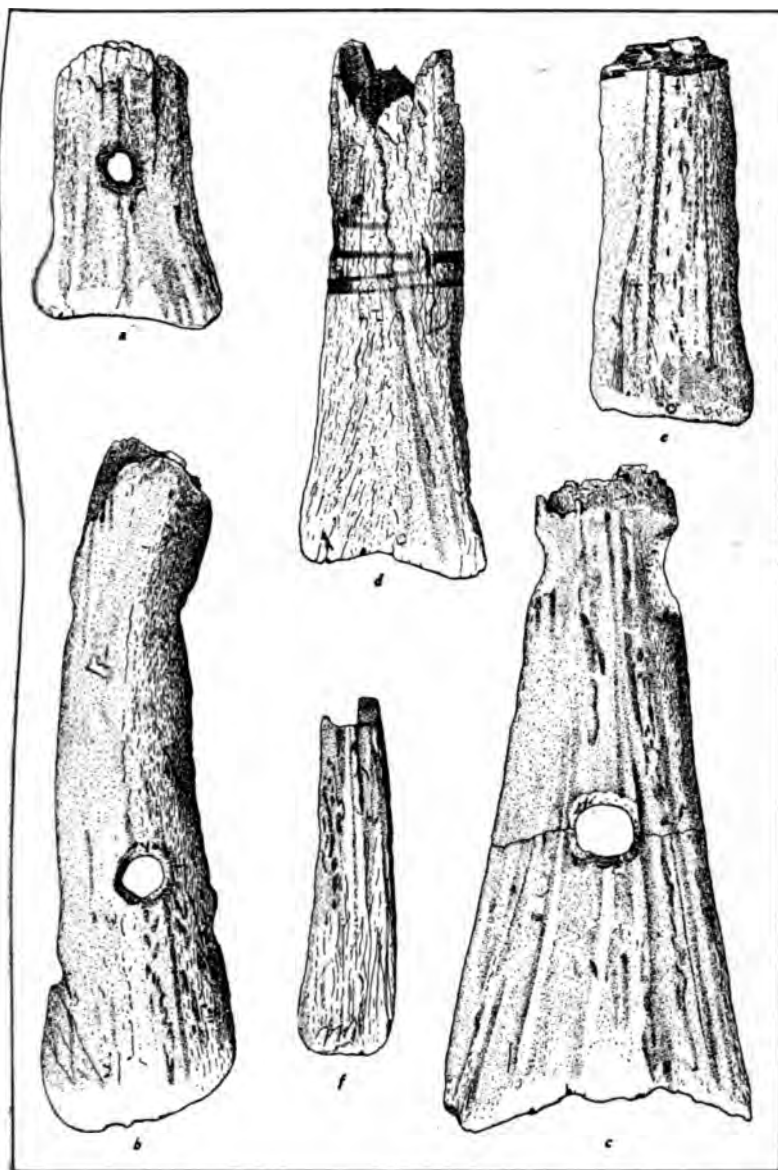


MADISONVILLE SITE

Blades made of elk antler, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size, probably hafted as shown in *d*, *e*.







MADISONVILLE SITE  
Blades made from elk antler. (About 1.)



but having notches close together along the convex edge. These may have been tally sticks or possibly tools for smoothing pottery, and probably bear no relation to the above specimens. A number of fragments of the former type show considerable wear along the center of the grooved side, and in some instances the grooves at this point have been worn partially or wholly away, as illustrated in b, by the continued rubbing of the scapula or other accessory used in producing the sound.

There can be no doubt that these specimens are analogous to the well-known notched sticks used for marking time in the dances of the Pueblo Indians. When in use these sticks usually rest upon a resonator made of a hollow gourd and are scraped along the notches with the scapula of the deer, thus producing a sharp rattling sound. Similar instruments made of the notched cannon bones of the deer and used with scapula scrapers are also found among the Huichol Indians of Mexico;<sup>1</sup> and notched human femora and tibiae, which undoubtedly served a like purpose, were taken from graves by Dr. Lumholtz at Zacapa, Mexico.<sup>2</sup>

In the West Indies notched gourds were used for this purpose, and notched sticks, with a plain stick for a scraper, are reported from the Utes and from the Iroquois of New York State.<sup>3</sup>

**Personal Ornaments of Shell.** A considerable number of personal ornaments made of shell were obtained from graves. The species most commonly used was probably *Fulgur perversa* from the coast of Florida, although a number of specimens made apparently from *Fulgur carica* were found.

The common unio shells of the inland streams, used so extensively for spoons and implements, do not seem to have been very highly valued for the production of ornaments, although several interesting specimens made of this pearly material were recovered. On plate 16, a, c, are shown two gorgets cut from these fresh water shells, one of which has some unintelligible marking in incised lines. A few pendants, were also obtained; two of these are represented in j. A number of crudely fashioned discs (s) approximately one-half to one inch in diameter, which may have been used as dice, were recovered. One might be disposed to consider these unfinished discoidal beads, were it not for the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, vol. ii, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> Frances Morris, *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments*, vol. ii, p. 184.

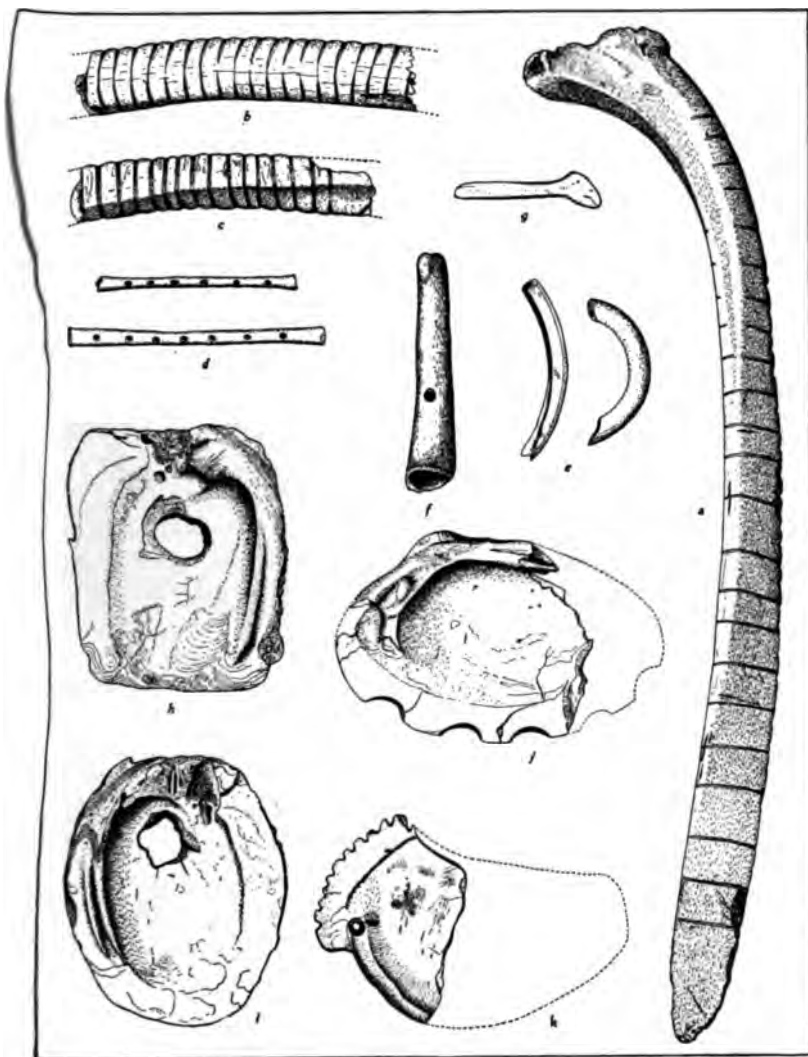
only a very few finished beads of this type were found during the explorations. A large one, from a grave, is shown in t.

The other objects illustrated upon this plate are made from fulgur shells, some of which were undoubtedly obtained by traffic with more southern tribes. The gorget, b, cut from the wall of a large fulgur, was found near the lower jaw of a skeleton. The mask-like gorgets, d-h, with one exception, accompanied skeletons; g was found near the lower jaw of an adult; and d and e are from graves of children. The latter is apparently cut from one of the large circular gorgets having elaborate designs, which are not uncommon in Tennessee and Kentucky. That portion of the original design which remains upon the reverse of the ornament is shown in the drawing. These specimens, all of which represent the conventionalized human face, recall at once the larger gorgets of the same general type from the graves and mounds of Tennessee and Virginia, illustrated and described by Holmes in his *Art in Shell*. That the same deity or personage is represented by the specimens from Madisonville is evident from the design surrounding the eye-like perforations in g, which apparently embodies a like symbolism to that appearing upon the specimens figured by Holmes.

One of a pair of mushroom-shaped ornaments, probably ear plugs, is figured in i. They were found in a grave by Mr. Swanton in 1897. These were cut from large fulgur shells, and are very carefully made, each being a close duplicate of its companion. It is probable that they were obtained by trade from the more southern Indians, as similar specimens have been taken from the mounds of Arkansas. They are also reported from Georgia. The Arkansas specimens, however, are smaller and relatively thicker and do not have the perforation at the lower end.

The specimen illustrated in k, resembles the upper portion of the ornament above described. In place of the long projection with perforated end, however, there is a short and much thinner perforated projection standing out at an angle from near the edge of the disc. This specimen was found near the bones of the left hand of a skeleton. A similar but much smaller ornament, taken from a cache-pit, is shown in the drawing below.

In m, n, of the above plate, are figured two of the five pendants made of small fulgur shells. These were found with skeletons.



MADISONVILLE SITE

a-c, Musical instruments made of deer ribs; d, Flute-like instruments; e, Beaver tooth chisels; f, Antler handle; g, Implement of bone; h, i, Scrapers of uniono shell; j, k, Combined spoons and cutting implements. (About 4.)



The shells are unworked, save for a groove or perforation near the smaller end for attaching the cord. Three of these are made from the shells of *Fulgur perversa*, the others from *Fulgur carcia*.

Only two small "pins" wrought from the columellae of fulgur shells were obtained during the explorations by the Museum. One is represented in r. Both were found with skeletons. Although now somewhat disintegrated, they originally bore a general resemblance to the well-known shell pins from the graves of the Tennessee region, but the heads are much flatter.

Considering the number of burials, very few shell beads were recovered. Nearly all were made from the columellae of fulgur shells. As a rule, only a few small beads of the type shown in p, occurred with a skeleton. These were usually found at the wrist or neck.

The large massive beads, q, made from the columellae of *Fulgur perversa*, occurred singly or in groups of two or three. Only one necklace worthy of the name was obtained during the explorations. This was found with a skeleton by Mr. Swanton and consisted of fifty-five beads of nearly uniform size, made from the columellae of *Fulgur carica*, a species common as far north as Cape Cod. Seven of these are illustrated in o. With this skeleton were also found several copper beads and pendants, the copper ornamented belt and the iron bead illustrated on plate 18, g and s, and also two very large shell beads.

There were a few pieces of bone or shell without perforations which may have been used for inlaying in wood, an art in which some of the Algonquian tribes were proficient. One of these pieces cut from unio shell is illustrated in l.

A very few of the small marginella shells, with a portion of the shoulder ground away to make a perforation for the passage of sinew thread, were taken from graves. These were probably used in forming designs upon cloth or buckskin, to which they were sewed. Probably the finest example of this work extant is the "Powhatan" mantle in the Ashmolean Museum. This is figured on plate 15 of the tenth volume of the Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

**Implements and Utensils of Shell.** Unio shells were found in large numbers in the cache-pits and general refuse of the site. The unworked valves were often used as spoons and ladles.

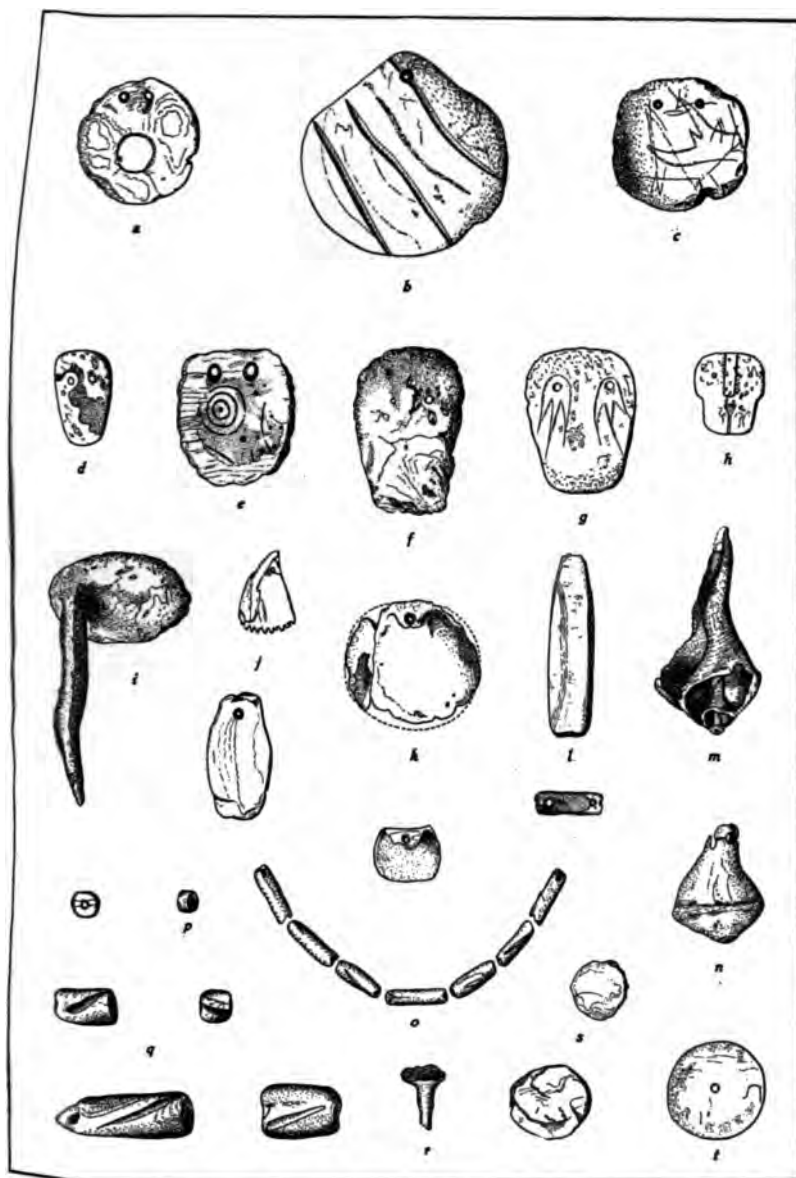


Many of the pottery vessels contained mush or other food when deposited in the grave. They were frequently accompanied by one or two valves of this shell, placed within the vessel to serve as spoons.

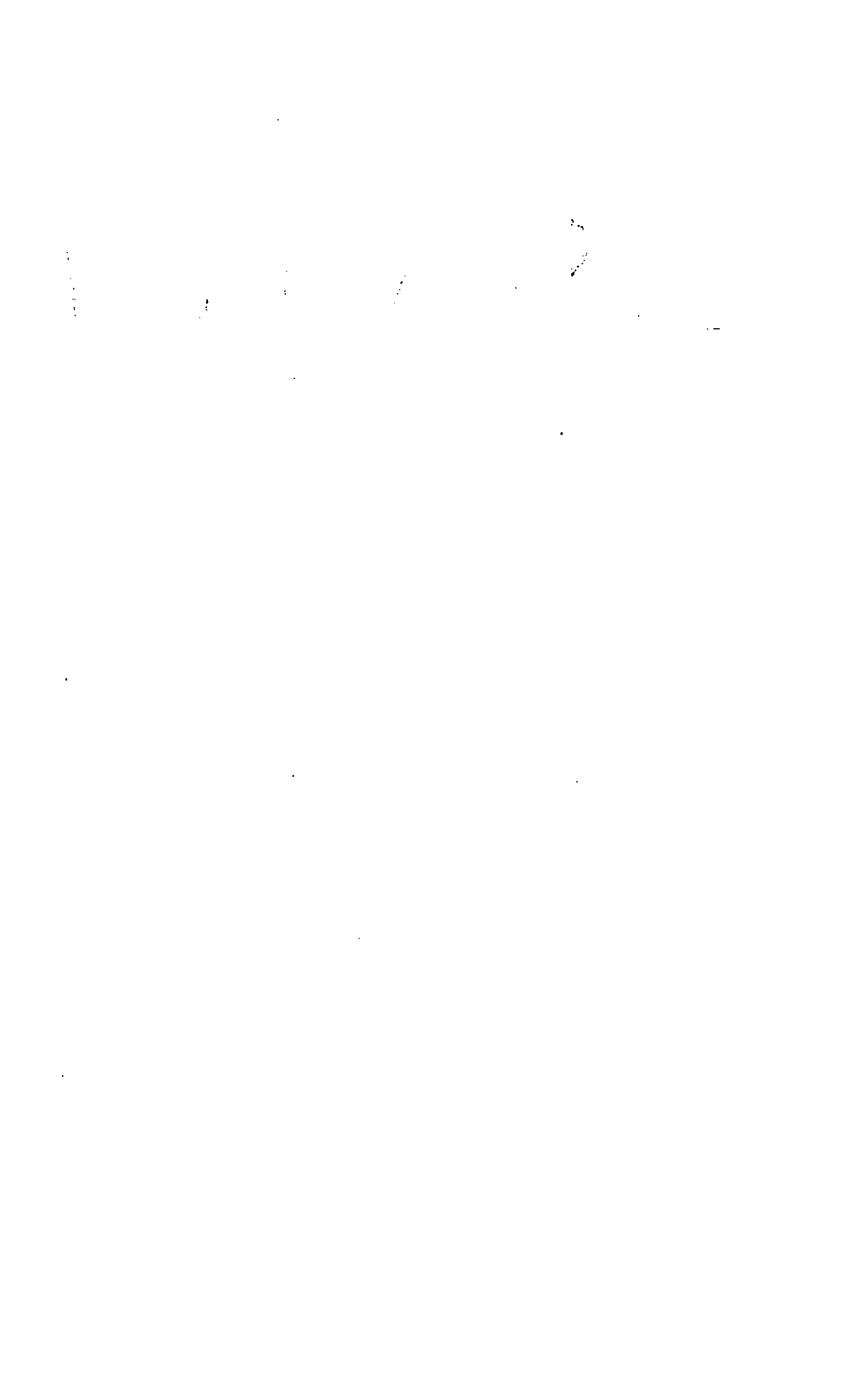
In most of the village sites in southern Ohio which belong to the Madisonville culture, a few spoons cut from the valves of this shell are found, having a well-wrought handle upon one side. Such spoons are common in the graves of Tennessee and Kentucky. They are very rare indeed at this site, only two broken examples being in the Museum collections, one of which is illustrated on plate 15, k. In both of these examples, the handle is furnished with a serrated edge admirably adapted for the cutting of meat and other solid food, which generally makes up a portion of the typical Indian stew. The spoon illustrated has a perforation to receive the suspending cord. A third well-made spoon from this site is preserved in the cabinet of the Literary and Scientific Society of Madisonville and is figured in Holmes's *Art in Shell* in the Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for 1880-1881. This has the serrated cutting edge upon one side, and a short rounded handle which is also perforated for suspension.

An interesting specimen, probably a combined spoon and food cutter, is shown in plate 15, j. The shell is unmodified except near the edge, which is coarsely serrated — probably also for the purpose of rendering it more effective in cutting. Such specimens are rare at Madisonville, but are found more commonly on other Ohio sites of this culture.

Several hundred implements of the type illustrated on plate 15, h, i, were taken from the cache-pits and general refuse. They consist of a single valve of unio shell with a perforation about half an inch in diameter near the center. The posterior point of the valve, in some instances, shows little wear, but in the majority of cases is worn or broken, probably in cutting or hacking. In some of the better preserved specimens this portion shows careful grinding to a well-finished blunt scraping edge, and these were apparently not used for cutting or hacking but for scraping. They may have been employed in skin-dressing. Practically all of these implements have the opposite end near the hinge blunted by breaking away the edge of the shell at this point. This was probably done to facilitate hafting. The great majority of the specimens show



MADISONVILLE SITE  
Personal ornaments of shell. (About 1/4.)



no wear near the central perforation. When signs of wear appear it is usually on the convex side of the shell and towards the hinge.

It is an interesting fact that some of the antler blades of the types illustrated on plate 14 have a bluntly ground scraping edge similar to that of the better preserved shell implements, and it is very probable the perforation in both the antler and shell blades served a like purpose, which was undoubtedly to assist in securing the blade to the haft.

Professor Holmes has discussed the probable manner of hafting these unio blades in his *Art in Shell* above referred to.

**Combs and Personal Ornaments of Bone and Antler.** On plate 17, a, b, are shown a pair of armlets made from deer ribs. They were found one upon either arm of the skeleton figured at the right in c, plate 4. One is neatly ornamented with incised lines and dots; the other is without ornamentation. A third specimen, illustrated in c, is from a cache-pit. Fragments of several others were found, most of them showing incised markings of a nature similar to the above. These armlets are very neatly made, and each end is perforated for receiving the thong or cord which bound them together and held them in place. DuPratz tells us that the young Louisiana Indian men wore bracelets made of deer ribs softened in boiling water, then bent into the required shape, and finely polished so that they resembled ivory. These ornaments must have been more common than appears from the scant evidence furnished by archaeological investigations. The use of boiling water to soften bone and antler for the purpose of rendering them more easily worked with primitive tools, appears to have been common among Indians in general. The pair of neatly made objects of antler, illustrated in d, were found near the jaw of a skeleton. They appear to have been personal ornaments of some kind, perhaps ear plugs. They are not perforated, the ends being carefully finished by grinding. The central cellular portion of the antler at these points is now somewhat disintegrated, especially in the broken one shown in the upper drawing. A few similar specimens were obtained from the general refuse of the site.

Several pendants, made from deformed tips of deer antler, which had been shaped into crudely-made effigies of the heads of birds or quadrupeds, were recovered. Three of these are shown at e, plate 17, the lower specimen being found with a skeleton. The upper

one of the three illustrated shows a natural resemblance to the head of a bird. This portion of the pendant is unworked. Several canine teeth of the bear, wolf and dog, perforated for suspension, were secured. Two of these are illustrated in j. A few perforated elk teeth were found, but these were not abundant, and do not seem to have been in general use.

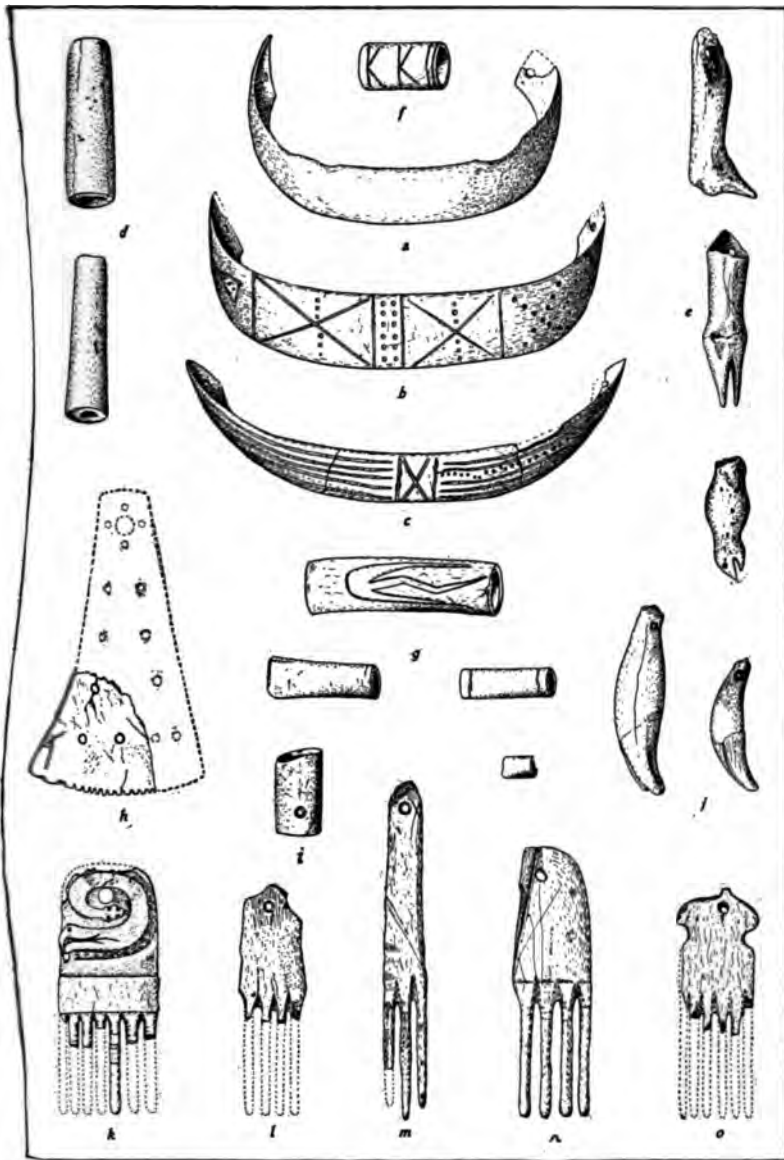
Beads of various sizes, consisting of cylinders cut from the large bones of various birds, were found in graves and in the general refuse. A number of these are illustrated in f, g. Most of them were without ornamentation, but a few were decorated with designs in incised lines. The largest figured in group g, is one of ten found with a skeleton. They extended in a row "from the mouth to the arms and down them." Seven of the beads bore the design shown in the illustration. This design appears also upon a number of other objects from the site, as will be seen by referring to plates 16, 19, 20. It is evidently in part a lightning symbol, and is found most commonly surrounding the eyes of the human face in a certain class of shell gorgets, one of which, a small one from this burial place, is illustrated in g, plate 16. Large shell gorgets bearing this general design occur most frequently in Tennessee and Virginia.<sup>1</sup> The same figure occurs surrounding the eyes of birds, serpents and human beings in numerous drawings and sculptures from various sections of the Mississippi Valley.

A fragment of the bone base of a holder for an eagle feather is illustrated on plate 17, h. The broken lines indicate its original form, which may be duplicated by recent examples in almost any large ethnological collection from the Indians of the Interior Basin.

One of the cylinders which holds the feather and fits over the large hole in the narrow end of the base of these ornaments, is figured in i. There is a hole upon either side near the lower end for the thong, which passes also through the perforations upon either side of the large hole in the base to which it is tied. This thong also serves to fasten the ornament to the lock of hair on the crown of the warrior.

The base, supporting an upright bone cylinder and feather, and worn nearly in a horizontal position, with the broad end projecting backward, is placed within an ornament of upright deer hair dyed

<sup>1</sup> See W. H. Holmes, *Art in Shell*, Rept. Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. ii, plates 67-69.



## MADISONVILLE SITE

a-c, Antler arm-bands; d, Cylinders of antler, perhaps parts of ear-ornaments; e, Pendants in form of bird heads made from diseased tips of deer antler; f, g, Bone beads; h, i, Bone base and cylinder for supporting eagle feather in head-dress; j, Canine teeth pendants; k-o, Antler combs. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



red and fringed with the black "beard hair" of the turkey or long stiff hair of the porcupine. Taken altogether it forms a very handsome and striking head ornament, and was worn by warriors of various tribes over a considerable area.

The fragment of the base was found in a cache-pit. Only two or three of the cylinders were recovered during explorations by the Museum.

Five antler combs are shown on plate 17, k-o. These are all from cache-pits, with the exception of k, which lay near one of the skeletons illustrated in c, plate 4. Upon the upper portion of this comb is engraved a rattlesnake. Each of the combs is perforated near its upper end for the suspending cord. In two of the specimens, k and n, horizontal striae are noticeable upon the teeth, which are evidently caused by long continued use of the implement, for dressing the hair or for a similar purpose. Combs of like form, but with more pointed teeth, are often used by the Eskimo for combing and renovating the hair of their skin garments.

**Personal Ornaments of Copper.** A considerable number of metal objects were found with skeletons, and in the cache-pits and general refuse. Most of these were in the form of cylindrical copper beads of various sizes, made by rolling small pieces of sheet metal into tubular form. The majority of these are probably wrought from native copper, but some are undoubtedly made of European copper. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine even approximately the number belonging to each group without a chemical analysis of the metal. Most of the smaller beads of the longer type, however, appear to be of native metal, for they are, as a rule, more crudely fashioned than the larger specimens. No single individual appears to have been the possessor of more than a few copper beads. In the graves they were usually found singly or in groups of only a few, sometimes in company with beads of shell. Plate 18, a, shows the various forms. The six small beads in a row of nearly uniform size, were taken from near the wrist of a skeleton, and probably formed part of a bracelet. Those in the lower row were found with the skeleton of a child, and still retain their position on the original string.

A few bell-shaped tinklers are illustrated in f. They were obtained from both cache-pits and graves. In recent times they are made of tin, and are used extensively by the Indians as ornamental



pendants. The smaller end is clasped to a thong, and a bunch of hair, usually dyed a brilliant color, often projects from the larger end.

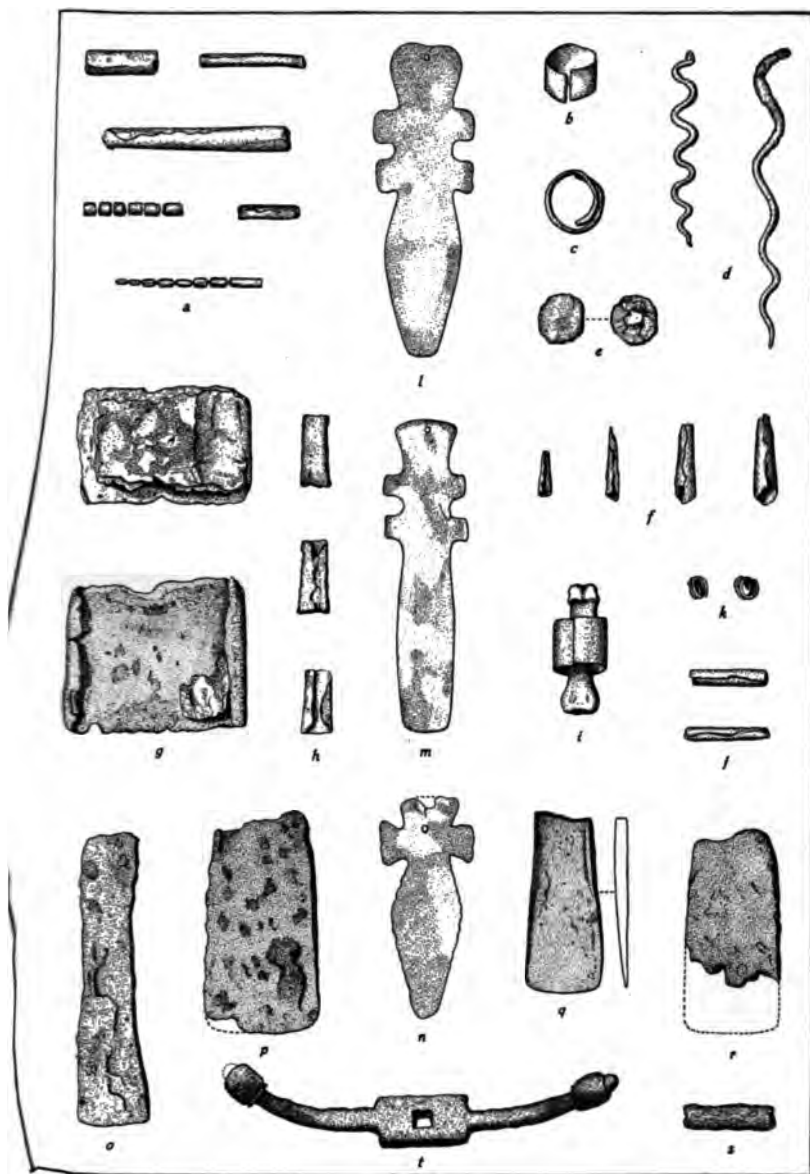
The band bent into a circle and figured in b, was probably for the finger, for four similar rings made of brass and still clasping the phalanges of the fingers of a skeleton were taken from a grave by Professor Putnam. One of these is shown in i. A few rings made of native copper beaten into a small rod and bent into shape (c) were recovered from the cache-pits, as were also the serpent or lightning symbols illustrated in d.

The largest amount of copper found with a burial was taken from Trench I, grave 60, by Mr. Swanton. There were several pieces of sheet copper with one or more of their edges clinched over pieces of buckskin. Two of the larger are figured in g. They lay near the thighs, and seem to have ornamented a girdle. With this burial were also found seven copper beads and pendants, the iron bead illustrated in s, and fifty-five shell beads. Taking into consideration the iron bead, which appears to have been made from a piece of sheet iron, it is not improbable that the copper also may be of European origin, as there seems to be no evidence that the proto-historic Indians of southern Ohio used meteoric iron in fashioning their ornaments, as did the builders of the great earth-works of this region. Small copper ornaments with two of their edges bent over, apparently for securing to thongs, are figured in h. These are from graves.

Only a few examples of overlaying with thin copper sheets were recovered. The first of these were two small pear-shaped objects about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, made of wood and covered with thin copper, which is now badly corroded. The salts of copper have preserved one of the wooden forms perfectly. These were found with the skeleton of a child, in company with several beads and a few coils of copper wire, evidently of native make.

The other examples of overlaying were thin discs of bone, one-half to three-fourths of an inch in diameter, covered on one side with thin copper, the edges of which were turned over and clinched upon the opposite side (e). Vegetal fiber was placed over the discs before the copper sheet was applied.

One of these discs was found beneath the lower jaw of a skeleton. The other three came from a cache-pit. In the *Journal of the*



## MADISONVILLE SITE

a-h, l, m, Personal ornaments and other objects of copper; i-t, n, Personal ornaments of brass; o-r, Iron blades; s, Iron bead; t, Iron sword guard from grave. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



*Cincinnati Society of Natural History*, July, 1880, p. 131, is figured a crude bell or rattle from this site. It was made of a

single piece of copper of irregular shape, the edges of which have been brought together so as to form a ball, or rather like a sleigh bell, having an irregular opening on one side. A small hole was punched through the top and a strip of copper doubled up and the ends pushed through the opening from the inside, forming a handle. Inside this bell is a fragment of copper about the size of a large pea and when the ornament is shaken it produces a rattling or tinkling sound.

Perhaps the most interesting objects of this metal are the two double crosses illustrated in l, m. The first of these was found with a skeleton by Dr. Metz. The account of the discovery follows:<sup>1</sup>

On Thursday, October 28, Skeleton No. 8 was found, an adult male, with head southeast, length 5 feet 8 inches, depth 15 inches. A broken vessel was found at the right of the head, and on the left side a pipe made of limestone, well finished, and carved to represent the head of some animal. A copper ornament was also found at the right of the neck. This relic, which has two bars or cross arms, is made of a very thin piece of copper, rolled or beaten evenly, with a small perforation at one end, doubtless for suspensory purposes.

The other double cross was taken from a skeleton by Mr. B. W. Merwin while conducting work for the Museum in 1911. It lay just to the left of the skull. With the skeleton were also a stone pipe, a flint point on ribs of the right side, and an antler harpoon point near left humerus, (plate 11, l). A flint arrowpoint was embedded in the frontal bone of the skull. These copper specimens at once recall to mind the double crosses of silver obtained by the Indians from the Catholic missionaries. The copper crosses, however, are probably of Indian make. The first example has the appearance of having been roughly cut from European sheet copper, then the surface and edges carefully finished by grinding. The second specimen has more the appearance of being made of native copper. Only a chemical analysis, however, can settle these points.

**Personal Ornaments of Brass.** A cross cut from sheet brass, and of the same general form as those above described, but having one cross-bar instead of two, is illustrated in n, plate 18. This was found with the skeleton of a child by Professor Putnam in 1882,

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History*, July, 1880, p. 133.

together with a few copper beads and spirals of brass wire, and a pottery vessel of the usual type having four ears or handles. One of the beads is shown at the left in the upper row in a, and two of the spirals are illustrated in k. This is one of the most instructive burials found during the explorations, as it definitely connects this form of cross with the proto-historic period, and also proves that the pottery vessels of the type so characteristic of this cemetery were in use at this time.

An interesting copper cross of somewhat similar design, from a stone grave near Nashville, Tennessee, is in the Museum collection. This is illustrated on page 98 of the third volume of the *Reports of the Peabody Museum*. No other object from this group of Tennessee graves shows indication of contact with Europeans, and perhaps this specimen bears no relation to the Christian cross.

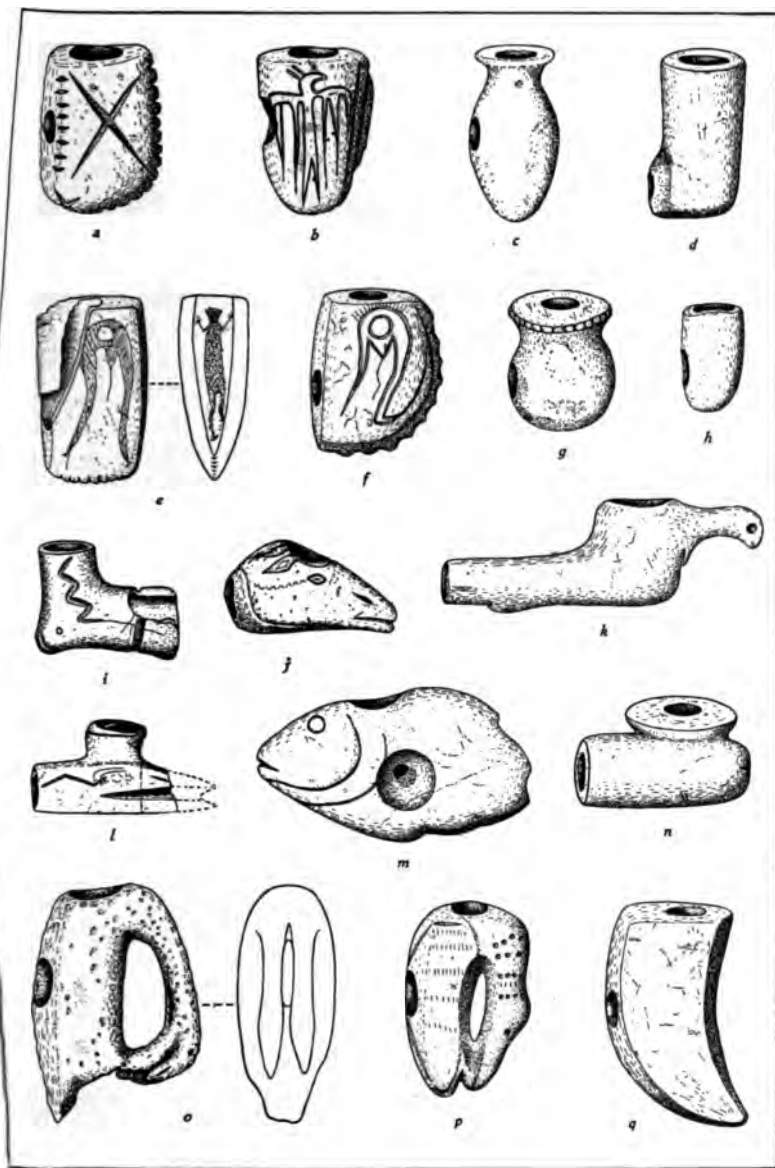
A few beads made of European sheet brass and of the same type as those of copper were obtained from different cache-pits. Two of these are shown in j.

In 1882, Professor Putnam opened a grave in which were the skeletons of a woman and child. Accompanying them were twenty-two copper beads, varying from one to two and one-quarter inches in length, and about one-quarter of an inch in diameter. On the first phalanges of the first and second fingers of each hand of the woman, were rings made of bands of sheet brass, about three-fourths of an inch wide and two and one-half inches long, each bent into a circle with the ends of the strip overlapping. One of these is illustrated in i. A number of fragments of both sheet brass and sheet copper were found in the general refuse of the site.

**Iron Objects.** On plate 18, p, is shown what is apparently a badly corroded iron adze blade. It was found four feet beneath the surface in a cache-pit. A second blade is illustrated in r, from three feet one inch below the surface in another pit. Both of these were recovered by Mr. Swanton. Two more of the same general form are figured in o and q. These blades were obtained by the Indians either directly or indirectly from white traders.

In the leaf mould, and in one instance twenty inches beneath the surface of a cache-pit, fragments of iron objects were found which were probably lost by the early white settlers of the region.

The only iron objects obtained from graves are the bead illustrated in s, already referred to on page 70, and the sword guard



MADISONVILLE SITE  
Tobacco pipes. (About 3.)



shown in t. The latter was found over the chest of the skeleton of an adult female. There were also three bone beads at the neck and six copper beads near the hands of the skeleton. I have been unable to ascertain with any degree of certainty the probable origin of the European sword guard or the approximate date of its manufacture.

**Glass Beads.** A few globular blue glass beads, about three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, were found near the skull of a skeleton of a child, by Mr. Swanton. These were of the same kind as those obtained during the exploration by the Museum of the proto-historic Iroquoian cemetery in Erie County, New York.

Mr. Swanton also found fragments of blue beads in three cache-pits, and Mr. B. W. Merwin reports the finding of one such bead in a fourth pit. The recovery of iron objects or brass or glass beads, from at least nine cache-pits and five graves, seems to indicate beyond question that this site was not abandoned by the Indians till after their contact with Europeans either directly or through their Indian neighbors; but the scarcity of such objects, as well as their nature, also indicates that the site was deserted long before the arrival of English settlers.

**Tobacco Pipes.** A large number of tobacco pipes were found, the majority being obtained from cache-pits or by general digging. A few occurred with skeletons. Most of them were made from the limestone of the region. Some were of sandstone, while a small number were of other varieties, including serpentine and red pipe-stone. Two or three rude pipe bowls were found made from sections of deer antler, also fragments of four or five pottery pipes, fashioned of fine clay of a kind very different from that used by the inhabitants in making pottery. Judging by the fragments, these clay pipes resembled those of the Iroquoian and Algonquian tribes of the East, and were probably imported from that section. A considerable number of stone pipes in the process of making were recovered, which indicates that most of the finished specimens secured were made by the inhabitants and were not obtained from the neighboring tribes.

The majority of the specimens were of the simple designs and forms figured in plate 19, a-i. They were usually without ornamentation. A few were ornamented with notches or with designs in incised lines, as shown in a, b, e, and f. A very good figure of



the thunderbird is engraved upon both sides of b; while the peculiar eye designs, also occurring on certain shell gorgets, bone beads, and pebbles (plates 16, g, 17, g, 20, a, b), are engraved upon either side of e and f. A small animal figure, probably the totem mark of the owner, is shown on the narrow side of e.

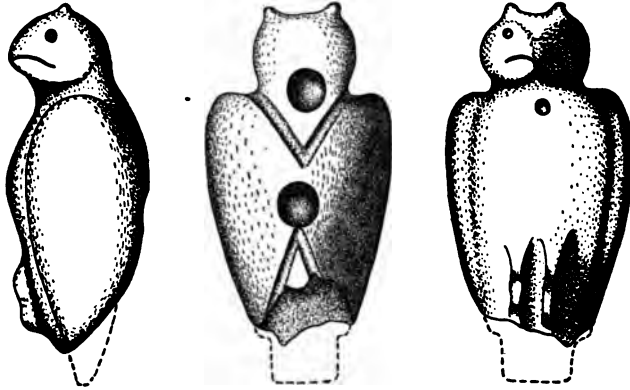


FIG. 5. MADISONVILLE SITE

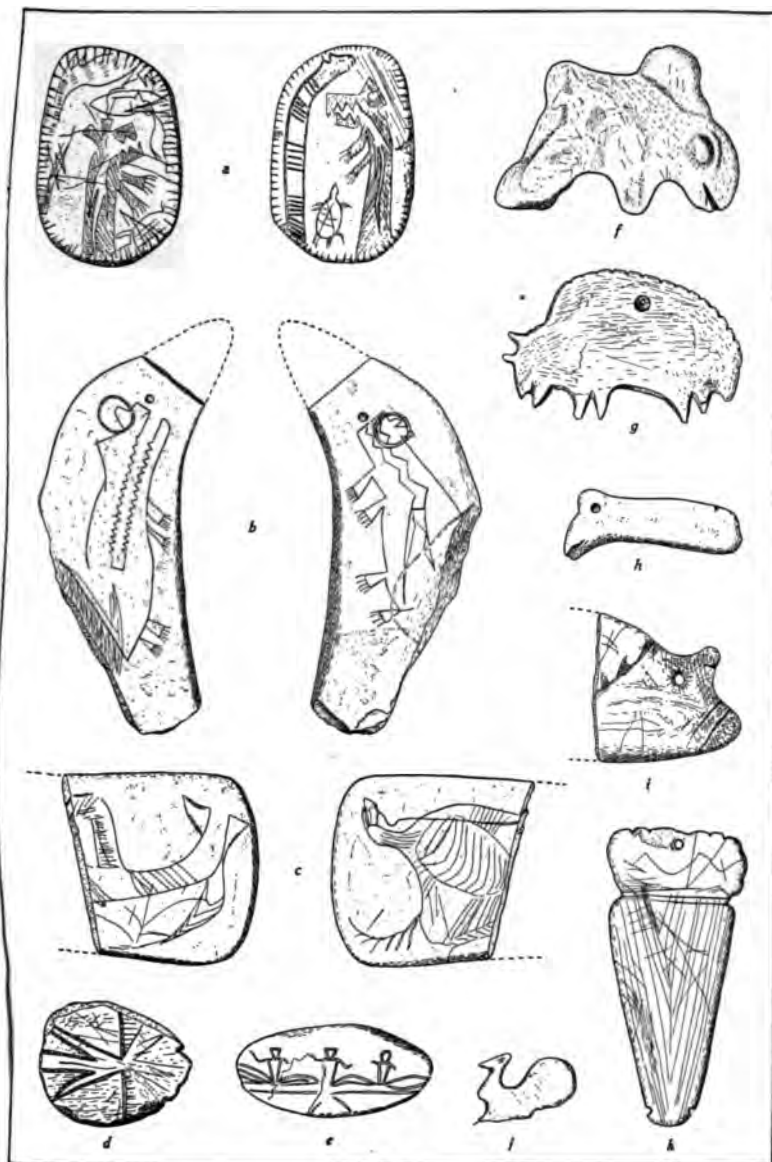
Tobacco pipe of clay-stone, representing an owl. Found with a skeleton in Trench I in 1911. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

Lightning symbols appear upon either side of the specimens figured in i and l. The pipe shown in j, has two horn-like appendages projecting backward from either side of the opening forming the bowl.

The pipe figured in k is made of nearly black serpentine and is highly polished. It is evidently intended to represent the turkey, for the "beard," peculiar to this bird, appears upon the breast. It was taken from a cache-pit by Dr. Metz in 1881.

A fish-shaped pipe of limestone, also found in a cache-pit, is figured in m. It differs from most specimens by having the hole for the reception of the stem at the side.

Two interesting effigy pipes are illustrated in o, p. Apparently swimming birds are represented, both of them being in the position usually taken while oiling the feathers. The first of these is shown with two heads. This was found beside the skull of a skeleton in Trench IV, by Mr. Swanton, as will be seen by referring to plate 3, a. The other is from a cache-pit.



## MADISONVILLE SITE

a-c, Pebbles with incised drawings upon both sides; d, e, Pebbles with incised drawings; f, h, i, Pebbles but slightly modified by art, these are probably fetishes; g, k, Pendants of lignite, the first of these represents a buffalo; j, Effigy of a turkey cut from antler. (About  $\frac{1}{4}$ .)



The specimen figured in q, of limestone, was taken from near the head of a skeleton by Professor Putnam in 1882.

The largest and finest pipe obtained during the explorations is illustrated in figure 5. It represents an owl, and was found with skeleton 9 in Trench I, by B. W. Merwin in 1911. It measures about five and three-fourths inches in length, including tail, which has been broken off. The material is a variety of fire-clay or claystone of mottled gray color. It is well modeled and carefully finished. The hole for the stem is in the center of the back, while the cavity for the tobacco is in the neck.

**Incised Drawings, etc.** If the art of the occupants of the Madisonville site is indicated at all clearly by the few crude drawings and sculptures which were recovered, it seems to have reached about the same stage of development as that of the surrounding Algonquian tribes at the time of their first intercourse with Europeans. It was far inferior to the art of the builders of the great earthworks, who preceded them in southern Ohio.

It is highly probable that the painted designs and quillwork patterns of this people on dressed skin and other perishable objects were of a higher grade than one would be led to believe, judging from the crude efforts illustrated on plate 20.

A thin waterworn pebble of lignite, from a cache-pit, with designs upon either side is shown in a. The edges are ornamented by a series of short lines, and upon one side is incised the picture of a horned serpent, a small quadruped, and what appears to be a mythical monster with open mouth and prominent teeth. The characteristic triple eye design occurring on certain shell gorgets and pipes from this site is also shown in the figure, which makes it probable that the creature represented belonged to the mythology of the people. A representation of this same being is also etched upon the opposite side of the pebble.

The same figure, more crudely drawn, is scratched upon either side of the flat claystone pebble shown in b. Subsequently, probably on account of the resemblance of the pebble to the outline of a bird's head, two large circles were cut on opposite sides to represent the eyes of the bird, and in front of each a shallow hole was drilled to indicate the nostrils.

It is a fact well known to ethnologists that natural objects resembling human or animal forms, or any of their parts, were sup-

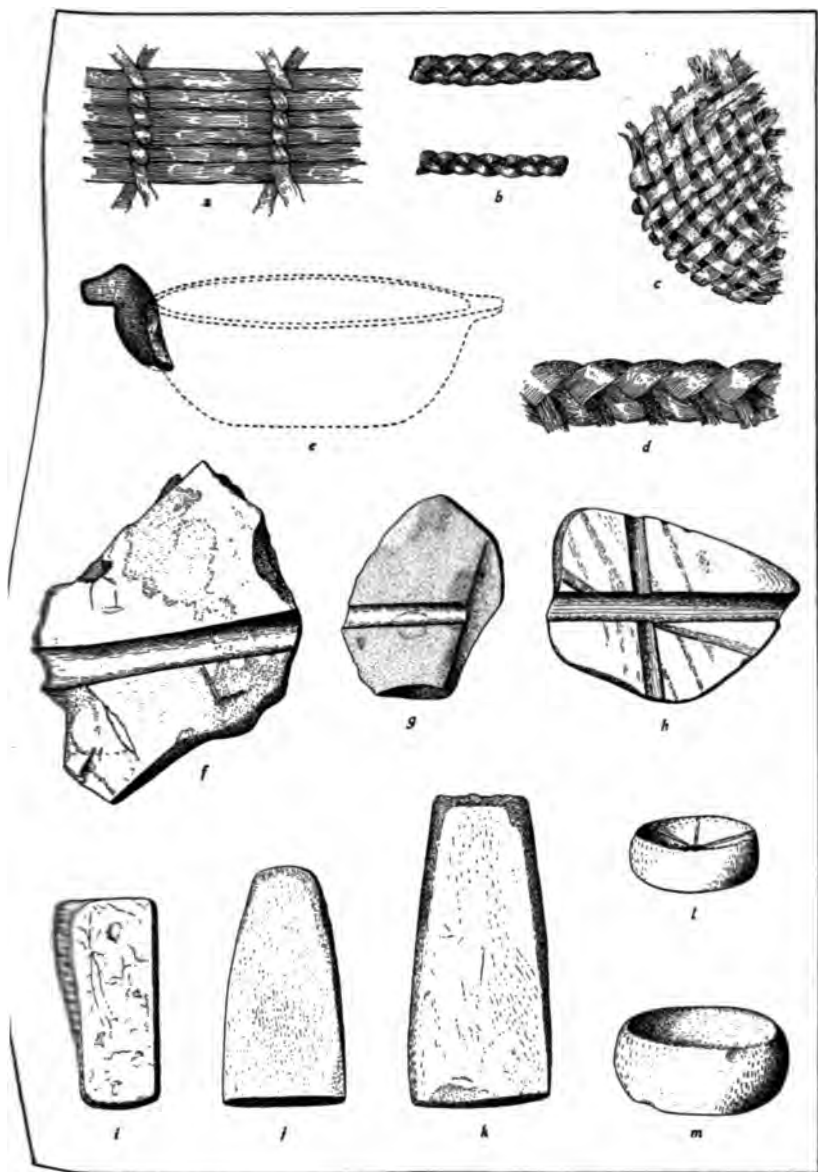
posed to possess supernatural powers, and were often used as fetishes. A number of such objects were recovered. In most instances their forms were but slightly modified by the Indians. Usually only a mouth or eyes were added to accentuate the realistic appearance.

In addition to the one above referred to, (b), good examples are illustrated on the plate. In the head shown in h, the pebble is unmodified with the exception of a hole for the eye upon either side, the groove for the mouth, a small notch near the end opposite the head, and the beginning of a perforation for suspension.

The form of the clay concretion (f), is also wholly natural, with the exception of the groove for the mouth which has been cut upon both sides. In the fragment of another clay object, which somewhat resembles the human profile (i), the grooves which may represent the mouth, the scratches near the nose and surrounding the eye, and the etched band on the forehead, are artificial. The rest of the specimen, including the perforation, is natural. Other fetishes of this class, cut from diseased antler tips, are figured on plate 17, e.

The small object shown in g, plate 15, is made of bone and is carefully polished. While it resembles some of the fetishes above referred to, it is probably an implement, consisting of a handle terminating in what was evidently intended to represent the head of a bird. The eyes and the opening of the beak are indicated on either side by a dot and an incised line. A beautifully finished tool, similar in form but much larger, which was obtained from a Mandan site in North Dakota, is illustrated in the third volume of the *Peabody Museum Papers*, page 172. One end was in the form of a "crane's head." This portion was serrated along its upper and lower edges, and the implement quite closely resembles a modeler's tool.

The lignite pendant illustrated in g, plate 20, is probably intended to represent a buffalo. Another, of the same material, showing a simple arrangement of incised lines is figured in k. These two were found by Mr. Swanton during general excavations. A figure cut from antler and resembling a turkey cock with its tail spread, appears in j. A part of a nearly black pebble, illustrated in c, has an etched design upon either side. The drawing at the right seems to represent a quadruped, with the head, tail,



## MADISONVILLE SITE

a-d, Charred fragments of bags made of bast; c, Charred fragment of wooden bowl; f-h, Grooved stone finishers; i-k, Stone tablets, use unknown; l, m, Discoidal stones. (About  $\frac{1}{4}$ .)



and the greater part of the body appearing on the fragment. The lower portion is missing. Upon the opposite side is etched what appears to be a bird.

A number of small stones, bearing designs which are to us unintelligible, were found in the general refuse; one is shown in d.

The scene represented on the small pebble illustrated in e, shows the upper portion of three human figures with arms extended and wave-like lines below. These lines may indicate water.

The objects illustrated upon this plate are from cache-pits or were found while excavating. None of them are from graves.

**Textile Fabrics and Wooden Utensils.** Almost nothing remains to indicate the types of basketry, bags and other fabrics, or the various forms of wooden objects used by the inhabitants of this site. Pottery, stone and bone implements formed, of course, but a very small portion of the artifacts of the people.

The few charred remains of the more perishable objects, however, indicate that their bags and wooden utensils, and probably their basketry also, were similar to those of the surrounding country.

On plate 21, d, is illustrated a charred fragment of the border of a bag made of coarse bast, which was taken from a cache-pit containing about three bushels of carbonized corn. Another fragment of probably the same bag, is shown in a. The latter drawing is from a sketch made by Dr. Metz, at the time the fragment was uncovered. In removing the "matting," however, it crumbled to pieces. Dr. Metz's sketch, together with the fragment of the border (d), show that the bag was technically identical with others of coarse bast, which were, until very recently, common among the Ojibwa and the people of the region south of the Great Lakes.

In the collections of the Museum is a bag of the same weave and probably of the same material, obtained from the Sauk and Fox. It is strongly made of coarse bast and is well adapted for holding and transporting shelled corn.

Fragments of the bag found in the pit by Dr. Metz were mixed with the charred corn, and at least a portion of this corn had doubtless been deposited in the bag.

A lower corner of another bag of bast is illustrated in c. This was found with charred corn in a pit by Mr. Swanton. In the Ojibwa exhibit in the Peabody Museum is a bag of the same



technic and material, which has the border at the opening also finished as in d.

The fragments of braided cordage shown in b were found with charred material in another pit. They are probably the remains of cords for closing the mouths of bags similar to those above described.

In common with most of the tribes of the eastern section of the United States, this people undoubtedly were well supplied with wooden bowls and platters. Only one small carbonized fragment, however, was brought to light during the Museum's explorations. This was taken from a cache-pit near the southern edge of Trench K by B. W. Merwin, and is figured in e. The broken lines show the approximate form of the bowl.

Wooden bowls and platters, especially among the Algonquian tribes, were of excellent design and workmanship. They were usually made of the knotty or burly portions of maple or other hard wood, and the rim was often ornamented with a representation of the head of a bird or animal after the manner shown in the illustration.<sup>1</sup>

**Pottery.** The pottery recovered from this site shows a considerable variety in form, as will be seen by referring to the plates. Most of the vessels are of the cooking-pot type, although a few food bowls were found, and also several erratic forms which do not seem to belong to either of these groups. The ware is as a rule well-made and fairly durable. The material is the clay of the region tempered principally with ground or pulverized unio shells. Approximately half of the vessels show the impression of cord-wrapped paddles used in their making. The texture of the ware is well brought out in the photographs, plate 22. Nearly all of the pots are furnished with ears, usually four but sometimes two only, which were used for holding in place bands or thongs to which suspending cords were attached. It does not seem to have been customary to fasten suspending cords directly to the ears, although this may have been done occasionally. To facilitate the carrying of the smaller pots of this type, the Mandan sometimes tied a thong around the neck of the vessel, passing it through the ears, and a single looped handle a few inches long was made by again

<sup>1</sup> For examples of other bowls, see Willoughby, *Wooden Bowls of the Algonquian Indians*, *American Anthropologist*, vol. x, p. 423, 1908.



MADISONVILLE SITE  
Typical pottery vessels from graves. (About 4.)

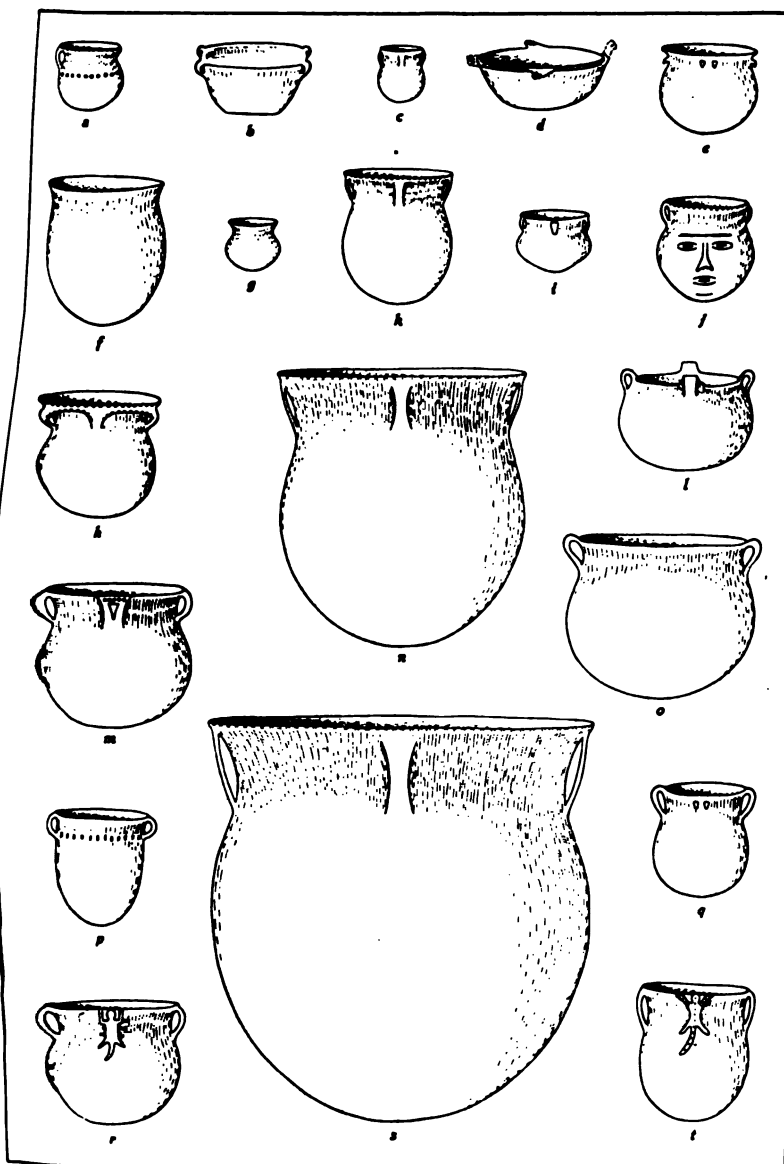


tying the ends of the thong together. Most of the smaller unbroken pots, holding approximately a pint to a gallon, such as are illustrated on plate 23, with the exception of n, and s, are from graves. They were more commonly placed near the head, in the manner illustrated in plates 3 and 4. See also table on page 16. These pots evidently contained food, in some cases probably samp or maize porridge or a similar substance, shown by a deposit on the inner side of many of the vessels, which marked the original level of the semi-liquid contents. As the water slowly evaporated, the bran or other material near the surface was deposited on the inner side of the pot in a narrow horizontal band or line more clearly marked at the top, which, although not very conspicuous, can be easily traced. Many of the vessels contained a single valve of a unio shell which served as a spoon, and sometimes bones of food animals were also noted.

The majority of the vessels found with skeletons were of the style shown in plate 23, h, i. They varied considerably in size and contour, but were usually furnished with four ears; and were, as a rule, without ornamentation with the exception of slight indentations around the rim and the usual cord-wrapped paddle marks on the body of the pot as shown in plate 22. Few vessels without ears were taken from graves; two are illustrated in f, g, plate 23. Cups with a single handle or ear (a) are rare. Quite a number of pots having two plain ears and two in the form of small quadrupeds with the usual passage between the body of the animal and the neck of the vessel, as shown in r, t, accompanied skeletons. In a few instances a pair of lugs curving downward replace the animals on either side (q), and in one example four pairs of lugs were substituted for the usual looped ears as shown in e. These of course were intended to assist in holding the neck band in place. Bowls in the form of birds or quadrupeds were uncommon. Besides the one illustrated in d, fragments of two or three similar ones were found in the refuse, also several heads broken from bowls of the same general kind, including one which may have been intended for that of a dog. The vessel with the human face modeled upon one side, shown in j, plate 23, is the only example of this type obtained. This was found near the head of a skeleton. But one vessel modeled to represent a pot set within another (plate 24, j) was obtained during the exploration by the Museum. One or two

others, however, were previously taken from this cemetery. On plate 24, k, and l, are figured two curious vessels with solid bases, one of which has been broken off. These are now in the collection of the Cincinnati Museum. The unbroken specimen was found with a skeleton by Dr. Metz many years ago. The base of a third vessel of this type was obtained during explorations of the Museum. Food bowls of forms illustrated in m, n, and o, were not plentiful. Fragments were found in the cache-pits and during general excavations. Those illustrated are restored from large pieces. The only example of a vessel with painted decoration known to the writer from this site is in the Cincinnati Museum. It is illustrated in b. The design is in black on an unpainted ground and represents the primitive cosmic symbol, the cross within a circle, and a dot for each quarter. It is highly probable that this was a ceremonial bowl. Fragments of cooking pots of the larger sizes were found throughout the cache-pits and in the general refuse. One of the largest, measuring nineteen inches in height and about the same in diameter, restored from fragments, is shown on plate 23, s. These large pots were quite common, judging from the numerous sherds. They were not found with burials, as they were evidently not intended for individual food containers, but were used in preparing food for families or a considerable number of individuals. Many of these larger vessels were ornamented with incised decoration applied principally to the neck. The prevailing designs are variations of the guilloche as indicated in plate 24, e, f, i, but many of the patterns consist of a herring-bone arrangement of straight lines or lines and dots as in c, d, g. In some instances the ears were quite elaborately decorated with straight or curved lines. A few miniature cups were found and a small number of little clay effigies of animals all crudely executed, probably the work of children or made by their elders for toys.

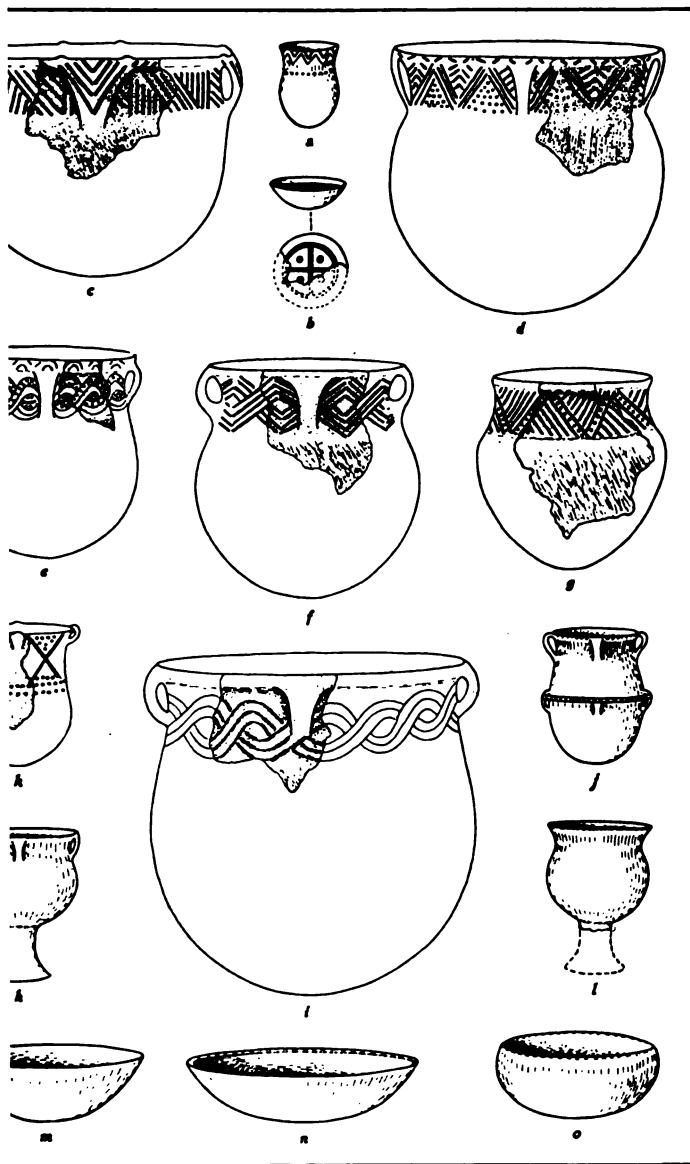
The large number of fragments of vessels of all sizes found in the cache-pits, refuse piles, and during general excavations, indicate the abundance of vessels in use, as well as the long occupation of the ground. Perhaps no group of artifacts from this site is more distinctive than the pottery. A comparison with that from other village sites in the Little Miami Valley, however, notably those near Newtown, and certain others at or near Fort Ancient, as well as from such widely separated localities as the Feurt site near



MADISONVILLE SITE

With the exception of the two largest pots (n and s) which are restored from fragments found in cache-pits, the specimens here shown are typical vessels from graves. (1/10.)





MADISONVILLE SITE

Pottery vessels from graves; b, Small bowl with primitive cosmic symbol in black; with incised decorations, restored from large fragments from cache-pits; m, n, o, stored from large fragments; b, k, l, Cincinnati Museum. ( $\frac{1}{16}$ .)





Portsmouth and the Gartner site near Chillicothe in the Scioto Valley, show that it all belongs to one group. This is true also of other forms of artifacts in general. Madisonville, however, seems to have been the most important center yet known of this culture, and the pottery in general had reached a somewhat higher degree of technical excellence here than in the other localities noted.



## THE SKELETAL REMAINS

**The Collection in General.** In the various collections of human remains gathered from the cemetery near Madisonville by the excavators of different periods, and deposited in the Peabody Museum, 86 crania were found which belonged to full-grown individuals and were in condition to be measured. Two of these were of doubtful sex, and for this reason the measurements have not been included in the tables. In the other cases sexual differentiation according to the usual criteria was not difficult. The majority of the better preserved crania are separated from their bones because of lack of proper storage facilities in the Museum, and so, in many instances, the bones and skull of the same individual were sexed independently. Upon comparison of the separately sexed skulls and bones agreement as to the sex assigned by the observer in the two instances was found in every case except one, where there is unquestionably a mixture of the bones of two individuals of different sexes under the same catalogue number. The skeletal material was catalogued according to graves and in some instances the graves contained mixed burials.

It was not possible to examine and make a full report upon all of the skeletal material from Madisonville, and the total number of individuals represented in the material studied is 217. Of these 111 were adult males, 60 adult females, 16 adults of undetermined sex, 22 children and adolescents, and 8 infants. Many of the skulls measured were sent in from the early excavations by Metz and are unaccompanied by their bones. Most of the bones studied are from skeletons of which the skulls are fragmentary. Apart from the crania, the bones of 112 skeletons were studied, including 90 adults, but only 17 of 86 crania measured belong with these adult skeletons of which the bones were studied.

About half of the total number of crania measured, including the majority of the best preserved, are from the early excavations

of Dr. Metz and Professor Putnam. Of the remainder about half are from J. R. Swanton's excavations and half from R. E. Merwin's. Most of the bones studied are from the excavations of Mr. Swanton in 1897.

The measurements, with the exception of the cranial capacities, were taken by the writer with accurate instruments, and, unless otherwise stated, conform to the national agreements of Monaco and Geneva. The cranial capacities were measured by Mr. George Schwab, Associate in African Archaeology and Ethnology in the Peabody Museum, according to the method of Dr. Hrdlička, and under the supervision of the writer. Mr. Schwab also rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of this paper by recording the measurements and observations.

The observations conform to the system devised by Dr. Ales Hrdlička, and in use in the Department of Physical Anthropology in the United States National Museum.

For comparative material in the study of the crania an unpublished doctoral dissertation by the late R. G. Fuller, on the crania from the Tennessee Stone Graves in the Peabody Museum, has been utilized. This study of a series of 188 crania from Tennessee was prepared by Mr. Fuller under the direction of the writer and according to the methods in use in the Peabody Museum and in the National Museum.

Frequent reference has been made also to an article by F. W. Langdon, M.D., entitled *The Madisonville Prehistoric Cemetery Anthropological Notes*, Journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History, vol. iv, no. 3, October, 1881, pp. 237-257. This article includes an examination of 83 crania from the early excavations in the Madisonville cemetery and notes on the pathology of the bones.

Constant use has been made of two studies in the physical anthropology of the American Indians by Dr. Ales Hrdlička: *Report on an Additional Collection of Skeletal Remains, from Arkansas and Louisiana*, a reprint from the Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, vol. xiv, 1909; and *Physical Anthropology of the Lenape or Delawareans, and of the Eastern Indians in General*, Bulletin 62, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1916.

**Cranial Deformation.**

OCCIPITAL DEFORMATION					
	None	Slight	Medium	Pronounced	Total
Males: number.....	14	34	1	4	53
“ per cent.....	26.41	64.14	1.88	7.54	73.5
Females: number.....	5	20	2	2	29
“ per cent.....	17.25	68.96	6.89	6.89	82.7

This series includes comparatively few skulls with pronounced cranial deformation, as the table above shows. A considerable proportion (26 per cent in males and 17 per cent in females), shows no artificial deformation whatever, and in the majority of cases deformation, where present, is very slight. The total percentage of male crania exhibiting some degree of deformation is 73.5, while the corresponding figure in the case of the females is 82.7. In 115 male crania from the Tennessee Stone Graves, Fuller found 63 or 54.7 per cent with very pronounced occipital flattening, and a series of 70 female crania from the same graves included 34.2 per cent of markedly deformed crania. This does not take into consideration the slight degrees of deformation.

Deformation is of the occipital type only — a fact noted by Langdon also — and is probably due to a slight cradle-board flattening. It is perhaps of interest to note in this connection that no cases were observed in this series in which the auditory meatus seemed compressed in an antero-posterior direction, nor were bony exostoses found in the meatus in any case, although they occur in 13 per cent of Fuller's Tennessee series.

It is of some importance in connection with the utilization of artificially deformed crania for purposes of craniometric study to attempt to ascertain to what extent the original form has been altered, since it is obvious that very radical changes in the head-form brought about by this cause render the study of the proportions of the cranial vault useless, unless some method of correcting for deformation is available. No exact method exists, and with a good deal of reason some anthropologists exclude from their series for measurement all crania showing pronounced artificial deformation. In the case of American Indian crania the debarring of specimens showing artificial deformation would mean the exclusion of some of the largest and most important groups.

In the present investigation an attempt has been made to certain the differences in cranial indices between skulls showing deformation and skulls showing medium or pronounced deformation.

### Cranial Vault Indices.

#### CRANIAL INDICES OF UNDEFORMED CRANIA

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total	Min.	Max.	M
Males: number.....	1	7	6	14	74.46	85.80	71
" per cent.....	7.14	50.0	42.85				
Females: number...	0	2	3	5	77.09	83.04	71

#### CRANIAL INDICES OF CRANIA WITH MEDIUM OR PRONOUNCED DEFORMATION

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total	Min.	Max.	M
Males: number.....	0	0	5	5	82.49	90.9	84
Females: number...	0	0	4	4	84.21	92.55	84

#### CRANIAL INDICES OF CRANIA WITH SLIGHT DEFORMATION

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total	Min.	Max.	M
Males: Number.....	0	7	26	33	76.24	92.31	84
" per cent.....	0	21.21	78.78				
Females: number...	1 <sup>1</sup>	1	18	20	70.39 <sup>1</sup>	88.62	84
" per cent...	5.0	5.0	90.0				

#### CRANIAL INDICES OF ALL CRANIA

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total	Min.
Males: number.....	1	14	37	52	74.46
" per cent.....	1.92	26.92	71.15		
Females: number.....	1	3	25	29	70.39
" per cent.....	3.44	10.34	86.20		
Both sexes: number.....	2	17	62	81	70.39
" per cent.....	2.47	20.98	76.54		

It is apparent from the consideration of the tables given that the nine crania of our series exhibiting medium or pronounced artificial deformation are all brachycephalic skulls, and extremely brachycephalic, with the exception of two males which have indices of 82.58 and 82.49 respectively. If they had not been artificially deformed they might have been dolichocephalic, but not dolichocephalic. The others belong with the group of deformation in the brachycephalic class. On the other hand, of 19 undeformed crania 9 are brachycephalic, so

<sup>1</sup> This cranium showed a slight flattening in the lambdoid region which by increasing its length.

pears that a minimum of about half of our series would be brachycephalic if all were undeformed. But the high percentage of brachycephaly in the largest sub-group, that of crania with slight deformation (78.78 per cent of males and 90 per cent of females), indicates that a higher original proportion of brachycephaly than 50 per cent is to be expected in the whole series. For in the sub-group with slight deformation there has probably been very little alteration in the indices through this cause, and many of the crania exhibit high degrees of brachycephaly. The writer is inclined to believe therefore that the percentages given for brachycephaly for the whole series are only slightly in excess of the figure to be expected if there had been no deformation.

Of 17 crania yielding mesocephalic indices, 9 are undeformed and 8 show slight occipital deformation. The slight occipital deformation has perhaps shifted some of these from the dolichocephalic class to the mesocephalic class. Of the 7 mesocephalic male skulls with slight occipital deformation, 4 have indices of 76, one of 77, and 2 of 78. Of the undeformed crania, 50 per cent are mesocephalic, and of the slightly deformed 21.21 per cent. When we consider the extreme rarity of dolichocephaly in the undeformed sub-group (one case only), it will appear that the decrease in mesocephaly in the slightly deformed sub-group is in accordance with what we should be lead to expect if more crania were shifted from the mesocephalic to the brachycephalic class through deformation than from the dolichocephalic to the mesocephalic class.

In order to check still further the effect of unintentional artificial deformation on cranial form, the writer has made use of the series in the Peabody Museum from the Tennessee Stone Graves, measured by R. G. Fuller, to show the cranial indices in the undeformed sub-group, the deformed sub-group, and in both combined. In this series occipital deformation is much more pronounced, and Fuller states that a slight degree of frontal deformation may often be observed.

CRANIAL INDICES OF UNDEFORMED TENNESSEE CRANIA

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total	Min.	Max.
Males: number .....	4	15	24	43	70	92
“ per cent .....	9.3	34.88	55.81			
Females: number .....	1	5	22	28	74	93
“ per cent .....	3.57	17.85	78.57			



## CRANIAL INDICES OF DEFORMED TENNESSEE CRANIA

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total	Min.	Max.
Males: number.....	0	1	62	63	79	105
" per cent.....	0	1.58	98.41			
Females: number.....	0	0	36	36	81	106
" per cent.....	0	0	100.00			

## CRANIAL INDICES OF ALL TENNESSEE CRANIA

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total	Min.	Max.
Males: number <sup>1</sup> .....	5	18	92	115	70	105
" per cent.....	4.34	15.65	80.0			
Females: number <sup>1</sup> .....	1	6	63	70	74	106
" per cent.....	1.42	8.56	90.0			
Both sexes: number <sup>1</sup> .....	6	24	155	185	70	106
" per cent.....	3.24	12.97	83.78			

If we compare the above tables with the similar tables for the sub-groups according to deformation in our Madisonville series, it will be observed first of all that the undeformed Tennessee crania include a larger percentage of brachycephals than the corresponding Madisonville sub-group — an excess amounting to about 13 per cent in the males. In the entire series the percentage of brachycephals for both males and females combined is 83.78 against 76.54 in our Madisonville series. The deformed Tennessee crania include no dolichocephals and but one mesocephal, whereas in our series one dolichocephal and 8 mesocephals show slight deformation. As the percentage of mesocephalic crania in the Tennessee series is smaller in the undeformed sub-group than in the corresponding Madisonville sub-group, there were probably fewer Tennessee individuals of hereditarily mesocephalic crania who could be shifted into the brachycephalic class through accidental deformation. This may partly account for the smaller excess in proportions of brachycephals in the entire Tennessee series over that in the entire Madisonville series as compared with the corresponding proportions in the undeformed sub-group. But on the other hand, only 61.6 per cent of the Tennessee series show deformation as against 73.5 in our series. Of the Tennessee brachycephals, 29 per cent show no deformation, against 11 per cent of our brachycephals. This difference may be due to the somewhat more rugged character of the Tennessee crania, which might render

<sup>1</sup> Includes several crania in which measurements were approximate.

them more resistant against deformation; it may be due to the personal equation of the two different observers in recording deformations; it may be due to error incident to the sampling process, since both series are comparatively small, and our entire series includes 81 cranial indices as against 185 in the Tennessee series.

The examination of the Tennessee series confirms our conclusion that accidental occipital deformation affects dolichocephalic crania very little, mesocephalic crania slightly more, and brachycephalic crania most of all.

Assuming artificial deformation to have been caused by pressure of the occiput on a hard cradle board, it seems clear that this cause would naturally affect round-headed infants to a greater extent than long-headed infants, for if the head of the child is free to turn from side to side, the tendency for the dolichocephalic child with the protruding occiput is to rest the head on one side or other rather than on the back. On the other hand, a brachycephalic child with an occiput more or less flat is likely to rest on the back of the head rather than on the side. Again, if the head is fixed so that it must rest on the occiput the greater convexity of the long-headed occiput presents less surface for deformation than the relatively flat occiput of the round head.

On the whole the present writer is inclined to believe that radical changes in head form were not usually brought about by unintentional occipital deformation, but that the most of crania affected thereby were originally brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic. Some few dolichocephalic crania may have been transformed into mesocephaly; more were probably transferred from the higher grades of mesocephaly to brachycephaly; still more brachycephalic crania were made increasingly so.

It remains to compare the cranial indices in our series with those of the group studied by Langdon, and with other groups. In rearranging his seriations in accordance with the modern divisions of the index, only crania which have been sexed have been included.

CRANIAL INDICES OF MADISONVILLE CRANIA (LANGDON)

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total
Males: number . . . . .	1	12	23	36
“ per cent. . . . .	2.77	33.33	63.88	
Females: number . . . . .	2	6	14	22
“ per cent. . . . .	9.09	27.27	63.63	

As compared with our series, that of Langdon shows an excess of mesocephalic crania (33.33 per cent against 26.92 in males) and an excess of brachycephalic crania. These differences are even more pronounced in the case of the females (10.34 per cent of mesocephalic crania in our series as against 27.27 in his series). That these differences, however, are due to the shortness of the series may be seen from the results of including in Langdon's series 14 other crania which he was unable to sex. The following table shows the fundamental similarity:

CRANIAL INDICES OF MADISONVILLE CRANIA (MALE AND FEMALE)

	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total
Peabody Museum: number . . . . .	2	17	62	81
" " per cent . . . . .	2.47	20.98	76.54	
Langdon series: number . . . . .	5	15	52	72
" " per cent . . . . .	6.94	20.83	72.22	

The average length (diameter antero-posterior maximum) of 52 male crania of our Madisonville series is 177.4 mm. and the range from 161-195 mm. The mean length of 29 female crania is 169 mm. and the range from 161-179 mm.

The average width (diameter lateral maximum) of males is 146.1 mm. and the range 133-160 mm. In the females the average width is 141.7 mm. and the range 126-150 mm.

LENGTH-HEIGHT INDEX

	Chamaecephalic x-69.9	Orthocephalic 70-74.9	Hypsiccephalic 75-x	Total
Peabody Museum series:				
Males: number . . . . .	0	10	32	42
" per cent . . . . .	0	23.81	76.19	
Females: number . . . . .	0	6	21	27
" per cent . . . . .	0	23.33	77.77	
Both sexes: number . . . . .	0	16	53	69
" " per cent . . . . .	0	23.19	76.81	
Langdon series:				
Both sexes: number . . . . .	1	2	55	58
" " per cent . . . . .	1.72	3.44	94.82	

As the series given above includes all crania, deformed and undeformed, it is subject to the same reservations as the cranial index discussed above. It will be noted in the analysis of the above table that there is a considerable discrepancy in results between our



MADISONVILLE SITE

Male cranium, brachycephalic type

Norma lateralis  
Norma verticalis

Norma facialis  
Norma occipitalis



series and that measured by Langdon in 1879. Our series shows a range of the index from 70 to 83, whereas Langdon's series ranges from 68 to 89. Langdon's series has an excess of hypsicephals amounting to about 18 per cent. This difference is distinctly puzzling in view of the similarity as regards the seriation of the cranial index in the two series. Langdon does not state how he measured cranial height. He may have taken maximum height instead of basion-bregma height. Langdon's series comes from the first year's excavations in the cemetery, whereas the majority of our crania are from later excavations in other portions of the cemetery, but if there had been a marked difference in headform we should have expected it to show in the cranial index.

Of 53 undeformed Tennessee Stone Grave crania of both sexes measured by Fuller, 96.22 per cent were hypsicephalic and 3.77 per cent orthocephalic.

## BREADTH-HEIGHT INDEX

	Tapeinocephalic x-91.9	Metriocephalic 92-97.9	Akrocephalic 98-x	Total
Males: number.....	15	20	7	42
"    per cent.....	35.71	47.62	16.66	
Females: number.....	10	15	2	27
"    per cent.....	37.03	55.55	7.40	
Both sexes: number.....	25	35	9	69
"    "    per cent.....	36.23	50.72	13.04	

The range in this series is from 82 to 100 in the males and from 86 to 100 in the females. I have not calculated the mean as it is of doubtful significance in so heterogeneous a group of crania. Comparison with the Langdon group of Madisonville crania is omitted because the indices are not given.

From the above table it will be seen that the relative height of this series is somewhat small. In 53 undeformed Tennessee crania of both sexes Fuller found 3.77 per cent tapeinocephalic, 28.30 per cent metriocephalic, and 67.92 per cent akrocephalic. This brings out sharply an important difference in these neighboring groups. The basion-bregma height is absolutely lower in our series (average for males 136.9 mm., females 131.3 mm.; against 144 mm. for males and 139 mm. for females in the Tennessee series).

**Cranial Arcs.****CRANIAL ARCS AND CIRCUMFERENCES**

	Mean		Range		Number	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Horizontal circumference:						
Madisonville.....	513	493	482-540	462-515	44	26
Tennessee (Fuller)....	512	481	480-530	462-495	..	..
Nasion-opisthion arc:						
Madisonville.....	361	345	334-379	328-365	41	21
Tennessee (Fuller)....	359	349	331-400	328-368	..	..
Transverse arc:						
Madisonville.....	316	306	300-350	281-325	42	26
Tennessee (Fuller)....	310	302	293-348	292-321	..	..

In the table above the cranial circumferences and arcs of the Madisonville series are compared with those of the Tennessee Stone Grave series measured by Fuller, including in the latter case only undeformed crania. In the case of the horizontal circumference (taken above the brow ridges), the males of the two series show very similar values, while the Madisonville females surpass the Tennessee females in the mean value of the circumference by 12 mm. The mean values of the same measurement for Arkansas and Louisiana series studied by Dr. Hrdlička are as follows: Arkansas males 500, Louisiana males 504; Arkansas females 485, Louisiana females 488.

This measurement and the following were not taken by Langdon on his Madisonville series.

In the case of the nasion-opisthion arc the mean value for Madisonville males again exceeds slightly that of the Tennessee males while the Madisonville females fall below the Tennessee females. The corresponding values in the cases of the Arkansas and Louisiana series are: Arkansas males 352, Louisiana males 355; Arkansas females 342, Louisiana females 348.

The excess of the Madisonville crania over the Tennessee crania in the transverse arc may be due partially to the fact that Fuller measured to the supra-mastoid crest, while the writer measured to porion.

**Cranial Capacity.**

	Mean	Range	Number
Madisonville series: males.....	1435 cc.	1265-1630 cc.	38
"    "    females.....	1287	1150-1380	21
Tennessee series (Fuller): males.....	1410	1175-1680	?
"    "    females.....	1276	1110-1460	?
Arkansas series (Hrdlička): males.....	1455	1310-1670	19
"    "    "    females.....	1255	1140-1395	14

The mean capacities of the series compared above are similar when it is considered that the range is great and the series are comparatively small. Langdon found the mean capacity of 48 Madisonville crania of both sexes to be 1338, but these were measured with dried peas and the writer ascertained by experimentation that this method yields results 50 cc. below the correct capacity of a bronze control skull. If we then add 50 cc. to Langdon's mean we find that it corresponds closely enough with the mean of both sexes in our series, 1382 cc.

**Thickness of Left Parietal Above Temporo-parietal Suture.** It is very difficult to obtain accurate results in this measurement. In the crania of 46 Madisonville males the mean value of this measurement was 5.8 mm. The range in the males was from 3 mm. to 9 mm. except in the case of one extraordinarily thick cranium which yielded a measurement of 14 mm. on the left parietal just above the temporo-parietal suture. In 28 females the mean thickness at this point was 5.78 mm., very little less than in the males. The range was from 4 mm. to 7 mm. Dr. Hrdlička found the average thickness of the left parietal above the squamous suture in 13 male Arkansas crania 5 mm., and in 9 females 5.3 mm. In another Arkansas group of 22 male crania the average was 5 mm. and in 13 female crania 4.5. In the Louisiana group of 17 males and 18 females the averages were 5.5 mm. and 4.85 mm. respectively.

**Minimum Frontal Diameter.**

	Mean		Range		Number	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Madisonville.....	94.97	92.71	87-103	85-103	48	28
Tennessee (Fuller)....	93	90	83-108	82-99	?	?
Louisiana (Hrdlička)...	96	94	85-102	83-99	17	17
Arkansas (Hrdlička)...	96	93	87-102	86-102	13	10

Langdon gives as the mean of this measurement for 69 Madisonville crania of both sexes 93, with a range of 84-107. The corre-



sponding mean in our series is 94.1. The frontal breadth in this series is therefore rather small, though it exceeds that of the Tennessee Stone Grave group.

#### Facial Index.

##### UPPER FACIAL INDEX

	Hypereuryene x-44.9	Euryene 45-49.8	Mesene 50-54.9	Leptene 55-x	Total
Males: number.....	1	6	18	2	27
" per cent.....	3.7	22.22	66.66	7.4	
Females: number.....	0	6	6	1	13
" per cent.....	0	46.14	46.14	7.69	

While the majority of the Madisonville crania fall into the mesene group as regards the upper facial index, it will be observed there also exists a strong tendency toward the euryene which is naturally accentuated in the female group. Quite markedly different is the seriation of the upper facial index in the undeformed crania from the Tennessee Stone Graves measured by Fuller. Of 97 males he found 34 per cent leptene, 56.7 per cent mesene, and 9.2 per cent euryene. In 64 Tennessee females the seriation is 34.3 per cent leptene, 54.6 per cent mesene, and 10.9 per cent euryene. In our series bizygomatic diameter in 28 males averages 141 mm., and in 14 females 131.3 mm. Upper facial height averages 72 mm. in 34 males and 66.1 mm. in 18 females.

##### TOTAL FACIAL INDEX

	Hypereuryprosopic x-79.9	Euryprosopic 80-84.9	Mesoprosopic 85-89.9	Total
Males: number.....	1	12	5	18
" per cent.....	5.55	66.66	27.77	
Females: number.....	0	4	2	6
" per cent.....	0	66.66	33.33	

The number of specimens upon which the measurements necessary for the calculation of the total facial index can be taken is unfortunately small. There is a strong tendency toward euryprosopism in this group, due to large bizygomatic diameters and somewhat small total facial height (averages of 117.9 mm. in 21 males and 110.2 mm. in 7 females). The average total facial index in male crania from Louisiana and Arkansas, as given by Dr. Hrdlička, is between 85 and 86, while the average for the males in our series is about 83. Fuller found the average total facial index

in 92 male crania from the Tennessee Stone Graves 86, and in 59 females 85.2. Fuller found 19.5 of leptoprosopic crania in his males and 10 per cent in his females. The percentages of euryprosopic crania in the Tennessee group were 25 for males and 44 for females. It therefore appears that our Madisonville crania are sharply differentiated from the Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana groups in respect to facial proportions.

#### Mean Orbital Index.

	Chamaeconch x-82.8	Mesoconch 83-88.9	Hypsiconch 89-x	Total
Males: number.....	20	13	3	36
" per cent.....	55.55	36.11	8.33	
Females: number.....	12	7	1	20
" per cent.....	60.0	35.0	5.0	

The orbital index is extremely variable. The mean index of the two orbits ranges in the males from 67 to 101, and in the females from 71 to 90. Often the measurements of the two orbits differ considerably and in such cases the index of the left orbit is usually higher, a fact previously observed by Dr. Hrdlička in regard to the orbits of crania of Indians from Louisiana and Arkansas. In the Tennessee Stone Grave series of 95 males, 33.6 per cent were hypsiconch, 49.4 per cent mesoconch, and 16.8 per cent chamaeconch. Of 69 females 44.9 per cent were hypsiconch, 47.8 per cent mesoconch, and 7.2 per cent chamaeconch. Dr. Hrdlička states that the majority of the Arkansas and Louisiana crania measured by him were megaseme (hypsiconch). It may be observed from the tables above that the Madisonville crania are prevailingly chamaeconch and mesoconch. This is to be expected in view of the large breadth and inconsiderable height of the facial skeleton.

#### Nasal Index.

	Leptorrhine x-46.9	Mesorrhine 47-50.9	Platyrrhine 51-57.9	Hyperplatyrrhine 58-x	Total
Males: number	7	11	15	2	35
" per cent	20.0	31.42	42.85	5.71	
Females: number	1	3	10	6	20
" per cent	5.0	15.0	50.0	30.0	

Almost half of the male crania and four-fifths of the female crania are platyrrhine. This is to be expected in broad, short-faced people, and the sexual difference is usual. In 102 male crania from the Tennessee Stone Graves, Fuller found 45 per cent platyrrhine,

37.3 per cent mesorrhine, and 17.6 per cent leptorrhine. In 73 female crania of the same group the seriation is 63 per cent platyrrhine, 26 per cent mesorrhine, 11 per cent leptorrhine. The Madisonville crania show a higher percentage of platyrrhine indices than the Tennessee group, especially in the females. The mean nasal index in males is 51.6 and in females 55.9. The mean of the Tennessee males is 50.1 and of the Tennessee females 51.5.

**Palatal Index (Maxillo-alveolar).**

	Dolichuranic x-109.9	Mesuranic 110-114.9	Brachyuranic 115-x	Total
Males: number.....	2	7	23	32
“ per cent.....	6.25	21.87	71.87	
Females: number.....	2	4	13	19
“ per cent.....	10.52	21.05	68.42	

The palate in our group is usually brachyuranic with a range in males of 106-129 and a mean of 117.6. The range in the female crania is 108-136 and the mean is 118.7. The means in the Tennessee groups are 122.6 for males and 120.9 for females. Of 84 Tennessee males 89.2 per cent were brachyuranic, 8.3 per cent mesuranic and 2.3 dolichuranic. The corresponding figures for 55 females are: brachyuranic 78.1 per cent, mesuranic 7.2 per cent, dolichuranic 14.5 per cent. Dr. Hrdlička gives as the average palatal index for Louisiana males 116, and for females 122, but the number of specimens included is small. On the whole it may be said that the degree of brachyurany exhibited by the Madisonville group is somewhat less than would be expected in view of the facial proportions and that it is evident that the palates in this group have undergone reduction, which often has the effect of decreasing the index.

**Alveolar Index.**

	Orthognathous x-97.9	Mesognathous 98-102.9	Prognathous 103-x	Total
Males: number.....	19	9	0	28
“ per cent.....	67.85	32.14	0	
Females: number.....	8	8	1	17
“ per cent.....	47.05	47.05	5.88	

While the alveolar index has been discarded by Dr. Hrdlička and other authorities, and is much influenced by the facial length, it is still of interest as an indication of prognathism. According to this index more than two-thirds of our males are orthognathous



MADISONVILLE SITE

Female cranium, brachycephalic type

Norma lateralis  
Norma verticalis

Norma facialis  
Norma occipitalis



and the rest mesognathous, while the females show a somewhat greater tendency toward mesognathism. In the Tennessee group of 94 males and 56 females the distribution of index classes is as follows: orthognathous, males 70.2 per cent, females 48.2 per cent; mesognathous, males 26.5 per cent, females 41 per cent; prognathous, males 3.2 per cent, females 10.7 per cent. This is quite similar to the Madisonville seriation, but the Tennessee group includes a few more prognathous skulls.

**Angles Relating to Prognathism.** The facial angle according to Rivet and Hrdlička, included between nasion, alveon, and basion, and measured according to the direct or graphic method, gives an average of  $73.1^\circ$  in 28 males and  $72.1^\circ$  in 17 females. This puts both sexes in the orthognathous group according to Rivet's division of the index which marks the lower limit of that group at 73. The range in the males was from  $68^\circ$  to  $79^\circ$  and in the females from  $67.5^\circ$  to  $80^\circ$ . Dr. Hrdlička found an average of  $73^\circ$  in Munsee or Lenape males and  $74^\circ$  in the females of that group. The following is the seriation of the index.

## NASO-ALVEOLO-BASILAR ANGLE

	Prognathous x-59.9	Mesognathous 70-72.9	Orthognathous 73-x	Total
Males: number.....	4	6	18	28
" per cent.....	14.28	21.42	64.28	
Females: number.....	1	9	7	17
" per cent.....	5.88	52.94	41.17	

If we compare the angle with the results of the alveolar index given above we find that the classification according to the angle removes 4 male crania from the mesognathous to the prognathous class and one orthognathous cranium into the mesognathous class. In the case of the females it changes one cranium from orthognathous to mesognathous. This is a better indication of prognathism than the alveolar index.

**Foramen Magnum.** The mean diameter of the foramen magnum in 36 male Madisonville crania is 32.8 mm. and in 22 female crania 31.8 mm. This is decidedly below the average for Indian males as recorded by Dr. Hrdlička, but in the case of the females there is a substantial agreement. The following figures are of interest by way of comparison: Munsee, 7 males, 35 mm., 8 females, 32 mm.; Louisiana, 10 males, 34.5 mm., 14 females, 31.8 mm.;

Arkansas, 22 males, 33 mm., 16 females, 31.4 mm. It remains to be seen whether this ratio has any particular significance in relation to stature or other bodily characters.

#### Lower Jaw.

	Males		Females	
	Number of specimens	Average	Number of specimens	Average
Height at symphysis . . . . .	25	36.5	9	32.4
Minimum breadth of ramus . . .	30	35.5	9	34.2
Bicondylar width . . . . .	22	129.0	7	122.7
Condylar-symphysial length . . .	24	104.6	7	104.5
Bigonial diameter . . . . .	24	103.4	8	99.1
Mean angle . . . . .	25	125.4	7	126.4

The dimensions of the lower jaws in this series are moderate. The mandibles are especially broad in proportion to their length. The female jaws seem relatively longer than the male but this is possibly due to the shortness of the female series. The mean angle of the ascending rami is unusually high in the male group, but otherwise the measurements do not diverge markedly from those observed in the case of other Indian crania.

#### Frontal Region.

##### HEIGHT

	Very low	Low	Medium	High	Very high	Total
Males: number . . . . .	2	18	30	2	1	53
" per cent. . . . .	3.75	34.0	56.6	3.75	1.9	
Females: number . . . . .	1	12	12	6	0	31
" per cent. . . . .	3.2	38.7	38.7	19.3	0	
Doubtful: number . . . . .	0	1	2	0	0	3

##### BREADTH

	Narrow	Medium	Broad	Very broad	Total
Males: number . . . . .	13	27	10	3	53
" per cent. . . . .	24.5	51.0	18.9	5.6	
Females: number . . . . .	6	17	4	4	31
" per cent. . . . .	19.3	54.9	12.9	12.9	
Doubtful: number . . . . .	0	1	2	0	3

##### SLOPE

	Bulging	Submedium	Medium	Receding	Very receding	Total
Males: number . . . . .	2	4	37	7	3	53
" per cent. . . . .	3.7	7.5	70.0	13.0	5.6	
Females: number . . . . .	7	0	20	4	0	31
" per cent. . . . .	22.6	0	64.5	12.9	0	
Doubtful: number . . . . .	0	0	3	0	0	3

An analysis of the above tabulations of observed characters in the frontal region of the crania shows that the majority of males (56.6 per cent) had brows of medium height, while a considerable proportion of the remainder (34 per cent) had low foreheads. Only a few crania exhibited high frontals, or very low frontals. In comparison with the males the females show a lesser proportion of frontals of medium height and a decided increase in the numbers of skulls with high frontals (19.3 per cent).

In the matter of frontal breadth, as observed in relation to height and slope, about one half of the male skulls are medium and the other half almost equally divided between narrow and broad. The females show a similar distribution, except for a somewhat larger proportion of relatively very broad frontals.

In the large majority of the male skulls the slope of the frontal bone is medium (70 per cent). The remainder show more with receding frontals than with steep or bulging frontals. The female crania differ from the males in the high percentage of bulging frontals (22.6 per cent). This is, of course, a common sex difference.

#### Sagittal Region.

BREADTH					
	Submedium	Medium	Broad	Very broad	Total
Males: number . . . . .	3	26	15	9	53
" per cent . . . . .	5.6	49.0	28.5	17.3	
Females: number . . . . .	2	15	11	3	31
" per cent . . . . .	6.5	48.4	35.5	9.6	
Doubtful: number . . . . .	0	2	1	0	3

ELEVATION						
	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Marked	Very marked	Total
Males: number . . . . .	10	19	18	4	2	53
" per cent . . . . .	18.9	36.0	34.0	7.5	5.6	
Females: number . . . . .	7	14	9	1	0	31
" per cent . . . . .	22.6	45.1	29.0	3.2	0	
Doubtful: number . . . . .	1	0	2	0	0	3

The tables above clearly show a predominance of medium and broad sagittal regions both in males and in females, with a somewhat larger proportion of the broad categories in the latter sex. A large majority of the male crania show a varying development of the sagittal elevation, but it is very pronounced in a few cases only. Naturally the females show a lesser development of this character.



In 9 male crania, or 17 per cent, a slight post-coronoid depression was observed. This character also was present in a slight degree in 13 female crania, and markedly in one female cranium, — a total of 45.2 per cent. This again is a sexual difference of common observation.

#### Temporal Region.

	Flat or depressed	Medium	Bulging	Total
Males: number.....	19	18	16	53
“ per cent.....	36.0	34.0	30.0	
Females: number.....	11	10	10	31
“ per cent.....	35.5	32.2	32.2	
Doubtful: number.....	1	1	1	3

The table above shows an almost equal distribution of flat, medium, and bulging temporal regions in both sexes. A pronounced depression of the wing of the sphenoid is very common in this series.

#### Occipital Region.

	Flat or steep	Medium convex	Protuberant	Occipital torus	Total
Males: number....	38	14	1	16	53
“ per cent....	71.7	26.4	1.9	30.0	
Females: number..	21	8	2	1	31
“ per cent..	67.7	25.8	6.5	3.2	
Doubtful: number.	2	1	0	1	3

The high percentage of flat occipital regions in this series, as shown in the table above, is partially due to artificial occipital deformation, but in a greater degree to the natural shape of the skull. The percentage of male crania exhibiting flat occipital regions is 71.7, while the percentage of all male crania showing occipital deformation is 73.5. On the other hand 67.7 per cent of female crania have flat occiputs, whereas 82.7 per cent show artificial deformation.

A slight occipital torus was observed in 11 male skulls, an occipital torus of medium development in 3 skulls, and of pronounced development in 2 skulls, making a total of 30 per cent of the male crania exhibiting this feature. One female cranium and one cranium of doubtful sex also show a slight development of this feature.

**Sutures.****OCCCLUSION OF CORONAL, SAGITTAL, AND LAMBDOID**

	All open	Beginning in all	Beginning in sagittal	Beginning in coronal
Males: number . . . . .	26	3	4	0
" per cent. . . . .	49.05			
Females: number . . . . .	25	1	0	2
" per cent. . . . .	80.06			

	Beginning in sagittal and lambdoid	Beginning in sagittal and coronal	Beginning at pterion	Advanced in sagittal, others open or beginning
Males: number . . . . .	3	2	0	8
Females: number . . . . .	0	1	1	0

	Advanced in sagittal, and in coronal, lambdoid open	Advanced in sagittal, and in lambdoid, coronal open	Advanced in sagittal, coronal, and lambdoid	Total
Males: number . . . . .	2	2	3	53
Females: number . . . . .	1	0	0	31

As may be seen from the above tabulations, about half of the male crania in our series and four-fifths of the female crania showed no external traces of obliteration of the sutures. Contrary to what has usually been observed in the case of American crania, points of obliteration appear first in the sagittal suture and obliteration proceeds more rapidly in this suture. Hrdlička observed in his Arkansas and Louisiana series that synostosis began dorsally in the coronal suture, and Fuller makes a similar statement in regard to his Tennessee Stone Grave series. The difference may be due, on the one hand, to the less pronounced occipital deformation of the Madisonville series, or, on the other, to an error consequent upon the small number of crania. It is of some interest to note that in two of the female crania synostosis was recorded to have begun in the coronal and in no case in the sagittal, while of the males no example of priority of coronal obliteration was observed.

The form of pterion found in this series is almost invariably the broad H type, but one male cranium and one female cranium exhibited the K or X type.

SERRATION					
	Simple	Medium	Complex	?	Total
Males: number.....	33	18	1	1	53
“ per cent.....	62.23	33.94	1.88	1.88	“
Females: number.....	21	10	0	0	31
“ per cent.....	67.72	32.25	0	0	“
Doubtful: number.....	1	2	0	0	3

As indicated above, the conformation of the sutures in this series of crania is simple in about two-thirds of the cases and of medium complexity in the remainder.

WORMIAN BONES							
	?	None	Lambdoid	Temporo-parietal	Temporo-occipital	Others	Total
Males: number.....	4	11	32	4	13	9	53
“ per cent.....	7.54	20.75	60.37	7.54	24.52	16.98	71.66
Females: number....	0	13	15	0	7	2	31
“ per cent....	0	41.93	48.38	0	22.58	6.45	58.06
Doubtful: number..	0	1	2	0	0	0	3

The table above shows that sutural bones occur in 71.69 per cent of the male crania and in 58.06 per cent of the female crania. They are found oftenest in the lambdoid suture and next in the temporo-parietal. Nine epipteric bones were observed in the male crania, one in the coronal suture, one in the sagittal suture, and one os apicum or triangular Wormian bone at lambda. Two of the male crania showed traces of the transverse occipital suture, but it was not complete in either case. There were two epipteric bones among the crania of females and one complete transverse occipital suture. The so-called Inca bone, then, occurs in but one of the 87 crania of our collection, whereas Fuller found it in about 16 per cent of his Tennessee Stone Grave series.

#### Parietal Foramina.

NUMBER				
	None	One	Two	Total
Males: number.....	24	16	13	53
“ per cent.....	45.26	30.17	24.51	“
Females: number.....	18	7	6	31
“ per cent.....	58.05	22.57	19.35	“

Fuller found parietal foramina absent in about 40 per cent of his Tennessee Stone Grave crania. This corresponds fairly closely with the results shown in the above table.



MADISONVILLE SITE

Male cranium, subdolichocephalic type

Norma lateralis  
Norma verticalis

Norma facialis  
Norma occipitalis



**Retro-mastoid Foramina.** These are extremely variable in number, size, and position.

**Mastoids.**

	Size				Total
	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large	
<b>Males:</b> number.....	22	24	6	1	53
“ per cent.....	41.49	45.26	11.31	1.88	
<b>Females:</b> number.....	7	16	7	0	30
“ per cent.....	23.33	53.33	23.33	0	

The mastoid processes are usually medium or somewhat below medium in size in our Madisonville crania as compared with average Europeans. Fuller found 55 per cent of his Tennessee Stone Grave males with mastoids of medium size, and the remainder equally divided between sub-medium and large. On the whole our series falls somewhat below the Tennessee group in the development of this process. Hrdlička observed in his examination of crania from Arkansas and Louisiana that, while the mastoid processes often showed only a moderate development in the males, in females they frequently exceeded the average determined in the same sex in Whites and in Indians from other regions. He related this development in females to the growth of the sternocleidomastoid muscles favored by the habitual carrying by these women of heavy jars and other burdens. From the table above a similar superiority of mastoid development on the part of females may be observed in our series, and doubtless for the same reason.

**Facial Portion.**

**SUPRA-ORBITAL RIDGES**

	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large	Total
<b>Males:</b> number..	4	13	25	7	4	53
“ per cent..	7.54	24.51	47.14	13.16	7.54	
<b>Females:</b> number	11	13	7	0	0	31
“ per cent	35.48	41.93	22.58	0	0	

It is of interest to compare with the above table the results obtained by Fuller in the observation of the same character on 148 male crania and 72 female crania of Tennessee Indians. In the males he found no case in which the brow ridges were undeveloped, 29.1 per cent were of submedium development, 44.6 per cent medium and 26.3 per cent above medium. This shows a distribution of the grades of percentages in various development closely sim-

ilar to that of our series, but the Madisonville crania, on the whole, show more instances of the lesser degrees of development. (Tennessee females: absent 31.9 per cent, submedium 33.3 per cent, medium 29.1 per cent, large 5.5 per cent.)

The types of supra-orbital ridges most commonly found in this series are: (a) in which the ridges are over the median portions of the orbits and limited laterally; (b) in which the lateral portions of the superior orbital margins are thickened to form ridges which are separated from the median ridges, (c) in which the lateral and median ridges are continuous forming a torus from one external angular process to the other. Type *a* is by far the most common in our series. Type *b* is frequently found and type *c* only occasionally.

The orbits in this series present no unusual features. There is considerable variation in the dimensions of right and left orbits in the same individual, as remarked above. Practically all of the orbits are of the oblong shape with rounded corners. In case of the male crania 57.5 per cent of the orbits have their long axes horizontal and 42.5 per cent have long axes inclined downward and outward. In the female crania these figures are 54.54 per cent and 45.54 per cent respectively.

#### INFRA-ORBITAL SUTURE

	Absent	Right	Left	Both	Total
Males: number . . . . .	21	2	3	6	32
" per cent . . . . .	65.62	6.25	9.37	18.75	
Females: number . . . . .	13	2	3	3	21
" per cent . . . . .	61.88	4.76	14.28	14.28	

In the above tabulation of the occurrence of the infra-orbital suture the writer has not distinguished between cases in which the suture was present only on the facial aspect and cases in which it was complete on both facial and orbital aspects. Where found it was usually complete. Fuller records the complete absence of this feature in 64 per cent of his male crania from the Tennessee Stone Graves, which agrees closely enough with our figures. But in Tennessee females he finds the suture absent in only 30 per cent of cases as against 61.88 per cent in our series.

**NASION DEPRESSION.** The nasion depression, which is due in large part to the protuberance of glabella, is very slight or entirely

absent in most of the male skulls in our Madisonville series, and does not occur at all in the crania of females. The type of depressed nasion that is often seen in Australian skulls (*i.e.* where the fronto-nasal suture is not only depressed below the level of the glabella eminence, but is sunken deep below the level of ophryon) does not occur at all in this series.

## NASAL BRIDGE

	Breadth				Height				Total
	Submedium	Medium	Broad	?	Low	Medium	High	?	
Males: number	14	24	5	7	11	28	4	7	50
" per cent	28.0	48.0	10.0	14.0	22.0	56.0	8.0	14.0	
Females: number	7	10	5	9	11	10	1	9	31
" per cent	22.57	32.25	16.12	29.03	35.48	32.25	3.22	29.03	

## SHAPE OF NASAL BRIDGE

	?	Straight	Convex	Concave	Concavo-convex	Total
Males: number . . . .	22	4	8	0	11	55
" per cent . . . .	48.84	8.88	17.76	0	24.42	
Females: number <sup>1</sup> .	21	2	1	0	8	31

From the analysis of the above tables it will be observed that the nasal bridge in males of our series is prevailingly of medium breadth, often of submedium breadth, and sometimes broad. Usually it is of medium height (56.0 per cent), and often low (22.0 per cent). The nasal bridge in the females tends to be lower and broader, a generally observed sex difference. Convex and concavo-convex nasal bridges are the prevailing forms.

## NASAL SPINE

	?	Submedium	Medium	Pronounced	Total
Males: number. . . .	1	20	14	0	35
" per cent . . . .	2.85	57.14	39.99	0	
Females: number . .	0	10	9	0	19
" per cent . . . .	0	52.63	47.34	0	

## LOWER BORDERS OF NASAL APERTURE

	Indistinct	Medium	Sharp	Total
Males: number . . . . .	20	5	13	38
" per cent . . . . .	52.63	13.15	34.21	
Females: number . . . . .	8	7	5	20
" per cent . . . . .	40.0	35.0	25.0	

<sup>1</sup> Percentages omitted because of inadequate series.



NASAL GROOVES				
	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Pronounced
Males: number. . .	26	7	2	3
" per cent. . .	68.38	18.31	5.26	7.89
Females: number. .	16	3	1	0
" per cent. . .	80.0	15.0	5.0	0

The above tables show a prevailing poor development of the nasal spine and indistinct lower borders of the nasal aperture characteristics of both sexes in our series. This is quite the reverse of what Fuller states to be true of the Tennessee Stone Culture series of which he says that the lower borders are "almost universally sharp" and the nasal spines usually well developed. Our observations on our series, however, accord with the results of Dr. Hrdlička's findings on Arkansas and Louisiana skulls in respect to these characters.

SUB-ORBITAL FOSSAE				
	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Pronounced
Males: number. . . . .	0	9	14	16
" per cent. . . . .	0	23.07	35.89	41.02
Females: number. . . . .	1	2	10	9
" per cent. . . . .	4.54	9.08	45.45	40.86
Doubtful: number. . . . .	0	1	1	1

The depth of the sub-orbital fossae depends very largely on age, to some extent upon sex, and in an indeterminate degree on racial and individual variation. The distribution in the present series, under consideration, as shown above, seems to have no unusual significance.

MALARS				
	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large
Males: number. . . . .	5	16	17	2
" per cent. . . . .	12.5	40.0	42.5	5.0
Females: number. . . . .	11	8	0	0
" per cent. . . . .	57.86	42.08	0	0
Doubtful: number. . . . .	1	0	1	0

ZYGOMAE				
	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large
Males: number. . . . .	4	11	18	5
" per cent. . . . .	10.52	28.94	47.35	13.15
Females: number. . . . .	5	10	1	0
" per cent. . . . .	31.25	62.50	6.25	0
Doubtful: number. . . . .	1	0	1	0

As shown in the table, the malars are large in nearly half of the male crania, but not "very large," except in two cases. Rugged and massive malar bones are not nearly as common in the group from this cemetery as they are, for example, in crania from the Tennessee Stone Graves. Large malars are not found in the few female skulls in the series in which observations could be made on the facial skeleton. The marginal process on the malar bone, which Langdon found well developed in 76.4 per cent of 68 Madisonville crania, is also of common occurrence in our series.

The zygomatic arches are naturally stronger and more rugged in males than in females.

## ALVEOLAR PROGNATHISM

	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Pronounced	Very pronounced	Total
Males: number . . . .	1	16	12	5	0	34
" per cent. . . .	2.94	47.04	35.28	14.70	0	
Females: number . .	1	7	7	4	1	20
" per cent. . . .	5.0	35.0	35.0	20.0	5.0	
Doubtful: number	0	1	0	0	0	1

The above tabulation shows a somewhat greater development of alveolar prognathism among female crania than among the male. Langdon remarks that prognathism "is a generally well-marked, though not constant feature of these crania."<sup>1</sup> Fuller, in his examination of Tennessee Stone Grave crania found a more marked tendency to alveolar prognathism among females than among males.

**Teeth.** As in most series of crania from old graves, so many teeth have been lost post-mortem in the present group that observations on the dentition are very unsatisfactory.

## DENTITION

## WEAR

	Complete	Incomplete	Total	None	Sub-medium	Medium	Pronounced	Total
Males: number .	38	3	41	1	27	9	5	42
" per cent .	92.68	7.32		2.38	64.26	21.42	11.90	
Females: number	20	6	26	2	11	6	1	20
" per cent	76.92	23.07		10.0	55.0	30.0	5.0	
Doubtful: number	2	1	3	1	1	0	1	3

The first division of the table above shows that of 41 male crania on which observations concerning the dentition could be

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 241.

made, 38 or 92.68 per cent showed completed dentitions. By this it is meant that all of the permanent teeth had erupted.

In the female series, 20 of a total of 26 crania showed completed dentitions. In every instance in the crania of both sexes in which the dentition was incomplete, one or more of the third molars had not erupted. Most of these, according to the age estimates, were young adults between the ages of twenty and thirty years, but several were obviously middle aged. There is clearly shown here a very marked tendency toward the suppression of third molars in the females (amounting to 23 per cent of the cases observed), while in a lesser degree (7.3 per cent) the same is true of the males. The doubtful skull in which the dentition was incomplete was that of an adolescent. In this connection it is interesting to note that Fuller found the suppression of one or more third molars in 24 of the 185 Tennessee Stone Grave crania he examined—13.9 per cent of male crania, and 11.4 per cent of female crania. This percentage doubtless would have been higher if it had been possible to estimate it on the basis of the number of crania in which dental observations were possible, instead of the entire number studied. But the author did not give the former figures.

Analysis of the table showing the degree of wear of the teeth indicates that the majority of the individuals represented were young adults and that the females included fewer aged persons than the males.

#### TEETH LOST IN LIFE

	Few	Many	All	Total crania
Males: number.....	1	8	2	41
“ per cent.....	2.44	19.51	4.88	
Females: number.....	1	5	1	20
“ per cent.....	5.0	25.0	5.0	

#### QUALITY

	Very poor	Submedium	Medium	Good	Total
Males: number.....	3	5	12	18	38
“ per cent.....	7.89	13.15	31.57	47.35	
Females: number.....	3	4	8	4	19
“ per cent....	15.78	21.04	42.08	21.04	
Doubtful: number....	1	0	0	2	3



MADISONVILLE SITE

Female cranium, subbrachycephalic type

Norma lateralis

Norma verticalis

Norma facialis

Norma occipitalis



## NUMBER OF CUSPS

Upper molars								
	4-4-4	4-4-3	4-4-2	4-3-3	4-3-2	4-4-?	4-3-?	3-3-?
Males: number	0	4	4	3	3	6	5	0
Females: number	1½	1	0	3½	0	3	9	1
Doubtful: number	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Total								25

Lower molars								
	5-5-5	5-5-4	5-4-4	4-4-4	5-4-5	5-5-?	5-4-?	7-5-6
Males: number	3	5	2	1	1	1	1	1
Females: number	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total								17

Analysis of the above tables indicates that a higher percentage of female crania shows the loss of teeth during life, that the quality of the teeth in female crania is inferior to that in the male crania, and that the females show a more marked tendency to the reduction of molar cusps and the suppression of the third molar.

## PATHOLOGY AND ABNORMALITIES

	Caries	Alveolar abscesses	Crowding	None	Total crania
Males: number	7	14	4	11	33
Females: number	10	5	2	4	16

Of the crania on which observations could be made it is evident from the above table that 66.66 per cent of the males exhibited pathological features in the shape of caries, alveolar abscesses, or maleruption of teeth due to defective development of the maxillary bones. In the case of the female crania this percentage is 75. Although we have only a short series of observations upon which to base conclusions, it seems evident that the females were more subject to dental caries. It is possible that this difference in the sexes may be due to conditions favoring the development of dental caries in women during pregnancy.

Anomalies in the suppression of third molars have been discussed above. No other reductions in dentition were observed. One male cranium, No. 57567, had a supernumerary peg tooth on the lingual side of the upper left canine.

In 185 Tennessee Stone Grave crania Fuller found 56 crania exhibiting dental caries and 32 with alveolar abscesses. Concerning this series he remarks: "There is little of the primitive in the teeth." The same may be said of our Madisonville series.

# INDIAN VILLAGE SITE AND CEMETERY

hovel-shaped incisors, identified by Hrdlička as a characteristic Indian teeth, were observed in 12 of the 13 male crania in which examination was possible, and in all of the 6 female crania.

## Palate.

	U-shaped	Parabolic	Hyperbolic	Elliptical	Total
Males: number...	7	20	2	4	33
" per cent...	21.21	60.60	6.06	12.12	
Females: number	3	14	2	1	20
" per cent	15.0	70.0	10.0	5.0	

The distribution of palate form is shown in the table above. It agrees very closely with Fuller's figures for Tennessee Stone Grave crania, in which of 70 observations on male crania, 65.71 per cent were parabolic and hyperbolic, as against 66.66 per cent in our series; 22.85 per cent of Tennessee Stone Grave males had U-shaped palates, and 21.21 per cent of Madisonville males; 11.42 per cent of Tennessee crania and 12.12 per cent of Madisonville crania had elliptical palates. In the case of females the comparison shows almost as striking a similarity, for of 45 female crania examined in the Tennessee Stone Grave series, 68.88 per cent were parabolic and hyperbolic, 15.55 U-shaped, and 15.55 elliptical.

The roof of the palate was observed to be high in 9 of the male crania of our series, or 27.27 per cent, as against 26.37 per cent of the Tennessee Stone Grave series observed by Fuller. In female crania from Madisonville, 2 of 20, or 10 per cent, had high roofs, as against 22.38 per cent of the Tennessee series.

A slight development of the palatine torus occurred in 4 male crania of our series or 12.12 per cent, and in 4 of the female crania or 20 per cent. Fuller estimated the occurrence of the palatine torus in Tennessee Stone Grave males at 15 per cent, and in females at 10 per cent. There is little doubt that the shortness of our female series has fortuitously increased beyond normal the occurrence of this feature.

## Skull Base.

	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large	Total
Males: number...	1	14	19	13	3	50
" per cent...	2.0	28.0	38.0	26.0	6.0	
Females: number	2	19	5	3	0	29
" per cent	6.9	65.3	17.2	10.3	0	

The styloid processes are frequently broken off short, but it is usually possible to judge their development by the stumps.

GLENOID FOSSA — DEPTH					
	Submedium	Medium	Deep	Very deep	Total
<b>Males:</b> number.....	1	26	24	3	54
“ per cent.....	1.85	48.14	44.44	5.55	
<b>Females:</b> number...	2	19	8	1	30
“ per cent...	6.66	63.33	26.66	3.33	

The table above shows that the series is characterized as a whole by the prevalence of glenoid fossae of medium or greater depth. Females exhibit fewer instances of the latter.

POSTGLENOID PROCESS					
	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large	Total
<b>Males:</b> number.....	6	6	5	0	17
“ per cent.....					29.62
<b>Females:</b> number.....	1	0	2	0	3
“ per cent.....					10.0

The postglenoid process is not usually to be observed in this series. It occurs much more frequently in male crania than in female crania.

FORAMEN LACERUM MEDIUM				
	Small	Medium	Large	Total
<b>Males:</b> number.....	24	19	1	44
“ per cent.....	54.52	43.15	2.27	
<b>Females:</b> number.....	18	9	0	27
“ per cent.....	66.6	33.3	0	

DEPRESSION OF PETROUS PARTS OF TEMPORAL BONES					
	Absent	Slight	Medium	Pronounced	Total
<b>Males:</b> number	2	13	23	6	44
“ per cent	4.54	29.51	52.25	3.62	
<b>Females:</b> number	2	15	10	0	27
“ per cent	7.4	55.5	37.0	0	

In large-brained races the lacerate foramina are usually large and the petrous portions of the temporal bones are depressed well below the level of the basilar process of the occipital bone. A well-developed brain pushes the basilar process outward beyond the level of the rigid petrous parts. An analysis of the above table shows that our Madisonville crania do not exhibit high development in these characters.



## FORAMEN LACERUM POSTERIOR

	Small	Medium	Large	Right larger	Left larger	Equal	Total
Males: number	9	30	3	17	7	18	42
" per cent	21.42	71.40	7.14	40.46	16.66	42.84	
Females: number	5	19	1	8	3	14	25
" per cent	20.0	76.0	4.0	32.0	12.0	56.0	

Where there is a difference in the size of the two posterior lacerate foramina, the right foramen is usually the larger, as may be seen from the above tabulations. Fuller states that the right foramen is usually much larger in Tennessee Stone Grave crania.

## POST-CONDYLOID FORAMINA

	Absent	Small	Medium	Large	Right only	Left only	Total
Males: number...	2	5	28	1	3	1	40
" per cent...	5.0	12.5	70.0	2.5	7.5	2.5	
Females: number..	0	0	18	4	4	0	26
" per cent.	0	0	78.24	4.34	17.38	0	

PARA-MASTOID PROCESSES. These were observed in 3 male and 2 female crania.

## SHAPE OF FORAMEN MAGNUM

	Irregular	Oval	Half diamond	Round	Diamond	Hexagon	Total
Males: number	4	20	8	6	2	0	40
" per cent	10.0	50.0	20.0	15.0	5.0	0	
Females: number	2	8	8	4	2	2	26
" per cent	7.69	30.76	30.76	15.38	7.69	7.69	

There is considerable variation in the shape of the foramen magnum. In the males the oval form predominates. In the table above "half diamond" means that the anterior half of the foramen is shaped like two sides of an equilateral triangle, while the posterior half is semi-circular or semi-oval.

## PTERYGO-SPINOUS FORAMINA

	Right	Indicated Left	Both	Total	Right	Complete Left	Both	Total
Males: number...	3	1	4	8	1	3	1	5
" per cent...				17.0				10.63
Females: number..	1	3	1	5	1	1	1	3
" per cent.				20.0				12.0

Pterygo-spinous foramina, complete or indicated to have been completed by a fibrous bridge, are relatively common in this series.

Fuller seems to have found a higher frequency of occurrence in his Tennessee series, for he reports the foramen, or indications of it, on one or both sides in 45.71 per cent of males, and 47.54 per cent of females.

#### DEFISCENCES IN THE FLOOR OF THE AUDITORY MEATUS

	Right	Left	Both	Total
Males: number.....	2	3	4	9
" per cent.....				20.0
Females: number.....	3	2	4	9
" per cent.....				33.33

Defects in the floor of the auditory meatus are common in the crania of American Indians. Fuller found them in 14 per cent of 144 Tennessee Stone Grave crania; Dr. Hrdlička found them in 14 per cent of crania from Arkansas, and in 29 per cent of crania from Louisiana. Both of these authors also found them to occur much more commonly in the crania of females.

**Mandible.** Mandibles were associated with the skulls in the case of 29 males and 12 females. The more important observations on these are tabulated below.

	SIZE				Total
	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large	
Males: number.....	7	13	7	2	29
" per cent.....	24.1	44.8	24.1	6.90	
Females: number.....	2	9	1	0	12
" per cent....	16.6	75.0	8.3	0	

#### MENTAL PROMINENCE

	Neutral	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large	Total
Males: number..	1	8	15	5	0	29
" per cent..	3.4	27.6	51.7	17.2	0	
Females: number	2	5	5	0	0	12
" per cent	16.6	41.6	41.6	0	0	

#### MYLO-HYOID RIDGE

	Submedium	Medium	Pronounced	Very pronounced	Total
Males: number....	11	17	1	0	29
" per cent....	37.9	58.6	3.4	0	
Females: number...	7	5	0	0	12
" per cent..	58.3	41.6	0	0	

GENIAL TUBERCLES						
	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Large	Very large	Total
Males: number . . . .	1	16	10	1	1	29
“ per cent. . . .	3.4	55.2	34.5	3.4	3.4	
Females: number . .	0	9	3	0	0	12
“ per cent. . .	0	75.0	25.0	0	0	

From the above tables it may be seen that the characteristic mandible is of medium size with a medium development of the mental prominence and a medium or submedium development of the mylo-hyoid ridge. The genial tubercles are poorly developed.

**Pathological Features.** In the following discussion alveolar abscesses and dental caries have not been considered, as these pathological features have already been dealt with above.

LESIONS PROBABLY OF TRAUMATIC ORIGIN			
	Depressed scars	Linear fractures	Miscellaneous
Males: number . . . . .	9	2	4
Females: number . . . . .	4	0	0

About 22 per cent of the male crania in our series show lesions that are probably due to wounds. Most common are depressed scars on various portions of the cranial vault. No. 57512 has an old perforated lesion on the left parietal near bregma, oval in shape, and 9 mm. in its longest diameter. The tip of a small flint arrowpoint is also embedded in the outer table of the left parietal, 27 mm. behind the coronal suture and 42 mm. from bregma. No. 35529 has a large depressed fracture on the right parietal, 2 cm. in diameter.

No. 35527 also has an arrowpoint embedded in the occiput. No. 57056 has a healed linear fracture of the occipital bone extending from opisthion to lambda. No. 25126 has a linear fracture of the left parietal extending diagonally from lambda to a point 3 cm. behind the coronal suture. Near the middle of this fracture and extending over an oval area for a distance of 45 mm. in its long axis is an irregular cicatrized scar with a maximum breadth of 35 mm. This is the area of impact of the blow which was apparently delivered with some blunt weapon.

No. 58733 presents a cut in the right supra-orbital ridge and a fracture of the left zygomatic arch. No. 58058 has a healed fracture of the right horizontal ramus of the mandible.



MADISONVILLE SITE

Male cranium, intermediate type

Norma lateralis  
Norma verticalis

Norma facialis  
Norma occipitalis



Langdon found eleven cases of fracture in 141 Madisonville crania examined by him, and one skull with the fragment of a small flint arrowpoint imbedded in the occiput.

Arthritic conditions were observed about the occipital or mandibular condyles or in the glenoid fossae of three male crania and one female cranium. In addition to this two male crania presented ankylosis of the atlas to the occiput, probably of arthritic origin. Langdon found this condition in 3 of 141 Madisonville crania examined by him.

Three female crania presented slight exostoses of doubtful origin in various regions. No. 25128, the skull of a female, presented evidence of an abscess in the left ear, which had involved extensive absorption of the bony tissue and a perforation of the tympanic plate.

No. 35528 presented a small bony protuberance on the left parietal near bregma corresponding to a deep circular impression internally, circular in shape and about 5 mm. in diameter, connected with the groove for the meningeal artery, which was unusually large and deep.

#### **Summary of Measurements and Observations upon the Crania.**

A slight degree of unintentional occipital deformation is very common in the Madisonville series, but this is pronounced in a few cases only. Apparently it has affected brachycephalic crania much more than dolichocephalic crania, and probably no crania have been changed from the dolichocephalic class to the brachycephalic class through his agency. No frontal deformation occurs.

About three-fourths of the crania are brachycephalic (plates 25, 26), and the remainder are mesocephalic (plates 27, 28, 29), with the exception of two, which are dolichocephalic. Three-fourths or more are hypsicephalic and the rest orthocephalic. The breadth-height index is medium in about half of the series and low in the majority of the remainder. The cranial capacity is well up to the average for Indians. The skull walls are not extraordinarily thick. The forehead is a little narrower than average for Indians.

The faces are broad and quite short; the majority being euryprosopic and the rest mesoprosopic. The orbits are variable, but the majority are chamaeconch or microseme. The nose is short and broad, and platyrrhine indices are in the majority. There is some alveolar prognathism but practically no facial prognathism. The palate is brachyuranic and the lower jaw is short and broad.

## MEASUREMENTS OF CRANIA FROM THE

Catalogue No.	Sex	Age	Deformation	Length	Breadth	Height	Cranial Index	Height-Length Index	Height-Breadth Index	Menton-Nasion Height (a)	Alveon-Nasion Height (b)	Diam. Biaygonomatic max. (c)	Facial Index, total $\left(\frac{a \times 100}{c}\right)$	Facial Index, upper $\left(\frac{b \times 100}{c}\right)$	Basion-Alveon (s)
18205	♂	mid.	—	180	145	138	80.56	76.67	95.17	?	74	145	?	51.03	101
18207	♂	y. ad.	—	176	151	?	85.80	?	?	?	71	?	?	?	?
25123	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	177	152	139	85.88	78.53	91.45	?	69	(143)	?	(48.25)	92
25124	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	173	152	126	87.86	72.83	82.89	107	67	(141)	75.89	(47.51)	100
25126	♂	y. ad.	—	177	138	139	77.97	78.53	100.72	?	?	?	?	?	?
25130	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	177	150	139	84.75	78.53	92.67	124	78	148	83.78	52.70	105
25131	♂	y. ad.	—	177	141	138	79.66	77.97	97.87	115	71	137	83.94	51.82	102
25132	♂	mid.	pron. l. oc.	(163)	(148)	?	(90.80)	?	?	(117)	(70)	140	83.57	(50.00)	?
26587	♂	mid.	—	184	146	140	79.35	76.09	95.89	?	?	?	?	?	?
26593	♂	old	pron. oc.	(178)	(147)	(141)	(82.58)	79.21	95.92	?	?	?	?	?	?
26599	♂	old	sl. oc.	173	142	140	82.08	80.92	98.59	?	?	?	?	?	?
26605	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	178	138	?	77.53	?	?	117	70	139	84.17	50.36	?
26609	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	164	137	134	83.54	81.71	97.81	?	?	?	?	?	?
26627	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	173	(154)	134	(89.02)	77.46	(87.01)	120	72	(140)	(85.71)	51.42	102
26988	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	161	144	129	89.44	80.12	89.58	114	70	136	83.82	42.16	101
28294	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	176	147	?	83.52	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
35524	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	182	140	141	76.92	77.47	100.71	122	74	149	81.83	49.66	99
35525	♂	y. ad.	—	182	137	138	75.27	75.82	100.73	?	70	135	?	51.85	102
35526	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	177	149	135	84.18	76.27	90.60	?	74	143	?	51.74	?
35527	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	179	150	143	83.80	79.89	95.33	?	?	?	?	?	?
35528	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	167	147	?	88.02	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
57502	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	176	138	135	78.41	76.70	97.83	?	70	?	?	?	104
57504	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	169	(156)	?	(92.31)	?	?	109	66	?	?	?	?
57506	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	174	140	132	80.46	75.86	94.29	?	?	?	?	?	?
57567	♂	y. ad.	—	?	?	?	?	?	?	116	73	(137)	84.67	53.28	100
57608	♂	y. ad.	pron. r. oc.	(177)	(146)	(139)	(82.49)	(78.53)	(95.21)	121	74	?	?	?	99
57579	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	173	153	137	88.44	79.19	89.54	?	67	(143)	?	46.85	105
57507	♂	y. ad.	—	182	148	137	81.32	75.27	92.57	?	?	?	?	?	?
57519	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	179	145	139	81.01	77.65	95.86	?	?	?	?	?	?
57625	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	169	148	?	87.57	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
57636	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	188	(144)	138	(76.60)	73.40	(95.83)	?	?	?	?	?	?
57555	♂	y. ad.	—	181	145	138	80.11	76.24	95.17	?	?	?	?	?	?
58533	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	180	149	131	82.78	72.78	87.92	?	(69)	?	?	?	101
58542	♂	mid.	—	173	143	?	82.66	?	?	109	70	(136)	(80.15)	(51.47)	?
58540	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	181	138	131	76.24	72.38	94.93	?	?	?	?	?	?
58058	♂	old	sl. oc.	187	146	136	78.07	72.73	93.15	120	72	(145)	(82.76)	49.65	104
57597	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	185	155	147	83.78	79.46	94.84	?	81	?	?	?	105
57568	♂	mid.	med. oc.	176	156	134	(88.64)	76.14	85.90	114	(69)	?	?	?	?
57646	♂	old	—	177	133	?	75.14	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
57647	♂	y. ad.	pron. oc.	(173)	154	?	(89.02)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
58541	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	172	141	139	81.98	80.81	98.58	?	79	141	?	56.02	98
58539	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	195	160	143	82.05	73.33	89.38	125	76	139	89.93	54.67	96
58538	♂	mid.	lat. p. m.	(184)	(141)	(139)	(76.63)	(75.54)	(98.58)	?	69	?	?	?	98
58534	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	176	144	138	81.82	78.41	95.83	?	74	136	?	54.41	91
58023	♂	old	—	179	153	140	85.47	78.21	91.50	?	(73)	(138)	?	(52.89)	(96)

**CEMETERY NEAR MADISONVILLE, OHIO**

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	( $\frac{v}{y}$ )	Diam. Frontal minim.	Diam. Bignonial	Angle of Lower Jaw, mean	Height of Symphysis	M. Orbits — Height, right, left	L. Orbits — Height, right, left	M. Orbits — Breadth, right, left	L. Orbits — Breadth, right, left	Orbital Index, mean	Nose Height	Nose Breadth maxin.	Nasal Index	Palate, External Length (l)	Palate, External Breadth, maxin. (b)	Palaal Index ( $b \times 100$ )	Circumference, maxin. (above ridges)	Arc, Nasion-Opisthon	Capacity (Hrdlicka's Method)	Thickness of left Putac above T. P. Gutture
7	92	?	?	?	?	33	32.5	43	42	77.06	55	28	50.91	54	65	120.37	513	357	1480	6
	101	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	50	23	46.00	54	63	116.67	(523)	?	?	4
9	91	101	130	32	33	33	40	40	40	82.50	50	27	54.00	52	64	123.08	525	379	1630	6
4	94	106	116.5	32	34	35	40	40	40	86.25	(54)	29	(53.70)	56	64	114.29	509	?	(1340)	4
	96	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	506	368	(1340)	?
0	94	105	116.5	37	31	33	46	40	40	74.95	54	29	53.70	64	74	115.63	512	355	1420	7
3	98	?	?	?	34	34	33.5	43	41	80.39	51.5	29	56.31	56	64	114.29	510	356	1350	6
	98	105	134	43	32	33	42	?	?	76.19	49	?	?	59	67	113.56	497	?	(1295)	6
	100	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	530	379	?	6
	95	108	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	512	345	?	4
	91	?	?	?	32	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(487)	(365)	?	6
	98	117	107	36	34	35	41	39	39	86.34	48	27	56.25	56	64	114.29	503	359	(1375)	5
	98	?	?	?	37	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	482	334	(1265)	4
5	93	103	127	35	31.5	31.5	42.5	42.5	42.5	74.12	53.5	27	50.47	56	65	116.07	?	?	?	4
0	93	95	115	32	33	33	40	41	41	81.50	52	27	51.92	57	69	121.05	485	335	1270	7
	98	108	130	29	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	519	?	?	5
	98	106	122	39	34.5	35	42	42	42	82.74	53	28	52.83	55	71	129.09	519	375	1405	5
1	96	?	?	?	?	37	37	40	40	92.50	49	23	46.94	61	69	113.11	510	370	1460	6
	95	?	?	?	?	34	36	41	40	86.44	54.5	25	45.87	52	62	119.23	526	358	1465	?
	88	?	?	?	?	35	36	?	41	87.80	52	23	44.23	53	62	116.98	518	368	1550	7
	91	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	505	348	?	5
D	?	?	?	?	?	32	32	39	39	82.05	51	26	50.98	58	69	118.97	?	?	?	4
	100	108	126	32	34	34	43	42	42	80.01	48	26	54.17	54	65	120.37	?	?	?	4
	103	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	508	353	1330	8
	?	?	?	?	?	36	36	41	41	87.80	57	26	45.61	54	62	114.81	?	?	?	?
2	96	98	127	37	32	32	41	43	43	76.23	53	27	50.94	57	67	117.54	510	?	(1610)	5
	99	?	?	?	?	31	31	42	41	76.51	48	30	62.50	60	64	106.67	518	349	1500	5
	95	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	520	368	1370	8
	97	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	517	362	1440	6
	97	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	375	?	?
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	369	1395	6
3	91	?	136	37	33	35	41	39	39	85.11	51	26	50.98	55	65	118.18	516	361	1380	9
	98	98	124	30	40	40	40	?	?	101.28	53	28	52.83	52	58	111.54	508	?	?	3
	91	91	126	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	505	363	?	6
5	99	110	148	39	31	29.5	45	45	45	67.27	52	32	61.54	?	?	?	523	372	1420	5
1	97	?	?	?	?	36	?	46	?	78.26	57	(30)	(52.63)	58	72	124.14	528	368	1595	7
	95	108	130	32	?	34	?	41.5	41.5	81.93	?	?	?	?	?	?	525	358	(1505)	6
	95	?	?	?	?	35	35	41	41	85.37	53	28	52.83	?	?	?	502	365	(1440)	6
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	93	?	?	?	?	34	34	40	40	85.00	56	26	46.43	60	69	115.00	503	365	1405	6
7	96	100	121	37	35.5	35.5	41.5	41.5	41.5	85.54	54	24	44.44	55	(65)	(118.18)	517	362	(1600)	4
3	93	?	?	?	?	35	?	40	?	87.50	52	29	55.77	?	?	?	?	368	(1520)	4
)	87	103	126	37	?	34	34	39	38	88.32	53	27	50.94	51	62	121.57	503	370	1410	8
)	96	97	131	?	?	35	36	44	43	81.64	55	28	50.91	?	?	?	522	372	1365	14



## MEASUREMENTS OF CRANIA FROM THE

Catalogue No.	Sex	Age	Deformation	Length	Breadth	Height	Cranial Index	Height-Length Index	Height-Breadth Index	Menton-Nasion Height (a)	Alveon-Nasion Height (b)	Diam. Bizygomatic maxim. (c)	Facial Index, total $\left(\frac{a \times 100}{c}\right)$	Facial Index, upper $\left(\frac{b \times 100}{c}\right)$	Basion-Alveon (x)
59724	♂	mid.	—	183	146	134	79.78	73.22	91.78	121	74	147	82.31	50.34	100
59729	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	175	150	135	85.71	77.14	90.00	120	(72)	140	85.71	51.42	(102)
59731	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	175	142	135	81.14	77.14	95.07	?	?	?	?	?	?
59732	♂	y. ad.	—	184	137	136	74.46	73.91	99.27	112	67	(132)	84.85	50.76	103
59733	♂	y. ad.	—	179	138	131	77.09	73.18	94.93	121	75	136	88.97	55.14	102
59735	♂	mid.	sl. oc.	180	148	136	82.22	75.56	91.89	131	(79)	(150)	(87.33)	(52.40)	108
26990	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	189	155	140	82.01	74.07	90.32	?	73	149	?	48.99	98
57512	♂	y. ad.	sl. oc.	180	152	139	84.44	77.22	91.45	121	73	(144)	(84.03)	(50.69)	104
18206	♀	y. ad.	—	167	133	130	78.70	76.92	97.74	?	64	?	?	?	100
25125	♀	y. ad.	—	171	138	127	80.70	74.27	92.03	?	?	126	?	?	?
			(med. p. m.)												
25127	♀	mid.	sl. oc.	(171)	(150)	(141)	(87.72)	(82.46)	(94.00)	?	?	?	?	?	?
25128	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	161	142	134	88.20	83.23	94.37	?	?	?	?	?	?
25133	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	161	141	124	87.58	77.02	87.94	?	67	133	?	50.38	93
25134	♀	med.	sl. oc.	169	145	128	85.80	75.74	88.28	?	72	136	?	52.94	102
25135	♀	y. ad.	—	171	142	134	83.04	78.36	94.37	?	69	?	?	?	97
25136	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	167	141	135	84.43	80.84	95.74	?	63	128	?	49.22	94
25137	♀	y. ad.	—	166	139	137	83.73	82.53	98.56	?	?	?	?	?	?
26591	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	169	144	132	85.21	78.11	91.67	105	62	?	?	?	100
26597	♀	y. ad.	sl. p. m.	175	140	124	80.00	70.86	88.57	?	67	?	?	?	(104)
26621	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	174	145	133	83.33	76.44	91.72	113	68	136	83.09	50.00	101
26601	♀	mid.	sl. oc.	169	145	125	85.80	73.96	86.21	?	?	?	?	?	?
26626	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	166	144	124	86.75	74.70	86.11	104	64	126	82.54	50.79	(102)
26628	♀	mid.	sl. oc.	177	139	?	78.53	?	?	?	63	130	?	48.46	?
57505	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	167	139	132	83.23	79.04	94.96	?	61	(133)	?	45.86	96
57559	♀	y. ad.	pron. oc.	(167)	(142)	(129)	(85.03)	(77.25)	(90.85)	?	64	133	?	48.12	96
58536	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	179	126	127	70.39	70.95	100.79	?	?	?	?	?	?
58532	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	175	140	135	80.00	77.14	96.43	113	69	134	84.33	51.49	104
57514	♀	y. ad.	med. oc.	161	149	?	(92.55)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
57620	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	170	145	134	85.29	78.82	92.41	?	?	?	?	?	?
57544	♀	mid.	med. oc.	171	144	134	84.21	78.36	93.06	?	63	(129)	?	(48.84)	94
57558	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	169	136	129	80.47	76.33	94.85	?	69	?	?	?	99
58049	♀	old	sl. oc.	167	148	139	88.62	83.23	93.92	?	?	?	?	?	?
58009	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	163	138	132	84.66	80.98	95.65	115	69	(132)	(87.12)	52.27	103
58025	♀	mid.	pron. oc.	(165)	(146)	(138)	(88.48)	(83.64)	(94.52)	?	?	?	?	?	?
59723	♀	y. ad.	—	179	138	127	77.09	70.95	92.03	109	70	125	87.20	56.00	98
59730	♀	old	sl. oc.	168	148	132	88.10	78.57	89.19	?	?	?	?	?	?
57645	♀	y. ad.	sl. oc.	164	143	129	87.20	78.66	90.21	113	67	(138)	81.88	(48.55)	103

## Key to abbreviations.

Age: y. ad. = young adult; mid. = middle aged; old = past middle age.

Deformation: sl. = slight; med. = medium; pron. = pronounced; oc. = occipital; r. = right; l. = left; p. = post-mortem.

Figures in parentheses indicate that the measurement is approximate, either because of deformation or because the parts are broken.

**CEMETERY NEAR MADISONVILLE, OHIO (CONTINUED)**[illegible]

The frontal region is medium or low in height, medium or narrow in breadth, and medium or receding as to slope, except in females, who exhibit more instances of bulging frontals.

The sagittal region is medium or broad with little development of the median sagittal elevation. Temporal and occipital regions are variable, as is natural in a mixed group. In about two-thirds of cases the sutures are simple in serration, and in the rest medium. Obliteration usually begins in the sagittal suture and the pterions are almost invariably of the broad H form. Sutural bones are very common.

Parietal foramina are few and small; retromastoid foramina exceedingly variable. The mastoid processes are usually rather small or medium in males; in females they are often rather large for the sex.

Brow ridges are not unusually large except in a few cases. Frequently they are submedium in development, even in males. Orbits are usually low and oblong in shape with rounded corners. The nasion depression in both sexes is poorly marked, often entirely absent. The nasal bridge is variable in breadth and height, but medium in about half of all cases. Convex and concavo-convex forms are most common. The nasal spine is usually poorly developed and the lower borders are frequently indistinct. On the other hand subnasal grooves or fossae are uncommon.

Molars and zygomae are medium or large in males as characteristic of American Indians, but in the females frequently small. Depth of suborbital fossae is variable. The palate is prevalingly parabolic, sometimes U-shaped or elliptical.

The teeth show marked tendency toward cusp reduction and suppression of third molars. Usually they are not large. Decay and loss in life are frequent.

The glenoid fossae are of medium depth or more; dehiscences in the floor of the auditory meatus are common. The middle lacerated foramina are submedium to medium in size; the depression of the petrous parts is small or medium; the posterior lacerated foramina are prevalingly medium in size, but frequently small, and, when of unequal size, the right is usually larger.

While the mandibles are usually of medium size and medium development in the majority of cases as regards points of interest,

there is a large sub-group in which the prominence of the chin is submedium, and the development of the mylo-hyoid ridge is submedium. The genial tubercles are prevailingly small.

In general it is apparent that this group is the result of a mixture of the southern brachycephalic type with the eastern dolichocephalic type, the latter type being distinctly in the minority. While both types have been modified by the mixture it is clear that the dolichocephalic type has suffered most in this regard and persists for the most part only in an intermediate form. To ascertain the exact results of the intermixture it would be necessary to investigate the correlation of all measurements and morphological features in the individual crania. It is not possible to attempt this within the prescribed limits of this paper, but such correlations are valuable and it is hoped that they may be presented subsequently.

**The Bones in General.** Of the large collection of human remains from the Madisonville cemetery in the Peabody Museum, the vast majority are fragmentary and incomplete. The writer examined the skeletons of 53 adult males, 35 adult females, 2 adults of doubtful sex, 9 adolescents, 6 children, and 7 infants. No detailed study of the bones was possible in the time allotted for the investigation, and it was necessary to confine the attention to the few most important measurements and observations on the better preserved specimens.

In almost all of the skeletons the ribs, vertebrae, scapulae, and pelvic bones are missing or fragmentary; the majority of the skulls are crushed and broken beyond repair except at an excessive expenditure of labor; most of the long bones have been broken. There is not one complete skeleton in good condition in all of the collections sent in by Metz, Swanton, and the Merwin brothers. Doubtless the fragmentary condition of the skeletons is due to the shallowness of the graves and the fact that the site is heavily timbered with large trees that for the most part have grown up since the period of occupation.

## Femur.

	MEASUREMENTS							
	Length Bicondylar		Length Maximum		Maximum diameter of head		Humero-femoral index	
	No. of cases	mm.	No. of cases	mm.	No. of cases	mm.	No. of cases	Index
<b>Males</b>								
Average: right, paired...	20	444	21	449	24	47.2	13	71.69
"    "    total....	29	448	28	453	29	47.4	21	71.56
"    left, paired...	20	447	21	451	24	46.7	13	70.61
"    "    total....	24	447	25	451	28	46.7	18	70.60
Minimum: right.....	29	405	28	412	29	43	21	69.90
"    left.....	24	407	25	413	28	42	18	67.92
Maximum: right.....	29	515	28	522	29	52	21	74.40
"    left.....	24	487	25	490	28	51	18	72.93
<b>Females</b>								
Average: right, paired...	14	409	14	415	16	43.6	5	72.14
"    "    total....	18	410	18	415	19	43.8	12	73.35
"    left, paired...	14	415	14	420	16	42.3	5	70.23
"    "    total....	19	419	19	426	21	42.1	9	70.72
Minimum: right.....	18	377	18	385	19	39	12	70.40
"    left.....	19	390	19	395	21	39	9	68.06
Maximum: right.....	18	446	18	448	19	47	12	76.65
"    left.....	19	454	19	457	21	45	9	73.34

The mean bicondylar length of male Madisonville femora is 447.5 mm. which corresponds to an average stature of a little less than 167 cm. according to Manouvrier's tables. If we calculate the stature from the maximum length of the femora according to Pearson's formula (a), the average stature is a little more than 166 cm.

Similarly the average stature of Madisonville females, according to Manouvrier's tables, is a little more than 155 cm. and, according to Pearson's formula, a little less than 155 cm. Hrdlička found that the stature of Munsee males was approximately 167 cm. and of Munsee females 156 cm., basing his computations upon the mean bicondylar length of femora.

The difference between the bicondylar and maximum length of the femur averages 4.5 mm. in males (taking the mean of both sides) and 6 mm. in females. These differences are practically identical with those in the lengths of Munsee femora, determined by Dr. Hrdlička (nearly 5 mm. in males and 6 mm. in females). He considers this unusual disproportion in the two lengths as possibly due to an unusual breadth of pelvis, a greater length of the femoral neck, or a more than usual prevalence of the habit of squatting.

The maximum diameter of the femoral head in males averages 47.4 mm. in rights and 46.7 in lefts. In the case of females the figures are 43.8 for right femora and 42.1 for left femora.

The humero-femoral index ( $\frac{\text{maximum length of humerus} \times 100}{\text{bicondylar length of femur}}$ ) averages in males 71.56 on the right side and 70.6 on the left side. This is slightly below the average for Indians given by Dr. Hrdlička in his exhaustive study, *Physical Anthropology of the Lenape* p. 61, (100 Indians, right 72.3; left 71.6). It approximates more closely to the index in the Munsee (right 71.8; left 71.7).

The index in females is a little higher on both sides, but markedly higher on the right side than in the case of the males.

SUBTROCHANTERIC REGION OF SHAFT				Platymeric index
	Number	Diameter Minimum (a) mm.	Diameter Maximum (b) mm.	$\frac{(a) \times 100}{(b)}$
<b>Males</b>				
Average: right, paired....	26	25.7	33.5	77.08
"    "    total.....	32	25.8	33.6	77.16
"    left, paired....	26	26.0	34.0	76.72
"    "    total.....	28	26.0	34.0	76.72
Minimum: right.....	32	21.5	29	65.71
"    left.....	28	22	30	63.89
Maximum: right.....	32	32	39.	94.12
"    left.....	28	33	39	90.91
<b>Females</b>				
Average: right, paired....	20	22.7	31.3	72.62
"    "    total.....	22	22.6	31.2	72.84
"    left, paired....	20	23.3	30.9	75.50
"    "    total.....	23	23.5	30.9	76.15
Minimum: right.....	22	20	28.5	61.76
"    left.....	23	19	27	62.86
Maximum: right.....	22	28	34	83.33
"    left.....	23	28	35	87.50

From an inspection of the table given above it may be seen that a moderate degree of subtrochanteric flattening or platymeria is exhibited in the femora of Madisonville males, and that this flattening is slightly more pronounced in the left femora than in the right, although the absolute diameters of the left femora at this region are greater. This is usual in most racial groups.

In the case of the females the flattening is more pronounced on both sides than in the males, as is usually the case, but the right femora of females are more flattened than the left. This is due to an increase in the minimum diameters and a decrease in the maximum diameters of the left femora as compared with the right. This is

an unusual and puzzling sex difference. It may be a chance error due to the shortness of our female series, but it is more probably of some functional significance. What this may be the writer is unable to say.

Platymeria is much less pronounced in the Madisonville group than in the Munsee group studied by Dr. Hrdlička, in which the indices for males are 73.3 and 71.6 for the right and left sides respectively, and for the females 75.5 and 71.7.

MIDDLE OF SHAFT				
	Number	Diameter Antero-posterior (c) mm.	Diameter Lateral (d) mm.	Middle index $\frac{(d)}{(c)} \times 100$ (c)
<b>Males</b>				
Average: right, paired....	23	29.2	26.8	92.16
"    "    total.....	27	29.7	26.7	90.43
"    left, paired....	23	30.1	26.9	89.25
"    "    total.....	28	30.1	27.0	89.79
Minimum: right.....	27	24	22.5	76.47
"    left.....	28	24	22	78.13
Maximum: right.....	27	35	30	111.54
"    left.....	28	35	30	100.0
<b>Females</b>				
Average: right, paired....	20	24.8	23.3	94.05
"    "    total.....	23	24.8	23.4	94.41
"    left, paired....	20	26.0	24.8	95.70
"    "    total.....	22	26.3	25.0	95.45
Minimum: right.....	23	22	22	82.14
"    left.....	22	23	22	82.76
Maximum: right.....	23	28	26.5	104.17
"    left.....	23	29	28	112.50

From the above table it may be seen that in both males and females of the Madisonville group the diameters at the middle of the shaft show that the left femora are stronger than the right. But the middle index ( $\frac{\text{diameter antero-posterior}}{\text{diameter lateral}} \times 100$ ) is higher on the right side in males and on the left side in females. In the Munsee group studied by Hrdlička the shaft index is higher on the left side in both sexes. In both males and females, and upon both sides, the shaft index is higher in the Madisonville group than in the Munsee group.

#### MEAN DIAMETER OF FEMUR AT MIDDLE OF SHAFT

	Madisonville mm.	Munsee (Hrdlička) mm.
Males: right.....	28.2	27.3
"    left.....	28.5	27.5
Females: right.....	24.1	24.6
"    left.....	25.6	24.3

The Madisonville males exceed the Munsee males in mean diameter of the femur at the middle of the shaft, but in the case of the females the Munsee femora show larger diameters for the right side but smaller for the left side.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE FEMUR. LINEA ASPERA

	Subjects	Number of bones	Submedium Per cent	Medium Per cent	Pronounced Per cent
Males.....	27	47	34.04	29.78	36.17
Females.....	20	34	58.82	35.29	5.88

The linea aspera in this series is not as well developed as in many Indians. The sexual differences according to observation are given in the preceding table. On the whole the muscular development seems to have been good, but not excessive.

The shape of the shaft is prevailingly prismatic, or approximately so, but elliptical and plano-convex types occur, as well as many intermediate forms.

The third trochanter occurs as a rounded tuberosity in 10.6 per cent of males and in 12.5 per cent of females. The ridge form, or *Crista hypotrochanterica*, is much more common, while a well developed depression or *Fossa hypotrochanterica* was observed in two cases only. When the third trochanter appears as a round tuberosity it is often associated with a slight development of the linea aspera and a pronounced torsion.

The present writer made no measurements of femoral torsion, but Dr. W. C. Farabee has generously placed at his disposal the results of an unpublished investigation made by him upon the Madisonville femora. The mean angles of torsion for 37 pairs of Madisonville femora are, left, 12.3; right, 26.9. Dr. Farabee writes:

The angle of torsion is much less on the left than on the right. All the negative angles (eight) are on the left, and the angles on the right are large. In 37 pairs the angle is larger on the left in 7 cases only.



**Tibiae.**

	Number of cases	Length (minus spine) mm.	Number of cases	Tibio-femoral index $\frac{T \times 100}{F}$
<b>Males</b>				
Average: right, paired....	15	375.0	8	83.41
"    "    total.....	19	374.7	12	83.08
"    left, paired....	15	377.2	8	82.83
"    "    total.....	24	378.2	15	83.43
Minimum: right.....	19	343	12	79.23
"    left.....	24	347	19	81.31
Maximum: right.....	19	417	12	85.10
"    left.....	24	431	19	86.98
<b>Females</b>				
Average: right, paired....	12	349.9	8	84.46
"    "    total.....	14	347.5	11	84.20
"    left, paired....	12	350.2	8	83.33
"    "    total.....	16	347	11	82.75
Minimum: right.....	14	325	11	81.75
"    left.....	16	329	11	79.46
Maximum: right.....	14	376	11	87.61
"    left.....	16	375.	11	86.22

The mean length of male tibiae of both sides is 376.4 mm. and of females 347.2 mm. The mean length of female bones is 94.8 per cent of male bones, which is about the same as the ratio in miscellaneous New York Whites according to Hrdlička (94.6), and somewhat higher than that of Louisiana tibiae (93.7), and Munsee tibiae (91.7).

The tibio-femoral index is somewhat higher than that in Whites (approximately 82, according to Hrdlička). It is higher on the right side than on the left in both sexes and whereas it is lower in the females of most racial groups, in the Madisonville series the females have a slightly higher index on the right side than the males, and a lower index on the left side. The series, however, is very short.

		Middle shaft diameters		Middle index	Level of nutrient foramen			Index	
		Cases	Antero-posterior	Lateral	(b) $\times 100$	Cases	Antero-posterior	Lateral	(d) $\times 10$
			(a)	(b)	(a)		(c)	(d)	(c)
<b>Males</b>									
Average: right, paired		26	33.0	23.3	70.91	32	37.1	24.0	64.85
" " total		30	32.7	23.3	71.62	35	37.0	24.2	65.50
" left, paired		26	34.1	23.0	68.83	32	37.0	24.1	65.30
" " total		32	33.5	23.1	69.55	35	37.3	24.2	65.09
Minimum: right....		30	26	18	60.00	35	30	19	53.41
" left.....		32	27	18	57.14	35	30	20	50.00
Maximum: right....		30	39	28	86.21	35	44	29	78.79
" left.....		32	43	28	92.86	35	46	29	78.79
<b>Females</b>									
Average: right, paired		15	27.6	20.8	75.58	16	30.6	22.0	71.95
" " total		19	27.5	20.8	75.70	20	30.6	22.0	72.13
" left, paired		15	27.6	20.3	74.17	16	30.9	21.6	70.01
" " total		17	27.5	20.3	74.17	19	30.8	21.4	69.65
Minimum: right....		19	25	19	63.33	20	27	19	62.86
" left.....		17	25	18	64.29	19	28	18	56.67
Maximum: right....		19	30	23	88.46	20	35	25	85.19
" left.....		17	29	22	88.00	19	35	25	80.65

The middle index of the tibiae is higher in females than in males and higher in both sexes on the right side than on the left. In the preceding table have been included also diameters and indices taken at the level of the nutrient foramen, where the flattening is at its maximum. As a group it cannot be said that the Madisonville Indians exhibited pronounced platycnemy, although this condition is found to a very marked degree in some individuals.

In 51 left tibiae, Dr. Farabee found an average torsion of 18.7° with a range of from 5° to 35°. The average angle of torsion of 64 right tibiae is 18°, with a range from 5° to 32°.

*Observations on Tibiae.* The Madisonville tibiae include a rather large number which show inflammatory lesions, a subject which will be discussed below. Aside from this there are few anomalies. The retroversion of the head is moderate or absent in most of the cases. Only two bones exhibited convexity of the lateral condyle. Two individuals had the so-called "boomerang tibiae" probably or possibly due to rachitis. Extensions of the inferior articular surface above the anterior tibial border ("squatting facets") are quite common.

#### SHAPE OF SHAFT AT MIDDLE<sup>1</sup>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total bones	Total individuals
Males: per cent	27.8	20.9	37.2	0	13.9	0	43	25
Females: per cent	50.0	34.3	15.6	0	0	0	32	19

<sup>1</sup> 1, ordinary prismatic; 2, lateral prismatic; 3, external surface concave; 4, posterior surface divided into two by vertical ridge; 5, interior border indistinct, posterior half of bone oval; 6, plano-convex. (Classifications of Dr. Hrdlička.)

It may be noted that type 3 (with concave external surface) is most common among the males, and type 1 (ordinary prismatic) occurs in half of all the female tibiae. Types 4 and 6 were not found in this group. These observations are not precisely comparable with those of Dr. Hrdlička who notes a seventh type of indefinite shape which includes 35 per cent of Munsee tibiae and 45 per cent of miscellaneous Whites and United States Negroes. The present writer has assigned all bones to one or other of the six primary types, finding none in the Madisonville group which did not conform to the classification. Possibly a personal equation enters into the difference in results, but it is notable that the Munsee group (both sexes) includes 20 per cent of type 4 (more or less quadrilateral) while none of our series belong to this type.

**Fibula.** The number of fibulae in condition fit for measurement was so small that conclusions in regard to size cannot reasonably be made.

#### **Humerus.**

LENGTH, MAXIMUM					
	Number	Right mm.	Number	Left mm.	
<b>Males</b>					
Average: paired . . . . .	18	317.2	18	314.2	
“ total . . . . .	23	317.7	25	316.2	
“ minimum . . . . .	23	295	25	290	
“ maximum . . . . .	23	345	25	370	
<b>Females</b>					
Average: paired . . . . .	8	302.1	8	296.8	
“ total . . . . .	15	303.7	11	295.6	
“ minimum . . . . .	15	289	11	275	
“ maximum . . . . .	15	323	11	322	

MAXIMUM DIAMETER ARTICULAR HEAD					
	Number	Right mm.	Number	Left mm.	
<b>Males</b>					
Average: paired . . . . .	20	45.9	20	45.2	
“ total . . . . .	25	46.2	25	44.9	
“ minimum . . . . .	25	41	25	40	
“ maximum . . . . .	25	51	25	50	
<b>Females</b>					
Average: paired . . . . .	13	40.2	13	39.8	
“ total . . . . .	18	40.4	13	39.8	
“ minimum . . . . .	18	38	13	38	
“ maximum . . . . .	18	44	13	43	

In both males and females the right humerus is longer than the left, more especially so in the females. In both sexes the lengths are somewhat shorter than those of the Munsee Indians. The mean length of paired female humeri in relation to paired male humeri is as 94.8 to 100, a very high ratio, which is comparable to that found by Hrdlička in the Munsee (94.2) and in the American Negro (94.6). In Indians in general it averages 91.2 according to the same author. The possibility of an error in sexing the humeri is to be considered in this connection, but, in general, sexual differences in the bones are well marked and identification of sex was not based upon one bone only, but upon all skeletal parts present. Only adult humeri were measured.

A well defined sexual difference occurs in the maximum (vertical) diameter of the superior articular surface. In both sexes this diameter is somewhat larger on the right side than on the left.

Perforation of the septum between the olecranon and coronoid fossae of the humerus occurs in but 3 of 57 male bones or 5.7 per cent, and in 15 of 39 female bones or 38.4 per cent.

There is no instance of the occurrence of a supracondyloid process or foramen.

#### Radius.

	LENGTH, MAXIMUM				RADIO-HUMERAL INDEX			
	Right		Left		$\frac{R \times 100}{H}$			
	Number	mm.	Number	mm.	Right Cases	Right Index	Left Cases	Left Index
Males								
Average: total	8	243.6	11	242.1	7	77.85	11	77.18
Females								
Average: total	6	236.4	6	234.6	5	77.73	3	79.17

The total number of radii available for measurement is 19 in the males and 12 in the females. In both sexes the right radius is somewhat longer, but too much confidence should not be placed in the figures given above, for the radii are almost all odd and not paired.

In the few cases in which the radio-humeral index could be calculated the results agree fairly well with those given by Dr. Hrdlička as characteristic of Indians in general (approximately 78 on both sides for males and 77 on both sides for females). The excess in the humero-radial index on the left side in the females is probably due to the insufficient number of cases.

There is nothing exceptional in the features of the radii of this series.

**Ulna.** Of the male bones, 6 right ulna yielded an average of 267.1 mm. for maximum length, while 8 left ulna averaged 258 mm. These were not paired bones. In the case of the females the averages are 247.8 mm. for 5 right ulna, and 254.6 mm. for 3 left ulna. Nothing noteworthy was observed in respect to the ulna.

**Pelvis.** In this collection the bones of the pelvis are almost without exception fragmentary. But one pelvis, that of a female, was available for measurement. This is a very broad and capacious pelvis, the measurements of which are given below.

PELVIS AS A WHOLE			
Number	Mean height of ossa innominata (a) mm.	Breadth, maximum, of pelvis (b) mm.	Pelvic index $\frac{(a) \times 100}{b}$
Female..... 1	205	288	71.18

SUPERIOR STRAIT			
	Breadth Maximum (c)	Diameter Anteroposterior (d)	Brim index $\frac{(d) \times 100}{(c)}$
	143	122	85.31

The pelvic index is very low in this specimen and the brim index is very high. Altogether this is an exceptionally large pelvis, and consequently should not be taken as representative of the group.

Observations on many fragmentary pelves show that the usual pelvic characters with their normal sexual differentia prevail. The female pelves have wider great sciatic notches, greater sub-pubic angles, and the ascending rami of the pubic bones are less massive than in the males. The so-called pre-auricular sulcus is decidedly an unsafe criterion of sex in this series, being well-marked in many obviously male pelves and indistinct in many female pelves.

The total number of sacra available for measurement was 7, which seems too small a number upon which to base any conclusions.

**Pathology.** The following is a summary of pathological conditions observed in the bones apart from the skull. These pathological conditions were confined to the bones of adults and one adolescent.

**Spine** (total number of adult subjects, 90). Slight to pronounced arthritic exostoses were observed on the vertebra of 17 individuals,

Or 18.8 per cent of all the adult skeletons examined including those in which the vertebrae were not preserved.

In one male skeleton in addition (No. 57561) several of the cervical vertebrae appear to be carious.

*Pelvic Bones.* Signs of arthritis were observed about the acetabula of 6 subjects. In addition the right sacro-iliac articulation of No. 57640, an adult female, exhibits an inflammatory condition, involving considerable destruction of bone. No. 57625, a fragmentary skeleton, probably female, shows arthritic exostoses in the region of the pubic symphysis, and No. 57634, a male, has exostoses on the right ilium in the region of the anterior superior iliac spine. Altogether the pelves of 8 subjects or 8.8 per cent of all adult skeletons examined, including those in which the pelvic bones were not preserved, show signs of arthritic changes. In addition the sacrum of No. 58460, a young adult female, shows slight traces of periostitis.

*Humeri.* In two subjects the humeri show signs of moderate osteoperiostitis. In two other subjects the humeri show signs of arthritic changes.

*Radii.* Moderate osteoperiostitis was observed in three cases, both sides being affected in two of the subjects.

*Ulnae.* In No. 26592, a male, the left ulna presents a healed fracture, with little displacement and no signs of inflammation. In No. 57506, a male, both ulnae show signs of arthritis. Three other subjects show moderate to pronounced osteoperiostitis affecting both ulnae in two instances. In the third only the right ulna is preserved and the disease has affected the distal half of the bone.

*Femora.* Seven subjects show pathological changes in the femora. The left bone of No. 57506, a male, has a moderate "mushroom head." Both femora of Numbers 58371, 57636 (a), and 57571, all males, show signs of arthritis. In three other subjects moderate osteoperiostitis has affected the distal halves of the femora.

*Tibiae.* Thirteen subjects, or 13.1 per cent of all the adult and adolescent skeletons examined, exhibit pathological features in the tibiae.

Pronounced curvatures, probably due to a mild form of rachitis, occur in four subjects. In nine individuals inflammatory changes have taken place in the tibial shafts, ranging from slight localized periostitis to extensive osteoperiostitis affecting the entire shaft.

In No. 58371, a male, the left tibia shows a healed fracture accompanied by considerable inflammation affecting the distal portion of the shaft of the tibia, the astragalus, and the calcaneum.

*Bones of the Foot.* Except in the case noted just above, no pathological conditions were observed in the bones of the feet included in this series.

*General Remarks on Pathology of the Bones.* In connection with the above notes on the pathology of the bones in the Madisonville series, it is instructive to compare the results of Langdon's examination of 662 skeletons exhumed during the early years of excavation in the Madisonville site. (Langdon, op. cit., p. 247 et seq.) That author figures a spinal column in which

the spinous and articular processes of all the lumbar and dorsal vertebrae are fused, while the bodies remain free, with the exception of two in the lumbar region which are connected only by a thin band of osseous tissue. Several of the carpal and metacarpal bones are also united into a solid bony mass, and the atlas is connected with the skull in a similar manner. . . . The axis and the third cervical vertebra are also united by the coalescence of their bodies as well as of their transverse, articular, and spinous processes. The heads of the ribs are likewise ankylosed with the bodies of the vertebrae and their tuberosities with the transverse processes. (Op. cit., p. 249.)

He ascribed this condition to arthritis deformans.

Langdon also mentions

Arthritis involving a right shoulder joint, with flattening, enlargement and eburnation of the head of the humerus and glenoid fossa. (Op. cit., p. 253.)

The same author states that the pathological features presented by the tibiae include

Evidences of periostitis, osteitis, and osteomyelitis, in varied combination; as well as exostosis, and an obscure form of rarefaction. (Op. cit., p. 256.)

In one specimen figured by him (fig. 14) he says:

The evidences of ulceration about the lower half of this bone are somewhat suggestive of syphilitic lesions which supposition is further strengthened by the bilateral character of the disease and the presence of several nodular excrescences distributed along the crest of the bone.

The suspicion as to existence of syphilitic lesions in the bones of this series arose in the mind of the present writer before he had referred to Langdon's report, and it was precisely the frequency

of serious bilateral inflammatory conditions in the tibiae that occasioned such suspicion. Probably these conditions were brought about by syphilis, but it is extremely difficult to distinguish between bone lesions due to that disease and those that result from the systemic conditions which prevail in osteoarthritis. On the whole the author does not feel qualified to make a positive decision in this matter on the basis of the evidence.

Arthritis and arthritis deformans were present, as were also periostitis and osteoperiostitis. Rachitis seems also to have been present in a mild form, although the only bones which showed it were tibiae. There is the possibility of a tuberculous condition in the spine of one individual, but here, again, the condition may be simply arthritic.

Fractures and injuries of the bones are rare, except in the skulls, of which the pathological and traumatic features have been discussed above.

**General Summary of Observations.** The characters of the Madisonville crania examined have been summarized above in some detail. In general they are three-fourths brachycephalic and the rest mesocephalic, with the exception of two dolichocephalic specimens. The height of the skull vault is somewhat low, but the cranial capacity is well up to the average for Indians. The faces are broad and very short, the orbits, low and broad, the nasal apertures prevailingly platyrrhine, with poorly developed nasal spine and indistinct lower borders. There is little prognathism, and the jaws are short and broad. The mandibles are somewhat deficient in symphyseal height.


The femora indicate a stature of about 167 cm. for males and 155 cm. for females, which is a little above average for Indians but not tall. The long bones do not indicate especially pronounced muscular development, but about average for Indians. The limb proportions approximate to those generally observed in American Indians. Platymelia and platycnemia are not pronounced except in individual cases.

The Madisonville crania are less strong and rugged than those of the Tennessee Stone Grave group and differ from them in many respects, but particularly in lessened height of the cranial vault, of the face, and of the mandible, in our series. The Tennessee group also contains a large majority of brachycephals. There is



little doubt that the Madisonville site was inhabited by a people in whom a preponderance of physical characters belonging to the southern and eastern brachycephalic group of Indians was united with an admixture of modified characters originating in the eastern dolichocephalic group. This group seems to have been the result of long contact rather than a primary mixture. Probably its physical affinities with groups, as yet unstudied, in Ohio and Indiana, are closer than with the Tennessee Stone Grave group, or with the Iroquois and other eastern groups.

•



## CONCLUSION

BY CHARLES C. WILLOUGHBY

**Period of Occupation of the Madisonville Site.** It is evident from the foregoing pages that the occupation of this site covered an interval immediately preceding the first intercourse of the Indians of the region with Europeans, and extended into the protohistoric period, at which time the inhabitants were able to secure a small amount of European iron, brass and copper, together with a few glass beads, either directly from the early missionaries or traders, or indirectly through their Indian neighbors.

That these later inhabitants were of the same group as the earlier dwellers upon the site is evident from the finding of a cross and other trinkets of brass in a grave containing also a pottery vessel of a type common throughout this cemetery. The site, however, appears to have been abandoned long before the arrival of European settlers in the Ohio Valley.

**Relation of the Madisonville Culture to that of the Surrounding Tribes.** The Madisonville culture in prehistoric times extended over a considerable portion of southern Ohio. This is shown by the work of Mr. Mills of the Ohio State Archaeological Society, in Warren, Scioto and Ross Counties,<sup>1</sup> and by the explorations of the Peabody Museum in Hamilton County, but these sites were apparently abandoned at an earlier date than the one at Madisonville, for so far as the present writer has been able to learn no objects of European origin have been found associated with the burials or cache-pits in any of them. This seems to indicate a southern migration of the northern outposts of these Indians to the Ohio River not later than the first part of the Seventeenth Century, perhaps before the Miami took possession of this country. They were probably driven southward by the Iroquois.

<sup>1</sup> W. C. Mills, *The Gartner Mound and Village Site; The Baum Village Site; The Peurt Mounds and Village Site*; Papers of the Ohio State Archaeological Society, Columbus, Ohio.

In all treaty negotiations of the early settlers, the Miami were considered the original owners of the Wabash country in Indiana, and all of western Ohio, while the other tribes were regarded by them as tenants or intruders on their lands.<sup>1</sup> The Miami gave their name to the two principal rivers in southwestern Ohio. Mr. Mooney also states that

In 1684, the Iroquois justified their attack on the Miami by asserting that the latter had invited the Santanas (Shawnee) into their country to make war upon the Iroquois. This is the first historic mention of the Shawnee . . . in the country north of the Ohio River.<sup>2</sup>

With our present knowledge of the material culture of the proto-historic Miami and Shawnee we are not warranted in assuming definitely that members of either of these tribes were the makers of the artifacts found upon this site, or that their dead were buried here.

A few burial mounds were apparently built by the Indians of the Madisonville culture, as seems evident from the explorations of Mr. Mills at the Gartner and Feurt sites. It is possible that some of the mounds, formerly standing near the house circles and just outside the area shown on our plan (plate 30), which were excavated by Dr. Metz before the discovery of the cemetery, were the work of these Indians. It should be understood, however, that the people of the Madisonville culture undoubtedly belonged to a different group and were of a later period than the builders of the great earthworks of southern Ohio.

The few house circles at Madisonville were to the northeast of the cemetery. They were much larger than the hut sites found by Mr. Mills in the localities before mentioned. Those reported by him were mostly circular, without rings, and of a size and form corresponding to the houses in common use among the Algonquian tribes of the Great Lakes region within historic times, while those at Madisonville were forty to sixty feet in diameter, measuring from their outer edges, and more nearly approach the larger house circles of the Tennessee region to the south.

The few artifacts found during the investigations of these circles were in general of types corresponding to those of the main village.

<sup>1</sup> James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, *Bulletin* 30, vol. i, p. 853, Bureau of American Ethnology.

<sup>2</sup> James Mooney, *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 534.

It is possible, however, that these circles antedate the occupation by the people under consideration, and that the artifacts were the result of the later occupation of the ground. The absence of such circles on the main site, where, as indicated by the cache-pits, most of the cabins stood, would seem to point to this conclusion, but the data relating to the subject are too meager to warrant definite deductions.

Speaking broadly, there is much to indicate that the more distinctive artifacts of the Madisonville and other similar sites of southern Ohio are in general more closely related to a group from an area some five or six hundred miles in diameter, having its center in northern Kentucky, than to those outside this region. So far as we know, tribes of the Algonquian stock held nearly all of this area at the time of the latest occupation of this site, but further archaeological investigations in the neighboring states of Indiana and Kentucky are necessary before definite conclusions can be drawn as to which branch of this stock probably dwelt at Madisonville.

**Physical Relation of the Inhabitants to the Neighboring People.**

Unfortunately there is little osteological material available from the two states above mentioned for comparison with that of Madisonville, and the skeletal remains from the mounds and graves of the Great Earthwork Builders of Ohio now in the Museum have not been systematically studied.

Certain quite marked differences between the Madisonville people and the Stone Grave Indians of Tennessee have, however, been pointed out by Dr. Hooton (page 133), whose careful work upon the physical characteristics of these two groups forms a substantial and reliable basis for future comparative studies in connection with human remains from the adjacent regions.

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**PAPERS**  
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**VOL. VIII. — No. 2**

**BASKET-MAKER CAVES**  
**OF NORTHEASTERN ARIZONA**

**REPORT ON THE EXPLORATIONS, 1916-17**

**BY**  
**SAMUEL JAMES GUERNSEY**  
**AND**  
**ALFRED VINCENT KIDDER**

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***FORTY-FOUR PLATES AND SIXTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS***  
***IN THE TEXT***

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**CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.**  
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## INTRODUCTION

IN the summer of 1914 the Peabody Museum of Harvard University sent an expedition to northeastern Arizona under the joint leadership of the present authors for the purpose of studying the relations between the cliff-houses of that district and those of the north side of the San Juan River. In the course of this trip, evidence was found of the presence of the Basket-maker culture. This culture had hitherto only been reported from a single rather restricted area in southeastern Utah.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, no Basket-maker remains had ever been taken out by trained investigators; so that the claims, put forward by the commercial collectors who discovered and named the culture, that it was a distinct one, antedating that of the Cliff-dwellers, had been received by archaeologists with more or less incredulity. We felt, therefore, that the opportunity for studying these little known remains in a region untouched by earlier diggers, was one which should not be neglected; all our subsequent work has accordingly been directed toward the finding and excavation of Basket-maker sites.

In 1915 the junior author regretfully gave up field work in this region to undertake other excavations, and the expeditions of that and the following years were conducted by Mr. Guernsey. The results of 1914 and 1915 have already been published,<sup>2</sup> the present report deals with the explorations of 1916 and 1917; at the close of the latter season field work was temporarily discontinued because of the war. In each year the expeditions were carried on under permits granted by the Secretary of the Interior.

The Museum wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to the following persons whose generous contributions, supplementing the Museum appropriation, served greatly to enlarge the scope of the work: Mrs. S. K. Lothrop, and Messrs. Bronson Cutting, Lawrence Grinnell, F. E. Guernsey, Augustus Hemenway, Henry Horn-

<sup>1</sup> Pepper, 1902. The existence of the Basket-makers was first pointed out in print by Dr. T. Mitchell Prudden in *An Elder Brother to the Cliff-dwellers* (Prudden, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919.

blower, J. M. Longyear, D. L. Pickman, and John E. Thayer. It wishes also to tender its thanks to Professor Byron Cummings of the University of Arizona, who unselfishly shared with it the field in which he was the pioneer; to Clayton Wetherill for his enthusiastic and faithful services as guide and interpreter; and to Mr. and Mrs. John Wetherill and Mr. Clyde Colville of Kayenta for their unfailing hospitality and constant helpfulness.

In the two seasons covered by this report, the party outfitted at Farmington, New Mexico, and proceeded by wagon and horseback to the trading post of Wetherill and Colville at Kayenta, the base from which further explorations were conducted. Kayenta, which may be found on the more recent Government maps, is reached from Farmington by a journey of four to five days, depending on the condition of the stock, and the abundance of grass and water. The caves and ruins described all lie in Arizona within a radius of one day's ride from Kayenta.

The country exerts a charm which the authors confess their inability to describe. Its physical aspect has already been noted by more competent writers;<sup>1</sup> it is sufficient for the purpose of this paper to say, that although essentially a semi-desert region, there is no difficulty now, nor was there ever, apparently, in earlier times for the dweller here who understood the environment, to obtain sufficient sustenance for simple requirements. The wastes of the valleys and mesa tops that once supplied the wild game with which the early people supplemented the fruits of their agriculture, now furnish ample grazing grounds for the Navajo's flocks of sheep and goats; these Indians also succeed on selected sites in producing good crops of corn, under conditions that to a white farmer would seem quite impossible.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
March 5, 1921

<sup>1</sup> Prudden, 1903, pp. 262-285; and 1907; Gregory, 1916, pp. 45-67.

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# BASKET-MAKER CAVES OF NORTH- EASTERN ARIZONA

*REPORT ON THE EXPLORATIONS OF 1916-17*

## FIELD WORK, SEASON OF 1916

THE plans of the 1916 expedition included the investigation of a Cliff-dweller ruin discovered the previous year on the west bank of the Chinlee, one day's journey east of Kayenta.<sup>1</sup> A week was spent here. After reprovisioning at Kayenta, camp was made near the mouth of Yellow Head Canyon, about 10 miles to the west, where two days were occupied in examining a small cave and in studying cliff-dwellings that had been cleared by Professor Cummings in 1914. Sunflower Cave (see map, figure 1) a site left unfinished in 1915, was then visited with the object of further investigations.<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the season was occupied in exploring the South Comb and in excavating two caves some 5 miles north of Sunflower Cave.

### THE SOUTH COMB <sup>3</sup>

The South Comb is a great sandstone monocline that extends from Marsh Pass in a generally northeastern direction as far as the San Juan River. About 16 miles from Marsh Pass its continuity is broken by a narrow valley which leads through it from Kayenta to the Agathla Rock. Our work was confined to that section lying between the break and Marsh Pass.

Hereabouts the course of the Comb is sinuous and its appearance constantly changing; some stretches are tilted steeply toward the sheer walls of Skeleton Mesa, whose top at those points rises higher than the jagged summit of the Comb itself, which is shown in plate 1, b. Other stretches show gentle inclines that seem to lead to the Mesa, but on reaching the crests the way is invariably blocked by deep intervening chasms. It is hard to imagine more

<sup>1</sup> To be described in a separate article.

<sup>2</sup> For the location of this and other sites, see map, figure 1.

<sup>3</sup> For the geology of the region, see Gregory, 1916, p. 47.



## BASKET-MAKER CAVES

rugged rock formations than those to be found in this part of the Comb. Frequently, and with little strain on the imagination, one can make out along its crests weird forms in natural sculpture: the outlines of colossal animals, faces, solitary spires and minarets, whose silent grandeur at nightfall intensifies the brooding gloom of



FIGURE 1  
Sketch-map of the Kayenta Region.

the desert. In the walls of the tortuous gorges that wind up among the cliffs are countless caves, large and small, many of them so well hidden among the contorted rocks that they can be found only by working one's way on foot along the ledges.

Before exploring for new sites, the expedition occupied itself with two caves found in the Comb during the previous year.

**Sunflower Cave Revisited.** While work at this site was still in progress in 1915, a sudden flood in Laguna Creek cut off communication between the camp, which lay on the east bank, and the ruin. As time was very limited, it was thought best not to wait the several days that it would probably take for the water to subside; and the party moved on, leaving a section at the rear of the cave unexplored.

Sunflower Cave was occupied by a small cliff-house in which was found the remarkable cache of ceremonial objects that gave the place its name.<sup>1</sup> Of even greater interest, however, was the presence of certain remains which led us to suspect that in this cave might be found evidence as to the relative age of the Basket-maker and Cliff-dweller cultures. Cist 4, sunk into the hard-pan behind the cliff-house rooms, had given the most positive indications of this; it is described as follows in the previous report (p. 96):

The outlines of this cist could be traced by a disturbed area showing in the face of the trench. It had originally been a stone enclosure, though but two of the slabs were still in place. A few bones of a child were found in the upper part; near the bottom at the side nearest the back of the cave were two decorated bone tubes. Imprints of coiled basketry could be seen in hard lumps of the adobe filling, but nothing of the basket itself remained. The cist gave us the impression that it had been a Basket-maker burial chamber which had been pulled to pieces, partly emptied and then filled in with rubbish during the cliff-house period.

There was also found in the loose rubbish a typical Basket-maker sandal, the presence of which, in what was a purely cliff-house site to all outward appearance, required some explanation.

We were accordingly very anxious to examine the still undug portions at the rear of the cave. The results of the second visit amply repaid the effort, for we discovered unmistakable stratigraphic evidence of a sequence of occupation. The new excavations revealed Basket-maker burials, some of them entirely undisturbed, below a stratum of typical Cliff-dweller debris. The location of the finds is shown on the plan (figure 2); their relation to the Cliff-dweller remains is clearly brought out in the diagrammatic cross-section (figure 3).

*Cist 5* (cists 1 to 4 opened in 1915) was a shallow bowl-shaped hole dug in the hard-pan. In it were parts of the skeletons of a young

<sup>1</sup> For a general description of this cave and of the finds made there in 1915, see Kidder-Guarnsey, 1919, pp. 92-96.

child and an adult, while scattered through the loose dirt about the top were portions of the skeleton of a second child, which had probably originally been deposited with the other remains. The bones

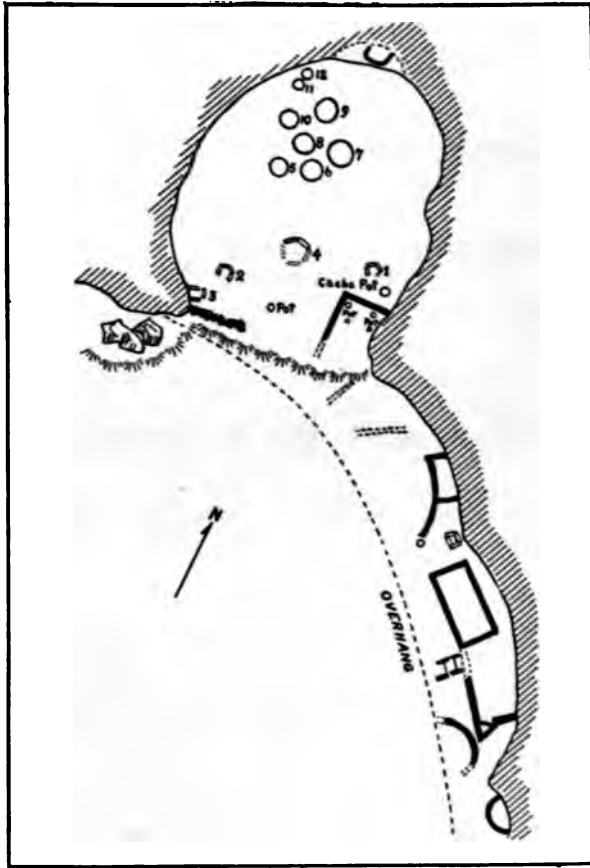


FIGURE 2  
Plan of Sunflower Cave, South Comb.

of the adult had been carefully disposed at the bottom of the hole in a manner to make the most of the limited space. They consisted of an undeformed skull in good preservation, the long bones of the arms, the scapulae, and a few ribs and vertebrae. The arm bones were placed on either side of the skull, the other bones

being packed close about it. Lying across the arm bones was a section of a femur which showed a long splintered post-mortem break. The lower jaw was found in the loose rubbish some fifteen inches from the edge of the cist.

It had probably been dragged out by rats, a thing we found to be not uncommon in caves. A small white chipped point lay among the bones. Above these remains was the disarranged skeleton of the young child. The second child's skeleton as before stated, was scattered through the loose earth about the cist. We

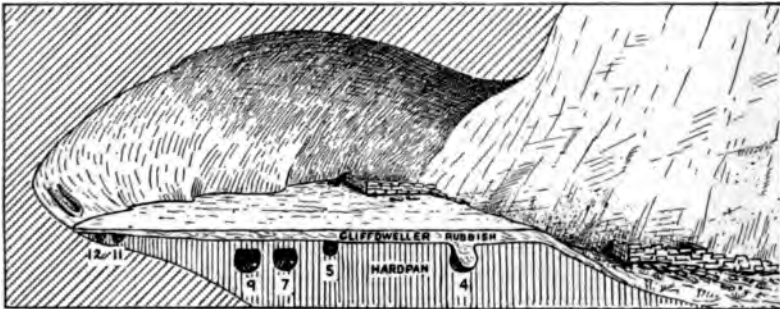


FIGURE 3  
Sunflower Cave, Cross-section.

are at a loss to account for the neat arrangement of the adult bones. It is clearly a case of secondary burial, but we have never found any instance of this practice in undisturbed Basket-maker sites, and the people who looted Basket-maker graves did not, as far as we are aware, ever trouble themselves to restore anything to place.

Cist 6 was 2 feet 6 inches in diameter and was cut 3 feet deep into the hard-pan. It lay 4 feet east of Cist 5, and contained only a quantity of loose cedar bark and shredded grass piled in the bottom. It is possible that the bones found in Cist 5 came from here, though no positive evidence remained that it had been used for burial.

Cist 7 was an untouched Basket-maker grave; the original filling passed unbroken above it, and was in turn overlaid by Cliff-dweller rubbish (figure 3). It was 4 feet in diameter, 3 feet deep, and held the well-preserved skeletons of two adults with undeformed crania. They lay flexed on their left sides, hands between the lower thighs (plate 10, c); over the head of each was inverted a small coiled basket, one of which can be seen in the photograph. The

earth about the skeletons showed traces of decayed organic matter, probably from fur-string robes and other wrappings; rotted cedar bark was found at the bottom. The only object besides the decomposed baskets was a small strip of bark with one end neatly trimmed off.

*Cists 8, 9 and 10* had all been plundered in early times and contained only fragmentary skeletons; a number of cylindrical seed beads accompanied the remains of a child in Cist 10.

*Cists 11 and 12* were within 3 feet of the rear wall of the cave. Although very close under the surface they had not been molested. Cist 11 was a shallow bowl-shaped scoop in the hard-pan, and held two infants. One of these had been wrapped in a fur-string blanket and lay on what seemed to be a twined-woven cedar-bark mat, beneath which was a reed-backed cradle too badly rotted to preserve. Infant 2 was also wrapped in a fur-string blanket and lay on a decayed reed-backed cradle; near the head were remains of a coiled basket inverted over traces of a substance resembling meal. Both cradles were of the rigid type shown in plate 20. Accompanying the bodies were two bark objects covered with prairie-dog skin, which we have since been able to identify as umbilical pads. Cist 12 was a small hole in the hard-pan. In it was an infant wrapped in a fur-string robe and encased in a twined-woven bag. The robe had been destroyed by insects, but the bag was in a fair state of preservation.

All the above Basket-maker cists lay below a layer of cliff-house rubbish from 6 to 8 inches deep, made up of ashes, turkey droppings, bits of straw and many potsherds of the same wares as those found on other cliff-house sites in this region. Beneath this rubbish, the surface of the hard-pan above the cists gave no indication of their presence, being as compact and of the same appearance as the surrounding hard-pan. If, therefore, we had followed the 1915 method of clearing and examining the Cliff-dweller rubbish down to the hard-pan, and not cutting into it except where the tops of cists were encountered or other surface indications excited interest, these burials would have escaped notice altogether.

Fortunately, however, the trench was run much deeper than usual and entered Cist 7 from the side. The section thus exposed showed the top to be filled to a depth of 1 foot with a compactly tamped mass exactly like the hard-pan in which the cist itself was



SOUTH COMB

a, White Dog Cliff and Navajo Hogan; b, South Comb, near White Dog Cave.



excavated (figure 3). That the infant burials in Cists 11 and 12 remained undiscovered through the period of Cliff-dweller occupancy is remarkable, since they were covered by hardly more than 3 inches of the cave earth; the Cliff-dweller rubbish here was also very thin. A possible explanation may be that this part of the cave was used by the Cliff-dwellers for storage or for sleeping places, and was thus in a measure protected from the random digging to which the more open portions were exposed.

Had the Cliff-dwellers, the final tenants of the cave, been more persistent in their search, there would have remained no trace of the Basket-maker period except the cists, empty or refilled with Cliff-dweller rubbish. Attention is called to this for the sake of emphasis, as further on in this report, caves are described where all evidence of Basket-maker occupancy other than the empty cists has been effaced.

**Goat Cave.** This site was located by the expedition of 1915. It lies about two miles north of Sunflower Cave at the foot of a steep incline leading to the top of the Comb (see figure 1). The approach is through a narrow ravine choked with great rocks, among which a thick growth of large old cedars has found root. These trees screen the place from view except at a few points in the ravine. The cave is a deep shelter at the west end of which is an even deeper recess. As shown in the plan (figure 4) there are two levels: a front or lower one, extending the entire length of the cave; and a higher rear level, consisting of the whole floor of the inner recess and of a narrow gallery running all along the back of the more open part of the cave. The whole upper level is formed of the original hard-pan fill; along the gallery or terrace this breaks away in a vertical bank. The walls and roof of the cave are much blackened by smoke. At one point in the rear of the cave the floor is covered by a thick layer of ashes and charcoal. In the recess and on the end of the gallery next to it, are a number of partly fallen walls (plate 2, a, b).

*Room 1*, five feet in diameter, the walls 2 feet 4 inches high, is built of upright slabs of stone.

*Room 2*, from the foundations that remain, appears to have been oval in shape. From front to back it measured 8 feet, its length could not be determined as the end wall had disappeared. The foundation is of thick stone slabs of uniform size set on end, on



## BASKET-MAKER CAVES

these small stones were laid flat (plate 2, a), but little of the upper course remained in place. Joints between the foundation slabs were closed with adobe mortar. The upper courses appear to have been chinked with the same material. Back of this room are remains of two curved walls built of coursed masonry in the usual Cliff-dweller manner. Stone apparently from these walls was used to construct a small cairn on the opposite side of the recess.

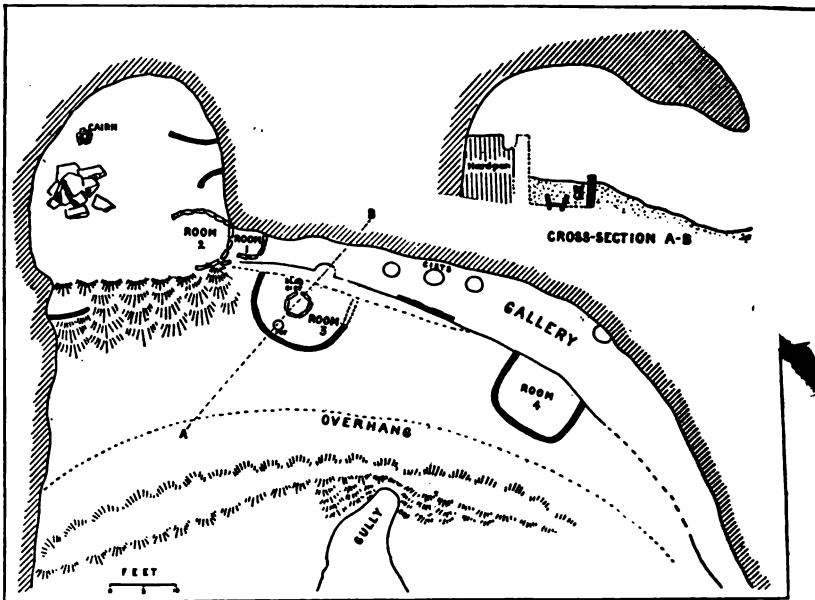


FIGURE 4  
Plan and Cross-section of Goat Cave, South Comb.

resembles monuments built by the Navajo to mark water or trails; nothing was found beneath it. Directly in front of the cairn is a heap of rocks fallen from the roof of the cave.

On the lower level in front of the gallery are two roughly circular rooms which we at first wrongly thought to be Cliff-dweller kivas, but they were found to contain none of the special features of ceremonial rooms. Both were built against the steep bank of the terrace which had been cut away to form their rear walls.

*Room 3*, the less well-preserved of the two, measured 15 feet across its greatest diameter; the wall stood 4 feet at its highest



GOAT CAVE

a, Slab foundation of Room 2; b, General view, Room 3 in foreground.



**P**oint. The masonry is interesting and unusual; medium-sized flat stones are laid up without any mortar in such a way as to produce an even surface on the interior (plate 2, b), the exterior being left irregular and rough. So carefully are the stones placed that in spite of the absence of mortar the construction is firm and solid. In clearing this room a slab cist was uncovered, measuring 4 feet in diameter at the top, 3 feet at the bottom, and 2 feet deep; in the bottom was a 2-inch layer of ashes and charcoal and over this 2 inches of cedar bark. It was very similar to Basket-maker slab cists found in Cave 1, 1915.<sup>1</sup> The original floor of Room 3 was so ill-defined that we could not determine exactly the relation of the cist to the floor, but as near as could be judged the upright slabs had been sunk into it a depth of about 8 inches.

Cached in the loose filling of the room, at the point indicated in the plan (figure 4; note also its position in the cross-section) was a black corrugated olla. It was covered with a thin flat stone, but contained only drift sand.

*Room 4.* The general shape of this room is shown in the plan. Its greatest diameter, measured inside, is fourteen feet, from back to front eleven feet. The highest point in the wall, five feet, is probably the original height, as no loose building stones were noticed here. No trace of roofing remains. The masonry wall has no sharp corners. The back wall is cut in the face of the gallery and has a slight bend or angle. The stones are laid to produce a smooth face on the inside as in Room 3, and with considerable skill, since they are still firmly in place though there is no trace of adobe mortar in the joints. In excavating the room we found quantities of charcoal and scattered bundles of cedar bark, but no artifacts. Two rude cists lined with cedar bark were also opened. As in Room 3 the floor was not well-defined.

In the floor of the gallery were several jar-shaped cists dug in the hard-pan (see figure 4). These were exactly like the burial cists found in the Sayodnecchee burial cave, 1914.<sup>2</sup> At a point back of Room 3 where the terrace wall had caved off carrying with it one half a cist (see section in figure 4) the exposed cross-section showed plainly the marks of digging sticks in the side of the cist thus brought to view. Two of the cists contained a few human bones;

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 77 and plate 27.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 28 and figure 8.

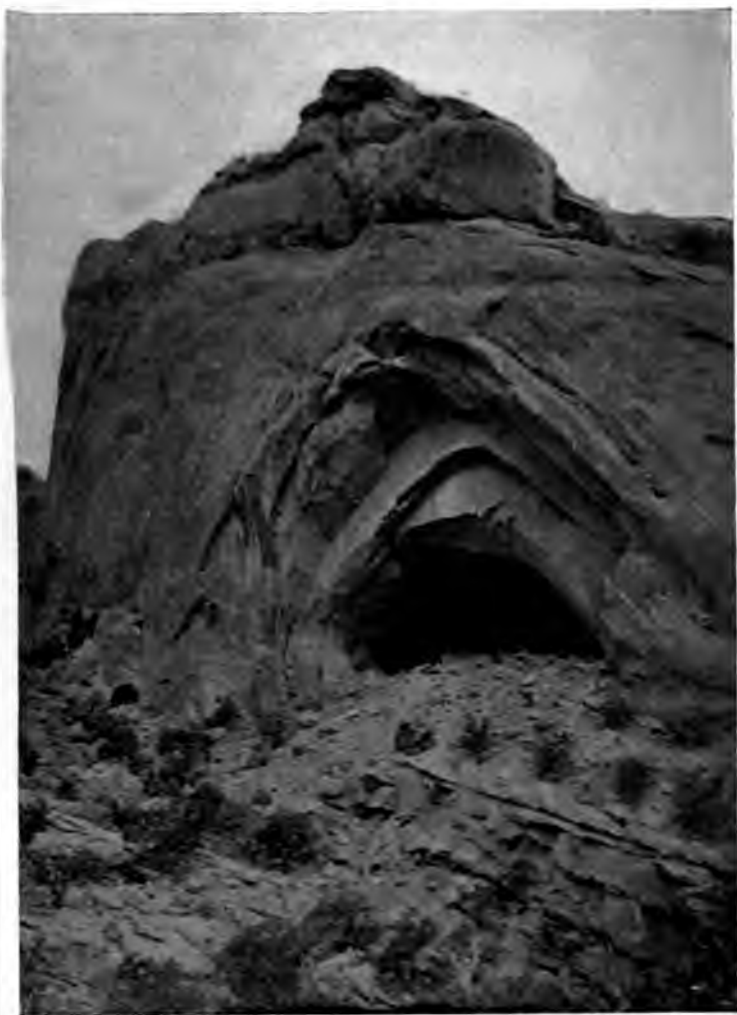
while other portions of skeletons, some bleached by long exposure, were found in the loose sand covering the floor of the terrace. These were, no doubt, plundered Basket-maker burials.

The authors wish to call particular attention to the rooms uncovered in this cave. Their masonry, with the exception of the single wall in the recess, is quite different from that of the cliff-dwellings.

**White Dog Cave.** This was by far the most prolific site discovered by the Museum's expeditions to northeastern Arizona. Its position is most inconspicuous and the first view of it was obtained during a climb high up among the rocks of the Comb, the only place in fact, from which it could be seen from any distance. It might easily have escaped notice altogether, for a rider passing along the valley below would not be tempted to explore the narrow ravine leading up to it, particularly as the cliff in which it is located is apparently in full view and seems to be entirely unbroken (see plate 1, a). One short section of the cliff is, however, out of sight from the flat land, and just there is tucked away the cave. The above conditions are described thus at length in order to show the absolute necessity of a careful search *on foot* among all the little side canyons of this broken country.

The approach is up a tortuous ravine. Arriving below it the visitor is astonished that so great a cavern should be so effectively hidden. It occupies a commanding position in the rounded front of a buttress-like swell of the cliff. The huge portal, 120 feet across the base and at least 125 feet high, seems carved by nature to conform to the dome-shaped top of the cliff above it. The accompanying photograph (plate 3), aside from having in it no familiar objects by which relative proportions may be judged, shows so clearly the process of formation and general aspect that further description is unnecessary.

Reaching the cave after a stiff climb of 100 feet up a steep talus, one enters a spacious chamber measuring approximately 70 feet from back wall to line of shelter and 120 feet across the opening. The ceiling is high and arched, the floor rises at an easy grade from front to back. Somewhat more than half the floor space is covered by large rocks fallen from the roof, one of which measures 20 feet in length, 12 feet in width and 10 feet thick (figure 5 and plate 11, a). This and other rocks near it we found later had fallen since the



WHITE DOG CAVE.



cave was occupied. The unencumbered portion of the floor was composed of clean sand and small broken stones. Although we subsequently unearthed considerable accumulations of ashes and charcoal in different parts of the cave, the walls and ceilings showed not a trace of soot, having been scoured clean by wind-blown sand. A demonstration of this process was furnished one day when a high wind from the proper quarter created a veritable

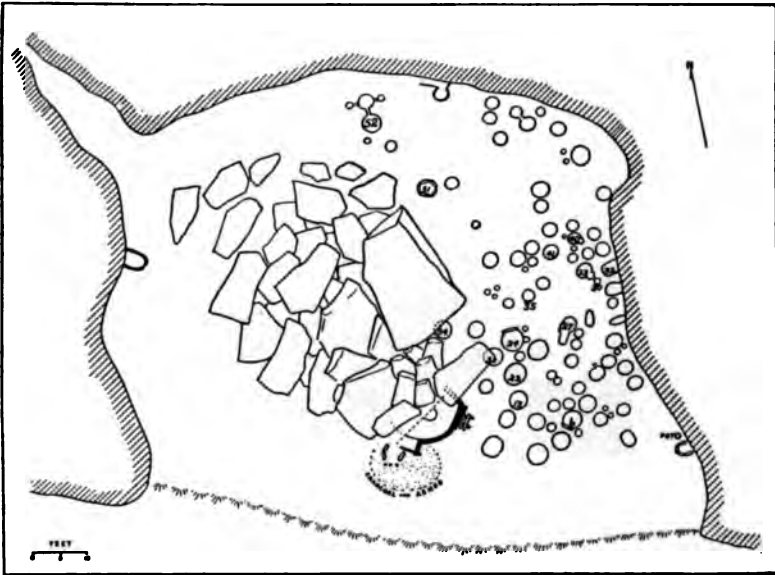


FIGURE 5  
Plan of White Dog Cave, South Comb.

whirlwind in the cave, gathering up the surface sand and swirling it about in such quantities that we were forced to abandon work while it continued. A piece of paper released at the back would sometimes make as many as three complete circuits of the cave clinging close to the wall except as it passed across the front. On mentioning this to Mrs. Wetherill we were told by her that the place was known to the Navajo as the Cave of Winds.

The first examination of the cave for traces of occupation showed at the back against the wall the tops of several sand-filled cists, dug in the hard-pan. Searching the surface, a few bleached



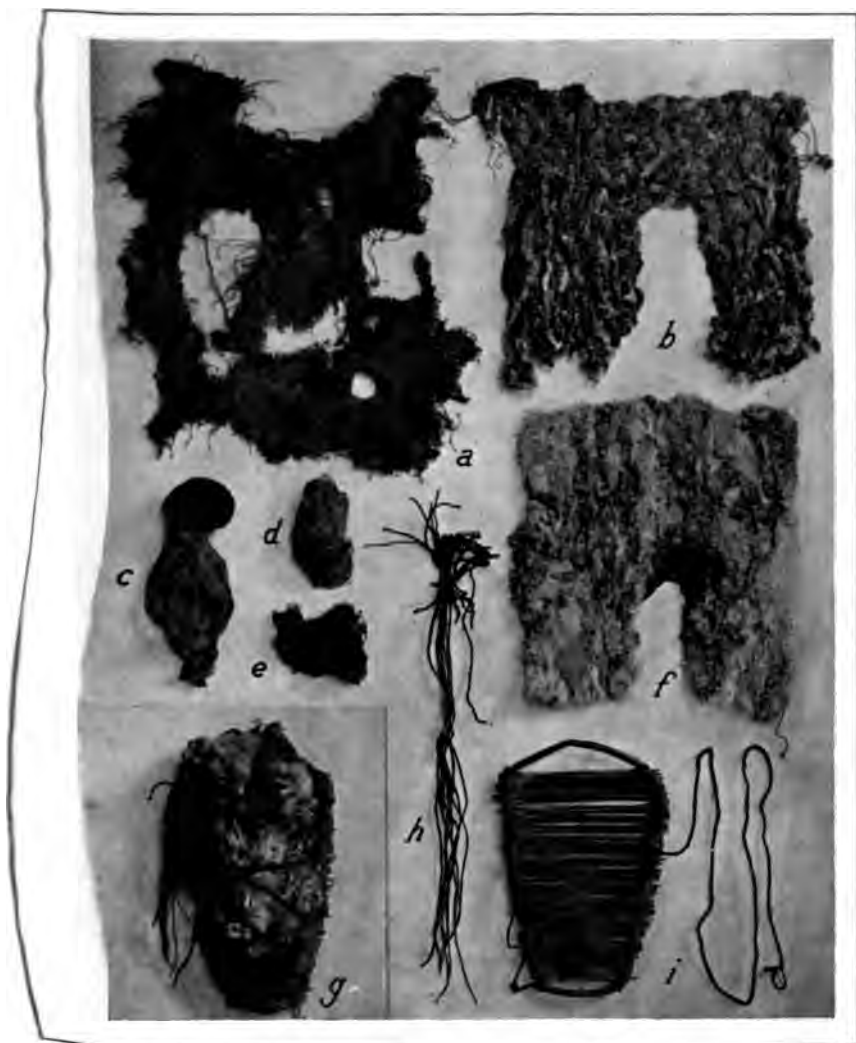
human bones were seen and a small handful of Cliff-dweller potsherds was picked up. Digging at random with a trowel, a few fragments of basketry and some bone beads were found. Near the center of the cave the ends of two upright stakes were noticed projecting from 2 to 3 inches above the surface. Not until our second and more thorough examination did we discover on the west side a low foundation wall mudded on to the sloping rock floor of the cave. This was apparently the beginning of a small Cliff-dweller storage room or bin. As a "prospect" the cave fulfilled every requirement. Its exploration yielded a collection which fully represents most phases of the material culture of the Basket-makers.

Across the front of the cave where work was commenced there was found a natural ridge of coarse *débris*, back of which the sand fill had accumulated above the hard-pan floor to a depth of from 5 to 7 feet. Toward the back this deposit grew shallower until along the rear wall the hard-pan cropped to the surface.

The fill carried no refuse pockets or well-defined rubbish layers such as are found marking floor levels in Cliff-dweller caves. In general it was made up of a surface layer 6 inches to 1 foot deep of drift sand, below which it was composed of sand and bits of stone mixed with straw, pieces of bark, and particles of charcoal.

Occasionally there appeared thin strata of coarse charcoal and in certain areas there were encountered quite extensive accumulations of ashes and charcoal. In the general digging a number of specimens were found at various depths. They consisted mainly of basket sherds, fragments of fur-string blankets and tattered bits of woven bags; a mummified foot and other fragments of human remains were also recovered. All other objects were taken from cists.

In the plan, figure 5, are indicated a large number of cists grouped along the east wall; there were no cists on the west and north sides. The majority of these were jar-shaped excavations in the hard-pan ranging in size from small pot-holes 1 foot in diameter and of about the same depth, to examples 5 feet deep and 4 feet 6 inches in diameter. Some burials were found in this type of cist but for the most part they were empty, save for sand or sometimes cedar bark and grass at the bottom. Most of the burials were in the front half of the cist area. A few, as was just stated, were in



WHITE DOG CAVE

**g.** Cradle bundle as found. The other figures show cradle and contents unwrapped.  
**a.** Woven cloth; **b, f.** Fur cloth blankets; **c.** Mummy of child; **d.** Umbilical pad;  
**e.** Absorbent bark; **i.** Cradle. (About 1/12.)



Cists completely excavated in the hard-pan, others were in shallow excavations in the hard-pan with one or two stone slabs so placed as to hold back the loose sand, and a single burial was in a cist (51) of the stone slab type described in the previous report.<sup>1</sup> Some of the burials had been previously disturbed,<sup>2</sup> but a number were found intact, the remains and mortuary offerings in a remarkably fine state of preservation.

In the account of the excavations which follows, certain cists and burials are described in detail. The intention is to present the salient features of the more typical ones, hence many small objects found in the cists or concealed among the wrappings of the mummies are not enumerated. They are, however, described in detail in another section.

*Cist 6* (figure 6, a). The first burial cist to be encountered measured 3 feet in diameter, 2 feet in depth and was 4 feet below the surface. It represents a type that was evidently constructed primarily for sepulchre. At one side was an upright stone slab. Although the cist had been relieved of a good portion of its contents by ancient diggers we obtained from it a collection which required 51 catalogue numbers to record. In the upper part were the scattered bones of three infants; at the bottom a few bones from the skeleton of an adult. In the loose fill were several bunches of human hair (plate 32, c, d). A quantity of human hair evidently from the head of a mummy<sup>3</sup> that had been pulled from the cist was also found in the loose fill. One small strand was wrapped about with a leather thong. Later we found in another cist a mummy with coiffure intact, having a queue-like strand wrapped in the same manner. These were practically all the human remains that were left. At the bottom against one side were a quantity of piñon nuts, the rotted remains of woven bags, loose beads, basket sherds, pieces of woven bags and fur-string robes.

*Cist 13*, a shallow bowl-shaped excavation, contained the remains of two infants. One, a very young child wrapped in two fur-string blankets and a fragment of woven cloth, was lashed

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 77 and plate 27.

<sup>2</sup> This grave looting so commonly found in Basket-maker cave cemeteries is not modern. Although we have no direct evidence in its support, our theory is that it was the work of the Cliff-dwellers. See Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> The mummies were, of course, not artificially preserved in any way; they are merely desiccated bodies.

tightly to a small reed-backed cradle; an umbilical pad was in place and the dried umbilical cord was tied to one of the blankets. This mummy bundle as found, and also unwrapped so that all its parts can be seen, is shown in plate 4. The second body, that of a child about 4 years of age, was completely encased in a woven bag<sup>1</sup> (plate 30, f). It was also shrouded in a fur-string robe. Beneath this bundle were pieces of a cedar-bark mat, and over it was spread a fur-string blanket (plate 16, a) which was in turn covered by an

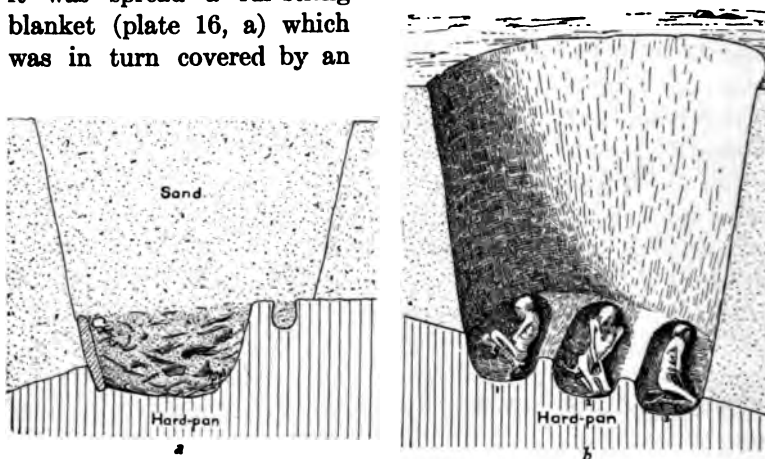


FIGURE 6

White Dog Cave: a, Cross-section of Cist 6; b, Cross-section of Cist 22.

inverted tray basket. At one side of the cist was a bowl-shaped basket also inverted. In the fill some 8 inches above the tray basket was a skin bag containing shelled corn (plate 15). At one side of the cist lay an atlatl in perfect condition save that before being placed in the cist it had been bent nearly double. This and the baskets are illustrated *in situ* in plate 10, e.

Cist 22 contained the bodies of three individuals. Its shape was roughly circular, the greatest diameter being 5 feet 2 inches, depth 2 feet 10 inches; the top was 5 feet 6 inches below the surface. Each body occupied a shallow depression scooped out of the bottom of the cist as shown in figure 6, b. The remains were partly mummified though not in a good state of preservation. The heads

<sup>1</sup> The design on this bag is shown in color in plate 28.

however, retained their hair and much of the dried tissue of the face. Each body had been wrapped in a fur-string blanket and sewed up in woven bags, all of which were in an advanced state of decay.

Number 1, the body of a young female, lay on its right side, knees drawn up and hands between the thighs. A skein-like rope of human hair was wound around the left forearm, passed between the thighs and made fast about the right leg below the knee. At the waist were fragments of a string apron. Some portions of bags that had been used to cover the body remained. A fragment at the feet was of very fine weave while pieces adhering to the knees were much coarser. Covering the whole were two tray baskets. Number 2 was a female. Three baskets were used to cover the body. It rested on its back with head and legs inclined to the left; the feet were drawn up close to the body; the upper legs, bent at the hips, were at right angles to the torso. The hands were in front of the lap, and were bound together at the wrists by fourteen turns of a tightly twisted cord of human hair. This cord was then knotted to a skein-like rope of human hair and both rope and cord passed through between the thighs and about the lower legs above the ankles. At the waist were remains of a string apron and on the breast lay a disk-shaped pendant of shell, ornamented with incised lines. About the neck were beads of olivella shells and thin disk-beads cut from shell, together with part of the leather string by which they had been suspended. In the bottom of the cist under the body were a number of dice-like stones and a single corn cob. Number 3 (male, 20 to 25 years of age) rested on its left side, limbs loosely flexed, hands between thighs. Two tray baskets covered the body. At the right side lay a grooved club, at the feet were a pair of badly rotted square-toed sandals with leather tie-strings and a quantity of small deer or antelope hoofs. Near the hoofs were two handle-like bone objects with small stones attached to their ends. About the neck was a string of shell beads. Among the objects found under the body was a fine chipped knife blade (plate 35, k) and its shrunken wooden haft.

*Cist 24* held the mummies of two adults, one male and one female, each accompanied by the remains of a dog, and an unusual number of mortuary offerings. The remarkably fine state of preservation of everything in this cist is due to the fact that the burials were surrounded by dry sand. The excavation in the hard-pan made

to receive the bodies was a shallow hole just deep enough to hold them. As in Cist 22, each individual occupied a scooped-out place in the bottom of the cist. At the back was an upright stone slab; as none were used at the front or sides, its purpose was evidently to hold back the loose sand while the hard-pan was being excavated. Just in front of the slab was a stout log 3 feet in length, the ends and sides charred by fire. This reached to the surface and was one of the stakes observed when the cave was entered (see upper right center, plate 6, a); whether or not it was so placed at the time the burials were made we were unable to tell. It may have been a marker, but we have found no other burials indicated in this way.

Mummy 1 (female) lay on its right side, limbs loosely flexed. Two large woven bags split down the side encased the remains, one drawn over the head, the other over the feet; the tops met at the middle of the body and were sewn together with yucca leaves (plate 7, a). As usual the corpse was wrapped in a fur-string robe. Over it were inverted two baskets, a bowl-shaped one covering the feet; the other a large carrying basket with tump-line attached covering the head and upper part of the body. The baskets and the manner in which a number of digging sticks were disposed in the grave is shown in plate 6, a. The planting stick at the front with one end resting on the edge of the cist was evidently placed to hold the basket upright. The cedar bark that appears in the upper left hand corner is from another cist. On removing the carrying basket, a small dog was found lying below it on the left side of the mummy. Under the bowl-shaped basket was a substance resembling meal. On lifting the body from the cist there was found beneath it a thick bed of fur and feathers compacted by decay into a mass that was taken out unbroken. On examination at the Museum this proved to have embedded in it bundles of feathers, skin containers and skin bags; these and their contents are described under Material Culture. On the bottom of the cist was a badly shrunken, but complete atlatl and near it, but not in contact with it, was a roughly chipped piece of quartzite which may originally have been tied to its back. At one side on the bottom was a wand with a yucca braid and twigs attached to one end. Quantities of grass seed, piñon nuts and squash seeds were also found at the bottom of the cist.



a, Cradle *in situ*, Cist 54, White Dog Cave; b, Cave 10, Sagiotsosi Canyon.





Mummy 2 (male about 35 years of age) lay on its left side with feet drawn up tight against the body; head east and facing south. It was wrapped in the same manner as mummy 1 (see plate 8). Inverted over the body was a large pannier basket which is shown behind the front basket in the photograph (plate 6, a); over the head was a bowl-shaped basket. A second basket of the same shape lay just to one side, covering the fragments of a squash shell vessel. Removing the pannier, three tray-shaped baskets graduated in size with the smallest at the bottom were found beneath. The pannier also partly covered the remains of a large long haired and nearly white dog, which in turn lay across the two bowl-shaped baskets (see plate 6, b). There was also found under the pannier a large quantity of flies, the dog having apparently been already fly blown when placed in the cist. The eggs evidently hatched and the flies died in the space under the carrying basket without ever seeing the light of day. We thought that the flies might serve to fix the time of year in which these burials were made, but Mr. N. Banks of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, to whom we are indebted for their identification, informs us that they are *Caliphora coloradensis*, a very hardy species which flourishes from early spring to late fall, so it is not possible to fix a very definite date by them. The digging sticks might indicate that the spring planting was in progress, but this is of course mere conjecture.

Extending from the edge of this cist on the east side was a shallow hole just deep enough and of sufficient size to contain the remains of a young infant. Only the bones, and part of a badly rotted fur-string robe were left.

*Cist 27.* The unusual plan of this cist is shown in figure 5. It was dug in hard-pan to a depth of 2 feet 10 inches, measured 4 feet 9 inches in length and 2 feet 6 inches at its widest point. The sand and fill above had a depth of about 1 foot. One side of the cist was formed by the face of a vertical break in the rock floor of the cave, the ledge nearly cropping through the hard-pan at this point, a circumstance which probably accounts for the elongated shape, as the rounded end seems to indicate an original intention to dig the conventional circular cist. In it were found the partly mummified bodies of two adults placed one above the other, facing in opposite directions (plate 9, a).

Number 1, the uppermost, an adult, probably male, lay face down, knees drawn up and crushed against the chest, feet under hips, left arm extended at full length along the side; the right forearm was bent across the waist. Number 2, a male of about 25 years, lay on the bottom of the cist directly under mummy 1 and with head in the opposite direction. The limbs were arranged in practically the same manner as those of the upper mummy, the feet of which rested on the face of this one.

Accompanying these remains was a large number of specimens some in a good state of preservation, though objects at the bottom of the cist and baskets at the top and sides had suffered from decay. We were, however, able to determine that there had been at least seven baskets, mostly medium sized trays. In preparing the cist to receive the bodies, a number of atlatl spear-shafts had been broken into various lengths and placed crisscross on the bottom. On the upper side a few inches out from the rock there stood on edge a rectangular frame of sunflower stalks and broken atlatl spear-shafts tied at right angles to each other. Back of it, also on edge, were placed several tray baskets. On the opposite side next to mummy 2 were bundles of sticks or reeds so badly shrunk that their nature could not be made out with certainty; they were probably atlatl spear-shafts. Placed over mummy 2 were more spear-shafts and the bundled fragments of a wooden device, part of which is figured in plate 36, d, e. At one side of mummy 1 were two grooved clubs. Quantities of grass and squash seed were found in much decayed skin containers; also a number of small objects, among them a fine chipped knife blade, beads of seed and stone, pendants of shell and stone, a comb-like head-ornament and a bone handle with leather strings attached.

*Cist 30* was a jar-shaped excavation in the hard-pan, 15 inches in diameter at the top, 23 inches in diameter, 1 foot below the rim, and 24 inches in depth. In it were the skeletons of six infants. Four were found in woven bags. Of other wrappings there remained tattered pieces of dressed skin and bits of fur-string. Five umbilical pads, similar to those from *Cist 11*, Sunflower Cave, were taken from various parts of this cist. These could not be assigned to individual burials as the skeletons were more or less mixed as if the cist had been partly rifled in early times. At the bottom were two cradles in excellent condition. A few inches



WHITE DOG CAVE

- a, Cist 24, partly cleared, showing baskets in situ; b, Pannier baskets removed, showing small baskets, mummy of white dog, and many dead flies.



above these were about 8 quarts of shelled corn; no trace of a container could be found. Scattered through the fill were beads of seed, stone, and olivella shell, a green stone pendant, a small grinding stone, and two strips of bark, like the piece found in Cist 7, Sunflower Cave. Joined to this cist by a small funnel-like hole was a second cist, the same diameter but not so deep, while cutting the rim of this was a third and larger one (Cist 33, figure 5). These were empty; they form a good example of a number of similar arrangements found in the course of the excavation (see Cist 52, figure 5). All are characterized by one or more small flue-like holes dug down from the surface and penetrating the sides of the cist, or, as in the case above noted, connecting small potholes to the cist (plate 9, d, and plate 14, a). Sometimes these holes, instead of entering the large cist obliquely, were dug at nearly right angles from the pothole to the side of the larger cist. As a rule cists of this type were empty save for bark or grass stalks. They strikingly resemble the field pit-ovens used by the Hopi for roasting corn;<sup>1</sup> there are no indications, however, that these had ever had fires built in them.

Cist 31 as shown in the plan, figure 5, was partly under one end of a large rock. In order to reach it we were obliged to remove from the surface many others, some so large that they had first to be broken up. The top of the cist was 3 feet 6 inches below the surface, its greatest diameter 4 feet, depth 1 foot 10 inches. At one side was a single stone slab. In the cist was the partly mummified body of an adult, the bones of the skeleton held together by dried tissue and caked adobe (plate 7, b). The remains rested on the left side, knees drawn up level with chin, hands palms together under left cheek and supporting head. A woven bag covered the head and shoulders. It had been split down the side before drawing on, then sewn together again with yucca leaves. A portion of the bag was in good condition. Over the mouth of the mummy outside the bag, was tied a sandal of the square-toed type. About the feet and lower part of the body were the remains of a fur-string blanket. The bag and wrappings were held in place by a binding of yucca leaves. About the neck were seed beads. Inverted over the middle of the body was a coarse bowl-shaped basket; under it lay a quantity of plant stalks, apparently

<sup>1</sup> Hough, 1919, figure 3.

of Brigham tea, also an animal bone and a pointed twig with a string attached. In the lap, as shown in plate 7, b, was a bundle made up of two wooden implements, a foreshaft with stone point, a wand-like stick with a bunch of reddish fiber tied to the end, and a small woven object, the whole wrapped about with a feather headdress and a number of turns of fine string (plate 40). The fill about the body was caked and discolored. Nothing was found in the cist under the body.

*Cist 32* gave indications of previous disturbance. It was dug in the hard-pan against the side of the cave and showed more than usual care in the smoothing of its walls. It was oval in shape, 3 feet 6 inches in length, 2 feet in width, and 2 feet 6 inches deep. In the edge of the end opposite the cave wall was a shallow groove perhaps made to seat a cover. In the upper part of the cist was the skeleton of an infant and remains of a small reed-backed cradle, both too far gone to collect. In a sub-excavation at the bottom was the skeleton of a child about six years of age, knees drawn up to chin, head north, face southeast. About the remains were traces of fur-string wrappings and coiled basketry; under them a small quantity of green powder. This cist was probably originally a storage cist and perhaps had a stone slab cover which fitted into the groove at the end. It may have contained at one time other remains than those found, for it would hardly have been dug for them alone, as it was of much greater size than necessary.

*Cist 35* was not dug straight into the hard-pan, but was slightly undercut. It measured 1 foot 3 inches across at the top and 2 feet 6 inches in greatest diameter; the bottom was rounded. In it was the mummy of a baby on a reed-backed cradle; the body was enclosed in a bag and lay on a twined-woven cedar-bark mat (plate 21, d). All were in good condition. The mat appears to be part of an old cedar-bark cradle like the ones found in Caves 1 and 2 by the 1915 expedition.<sup>1</sup>

*Cist 40* was a large jar-shaped storage cist excavated in the hard-pan. It was very symmetrical in shape and measured 2 feet in diameter at the top, 4 feet in diameter 2 feet below the rim, and 4 feet 6 inches in depth (plate 9, b). The rim was 2 feet below the surface. In the top was found a rabbit net tied in a compact bundle, together with a quantity of apocynum bark done up in

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1915, p. 165 and plate 72.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, Wrapped mummy of woman from Cist 24; b, Mummy of man from Cist 31.





bundles. The net had evidently been cached here after the cist was abandoned and filled up, since the hole in which it rested was partly dug in the hard-pan at the edge of the cist, and partly in the fill of the cist itself. In clearing the cist a thick layer of cedar bark was found 1 foot from the bottom; below it was clean sand. One foot from the rim on the side opposite the net there was a pot-hole, 1 foot in diameter and the same in depth.

The rabbit net, a remarkable specimen, is described in detail in another place. Its lack of definite relation to the cist or to other Basket-maker remains at first raised a doubt in the authors' minds as to whether it might not have belonged to a later period. On the other hand it will be remembered that a very similar excavation at the side of Cist 24 contained the remains of a Basket-maker infant.

*Cist 41* gave evidence of previous disturbance. On clearing it a small niche was found in one side that contained the remains of an infant, a small basket, a skin covered object (umbilical pad) and the usual fur-string robe.

*Cist 51*, 3 feet 6 inches deep, and 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, was constructed of slabs set about the sides of a shallow excavation in the hard-pan. It contained the skeletons of an adult and an infant. The former lay on its right side, head south. The infant rested across the breast and left arm of the adult and had been wrapped in a fur-string blanket and placed in a skin bag. Both blanket and bag were in an advanced state of decay. There were traces of a woven bag that had once covered the remains of the adult. At one side of the cist near the head of the adult was a small bowl-basket containing beads and a variety of small objects, which are described elsewhere. There were also in the cist food offerings of corn and piñon nuts.

*Cist 54*. After removing from the surface a large number of rocks, the fill under the end of the great rock in the center of the cave was explored. Here, 2 feet below the under side of the rock in what appeared to be a rude cist, there was found a cradle in excellent condition. With it were fragments of fur-string blankets and pieces of woven bags, but no trace of a body. The photograph, plate 5, a, shows the cradle *in situ*. The thin edge of the rock had been broken off somewhat before the picture was taken; it originally extended nearly a foot further than is shown. The

rock may have broken from the roof centuries ago or in very recent times. The cradle, however, must have been in the position in which it was found when the fall occurred.

Summing up the evidence as to mortuary customs contained in the foregoing descriptions, we see that the bodies were placed in cists of three sorts: jar-shaped excavations, whose primary purpose seems to have been for storage; larger, shallower pits apparently dug expressly to contain burials; and slab cists of the type illustrated in plate 9, c. Almost every cist held more than one individual and all the indications pointed to the interments having been made simultaneously.<sup>1</sup>

The bodies of adults were always wrapped in fur-string blankets and at the loins of most females were small string aprons. The limbs were flexed to occupy the least possible space and occasionally held in that position by cords. The bundles thus prepared were encased in large woven bags, which were cut down one side for greater ease in drawing on, and then stitched together again with yucca leaves. Babies were sometimes placed in bags, but were more commonly buried on their cradles with their blankets, umbilical pads and "diapers" of bast in place as in life.

No fixed manner of orienting the remains was adhered to, this detail having been decided, apparently, by the manner in which the body best accommodated itself to the shape and size of the cist.

Mortuary offerings were numerous and varied and seem fairly representative of the food, implements, weapons and ornaments of daily life together with some objects of a ceremonial nature. The standard gift to the dead was basketry; tray baskets were practically always inverted over the heads of adults, often over children; large panniers also served as covers; and smaller baskets, empty or filled with trinkets, were generously piled into the graves.

**Kiva (?)**. There remains to describe a peculiar and puzzling room found at the front of the cave (see figure 5). The first intimation of its existence came when, in clearing the surface above what proved later to be the ventilator shaft, the wall of the main structure was exposed. The room, as shown in the plan, lies at the foot of the great rock pile which rises at a sharp angle to the

<sup>1</sup> The same thing was noted in Sunflower Cave (Cists 7 and 11); in Cave 1 Kinboko (Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 83) and in the Sayodneechee burial cave (Ibid. p. 29); at the latter site there were more individuals per grave than in any of the others, one cist holding no less than 19 bodies; all, apparently, buried at one time.



WHITE DOG CAVE

Mummy of man, Cist 24: a, Wrapped; b, With coverings removed.

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back of the cave. It was owing to the imminent danger of rock slides from this source that we were unable to excavate the room completely, either in 1916 or on a second visit to the cave in 1917, when another attempt was made to do so.

This chamber is, and apparently always was, entirely subterranean. The part that we were able to clear is irregularly circular. The room is sunk through the surface sand and into the hard-pan, which, standing as dug, forms the lower part of the wall (see figure 7, b). The upper wall is masonry of rough and irregular

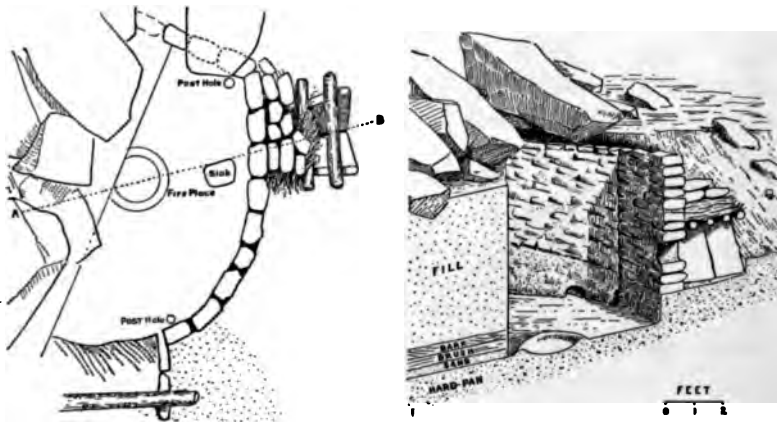


FIGURE 7

White Dog Cave: Plan and Cross-section of Kiva.

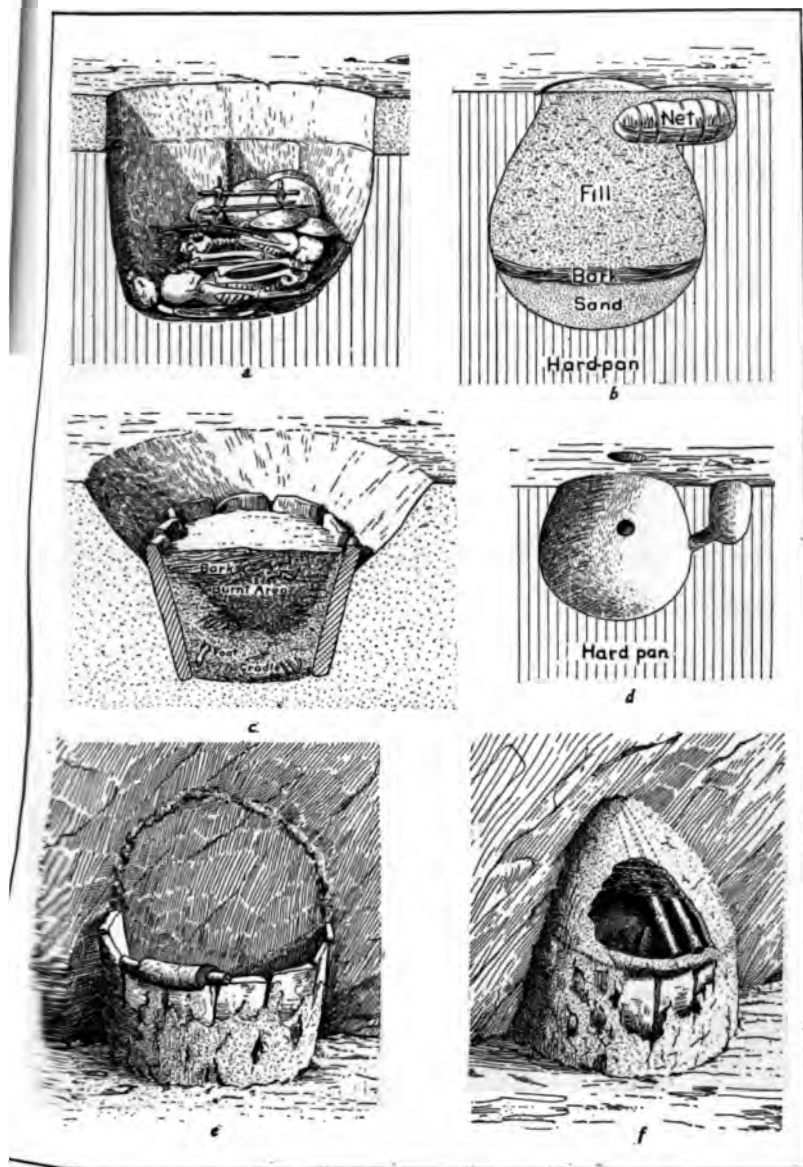
stones laid with little attempt to preserve a smooth face either within or without. At one point on the east side two upright slabs were set in and the wall was built on them. The top courses are somewhat more carefully constructed. Adobe mortar is used, sparingly below, more abundantly above. The whole structure is thickly "spalled" with small fragments of stone wedged into the cracks.

The general shape of the wall, partly straight, partly curved, can best be seen in the plan and section. The southern offset, which in the plan has the appearance of a bench or banquette, we are inclined to think was not a part of the original design of the builders, but was made necessary by the occurrence here of an outcropping of the ledge, the upper surface of which slanted inward at too

great an angle to furnish a stable foundation for a wall along the inner edge. At any rate, the offset overcame this difficulty, though for some reason, instead of continuing the wall as before, of laid-up stones, stone slabs set on end were used. We do not know whether or not this method of construction is continued under the rock pile. Placed across the top of the slabs was a stout log, one end resting on the top of the offset, the other passing out of sight under the rock heap. It is possible that the entrance to the room was at this point, as the sloping surface of the ledge here is very smooth as if from wear. South of the offset and outside the room we found slabs, set at right angles to the wall, and three upright stakes burned off close to the adobe in which they were embedded. There was a large amount of charcoal in this area. The slabs of the offset wall and those outside were much blackened by smoke.

On the east side of the room 2 feet above the floor, there is a small opening leading through the wall into a ventilating shaft. This orifice is five and one-half inches high by eight inches wide; it has two slender, round lintel sticks running across its top, their ends embedded in the masonry at either side (figure 7, b). All the edges of the opening are neatly finished off with adobe, the corners carefully rounded. On the floor of the room, nearly in front of this hole, lay a thin slab of rock measuring 11 by 12 inches; on trial it was found to fit exactly into grooves around the hole that had obviously been made for it (plate 10, b).

The horizontal shaft, to which the opening gave access, extended out from the wall for a distance of 3 feet 6 inches. It was built of flat stones set on either side with their bases together and their tops slanting outward, making a V-shaped trough 2 feet 6 inches wide across the top. This was roofed over with short stout logs covered with cedar bark, brush and coarse grass, the whole held down by flat rocks. The photograph, plate 11, b, shows the east end of the shaft with its log roofing. Behind and above may be seen the outside of the top courses of the wall of the main room, the position of which is also indicated by the dotted line in plate 11, a. There is no trace of a vertical flue connecting this horizontal passage with the surface. The pitch of the deposit is so steep here that it is probable that such a shaft was unnecessary, and that the horizontal passage ran straight through to the outer air.



Types of Basket-maker cists: a, b, d, White Dog Cave; c, Cave 6; e, f, Cave 14.





The floor of the room itself, as far as we were able to lay it bare, was of hard packed adobe with a smooth but uneven surface. At what seems to have been a little east of the middle of the room there is a firepit, a saucer-shaped depression in the floor with a neatly made coping or rim of hard baked adobe (plate 10 a). It was filled to the brim with clean white ashes. In outline the pit is a perfect circle, 2 feet in diameter; the rim is raised 3 inches above the floor, and the bottom is somewhat scooped out giving a depth of 5 inches to the center of the pit.

At the floor level in the back of the room is an oval niche dug horizontally 12 inches into the hard-pan of the wall, and measuring 18 inches across the front (see figure 7, b). There are two holes five and one-half inches in diameter and twelve inches deep, dug in the floor, one at the angle of the back and east wall, the other at the front directly opposite. So close are these holes set to the wall that at the back the sides of the holes are continued up through the adobe of the wall for some 6 inches. For this reason we are quite sure they are intended for post-holes though no post ends were found in them.

The filling of the room was entirely free from rocks, showing that the great pile that now covers its rear portions and its northeast wall must have fallen after the place had already been deserted for a long time. On the floor was a 3-inch bed of pure sand; above this was an equal amount of coarse brush and charcoal, topped by a layer of cedar bark. The remaining 4 feet 6 inches to the surface was a homogeneous deposit composed of equal parts of rat dung and sand, laid down in perfectly regular, thread-like horizontal strata, separated from each other by thin layers of clean wind-blown sand.

The peculiar make-up of this fill has been a matter of much discussion between the authors. A plausible history of the fill might be that the room, with roof still intact, was abandoned for a period sufficient to allow the three-inch layer of clean sand to sift in and accumulate on the original floor, after which it was retenanted for a short time, the brush and bark brought in, and fires built, then vacated finally by man to become the rendezvous of rats through the long period which must have been required to build up the deep deposit of rat dung and sand found in it. During this latter period the roof remained; otherwise, instead of thin regular layers of ap-

parently sifted sand, there would have been sand deposits of varying thickness, marking the occurrence of high winds such as we experienced while at work in the cave. Finally, and prior to the falling of the rocks from the ceiling of the cave, there came other visitors who found the roof a convenient source of fuel supply thus accounting for its complete disappearance.

Such a long discussion on the foregoing may appear unnecessary, but any condition which marks the lapse of time seems worthy of careful consideration.

It is unfortunate that we were unable to clear this room completely as there may be concealed beneath the débris which still covers the unexplored portion some evidence that would settle definitely the question of whether it is the work of the people who excavated the cists and buried their dead here, or of the Cliff-dwellers who came after. Such artifacts as were found in it are of little assistance in identifying the builders since they are either devoid of character or of such a nature as might easily have been dragged into it by rats. Outside the wall on the northeast and east sides we found some evidence of disturbance, such as might have been made in excavating for the foundation of the room, and in this disturbed area, close against the wall, lay two sandals with side-loops, of a type quite common in cliff-dwellings but which we have not yet found directly associated with Basket-maker remains. One of these was touching the wall at a depth of about 3 feet below the surface.

Had the chamber just described been found in a pueblo or cliff-dwelling, it would have occasioned no particular surprise, for while its ventilator opening is smaller and higher set than usual and the V-shaped horizontal passage is of unfamiliar construction, yet the mere presence of a ventilating apparatus, the adobe rimmed fireplace full of white ashes, and the subterranean situation of the room itself are all features perfectly normal in Cliff-dweller kivas. Furthermore the kivas of this particular district are typically variable and unspecialized.<sup>1</sup> The sandals seem to be Cliff-dweller and to have been left where found while the wall was under construction. All these things point to an origin subsequent to that of the Basket-maker cists. On the other hand we have never seen, nor have we read of, a kiva built as is this room all by itself

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 201.



White Dog Cave: a, Interior of kiva; b, Ventilator cover in kiva; d, Baskets in Cist 22; e, Objects in Cist 13. Sunflower Cave: c, Skeletons in Cist 7.



th no living-chambers in the vicinity. All kivas with which we e familiar form integral parts of house-clusters. The only rely identifiable Cliff-dweller remains found in the cave are umerated as follows:

A storage room foundation was built on the sloping rock floor gainst the west side of the cave (see figure 5); it measured 5 feet n length, 2 in width and consisted of a low wall, 8 to 10 inches igh, the stones mudded in with adobe mortar. In the enclosure as a bed of plant stalks, "Brigham tea"; the floor is bare uneven ock. We collected in the top sand of the cave a few handfuls of iff-dweller potsherds, for the most part plain gray and black-and- hite ware, and a few pieces of feather string. A small corrugated ot covered by a flat stone was found cached in the sand 1 foot inches below the surface; the mouth had been sealed with adobe udded on to corn cobs, but this had crumbled and was found at e bottom of the jar. About the jar was a harness, made, with the ception of one short section, of Cliff-dweller feather string. he short piece is apparently Basket-maker fur-string and was robably a stray bit picked up from the surface.

The above is not an imposing list and leads us to doubt that the lace was ever regularly used as a dwelling by the Cliff-house ople. As to the identity of the kiva-like room, the writers them- lves are not agreed; the senior author believes that it may pos- bly be of Basket-maker origin, the junior considers it surely iff-dweller, but can offer no explanation for its isolated situation.

## FIELD WORK, SEASON OF 1917

REACHING Kayenta by the usual route via Farmington, New Mexico, and the Chinlee, the party first attempted explorations near Sayodneedchee Canyon in Monument Valley, but was forced by lack of water to abandon the work after a few caves had been examined. Returning to Kayenta the exploration of the South Comb was resumed. White Dog Cave was revisited and an unsuccessful attempt was made to move the rocks from above the kiva-like room. Two new caves were discovered and investigated. Again forced to move by lack of water, the remainder of the season was spent in Sagiotso Canyon, where nine caves were either wholly or partly explored (see map, figure 1).

## SAYODNEECHEE CANYON

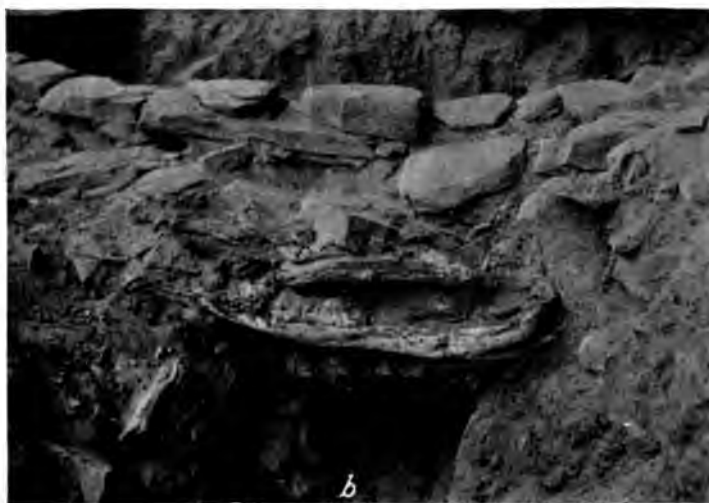
This is one of the numerous short canyons which head near the Agathla rock and run northward into Monument Valley. Although it is without living water, the Navajo are able to cultivate corn in certain places. In the winter, rain and melting snow furnish sufficient drinking water for the Indians and their flocks; and in some years enough of this is held in pockets among the rocks to last until the showers of July and August. Generally, however, these natural reservoirs go dry in June and the Navajo must move away for a month or so to some more favored locality, returning after the rains to harvest their crops.

Aside from its dryness, Sayodneedchee is a most attractive place; the scenery is magnificent, grass and firewood are abundant, and the cliffs contain many caves to tempt the archaeologist's shovel.

Caves 3, 4 and 5 are in a break of the rock ridge that forms the west wall of Sayodneedchee Canyon, and are nearly opposite the Basket-maker burial cave in the above canyon excavated by the 1914 expedition.<sup>1</sup>

Cave 3 is a mere shelter measuring 15 feet in depth by 30 feet in width. The wash of a small canyon has cut away the floor at the front. On the back wall are a number of pictographs done in white, red, and yellow paint; some of these are reproduced in plate 13, a. We found several slab cists buried beneath the sand floor. They contained nothing except cedar bark.

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 27 and figure 1.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, Rock pile in center of cave; b, Southern wall and ventilator in kiva.





**Cave 4**, a short distance up the canyon, is 20 feet above the ash. It has a depth of 12 feet and measures about 24 feet across the front. The floor is of hard-pan free from surface sand. In it are a number of small cists or pot-holes. At the front the hard-pan formation has a vertical break, in which is dug a small muddy hole measuring 4 feet in depth by 3 feet 6 inches in width. At the entrance to this little room, shown at the left in plate 12, are a number of flat slabs arranged like steps, a single slab 2 feet long and 8 inches wide serving for a sill. There are several small holes dug through the top of the room to the surface above. The largest of these holes is plugged with a rock.

A little further along the cliff is a rectangular Cliff-dweller room, the dimensions of which are, length 12 feet, width 7 feet, height of wall 6 feet 6 inches. In the center of the front wall is a doorway 29 inches high, 16 inches wide. At the top is a flat stone slab lintel supported by two round sticks built into the wall, another slab serves as a sill. The edges have grooves or jambs for the reception of a slab door. The masonry of this room is good. There were no pictographs. Potsherds were plentiful and along the cliff near the room there was some rubbish and a number of ash beds.

**Cave 5** is still further up the canyon. It measures 45 feet across the front, and 15 feet in depth. At the back are the foundations of a room 10 feet long by 6 feet wide built out from the cliff. The masonry is of stones laid flat in adobe mortar. Two slab cists and two cists dug in the hard-pan floor were found in the cave, but no specimens.

Near the sites just described is a small shelter on the ground level of such insignificant size that no number was assigned to it in our field notes. We dug here, however, and at a depth of one foot below the surface found two slab cists partly filled with cedar bark. These were undoubtedly storage cists, as near by is a Navajo cornfield, located in a small basin which collects and retains such water as in time of rain runs off the surrounding cliffs, an advantage probably recognized by the early occupants of the region as readily as by the present day farmers.


The principal structures in these caves are of course Cliff-dweller. The slab cists and possibly some of those excavated in the hard-pan we are inclined to think are Basket-maker. No great amount of work was done at any of the sites, as we were on such

short rations of water that our examination really only amounted to a reconnoissance. Continued drought finally drove us away, and we returned to the South Comb.

### SOUTH COMB REVISITED

**Cave 6.** This site is in the next break in the Comb north of White Dog Cave, a distance of about one mile in an air line. It consists of a small alcove at the back of a huge crescent-shaped bay or cove in the cliff wall. Filling the open end of the crescent and hiding the cave from view in front is a high sand hill covered by a growth of thick brush and tall pines. The cliff on either side of the cave overhangs, sheltering a wide strip along the wall some fifteen feet lower than the floor level of the cave proper. On this level to the left of the entrance there is part of a roughly laid wall, built against the cliff. It forms a small enclosure and is probably the work of Navajo herders or possibly Ute, as on the smooth cave wall back of it are a number of drawings in charcoal (plate 13, f), one of which, a female figure, is shown wearing a dress that has characteristic features of the Ute woman's dress. Inside this enclosure were traces of recent fires and on the surface was a small mudded-up fire pit, which gave us the impression of having been the work of children.

The walls and ceiling of the inner cave are much blackened by smoke. It had been used as a sheep shelter and the old floor was covered by a thick layer of dung. The most careful search of the surface on the first level and the bank leading up to the cave proper failed to produce a single Cliff-dweller artifact and our excavations later showed not a vestige of Cliff-dweller occupation. Here for the first time we had a cave containing only Basket-maker remains, and while but a few specimens were found they were for the most part very true to type, the exceptions being entirely new material. A single burial was encountered. This was in a stone slab cist (plate 9, c), exactly like those found in such numbers in Cave 1, Kinboko (1915). Unfortunately, however, it had not only been plundered at some early date, but what remained of its contents had been partly destroyed by fire. The top of the cist was 18 inches below the surface. It measured 3 feet 4 inches in diameter at the top, 2 feet 6 inches in diameter at the



bottom, and was 2 feet, 4 inches deep. Ten slabs were used in its construction. In the upper part was a quantity of cedar bark and a few bones from the skeleton of a child, then a mass of charcoal and charred wood in which were fragments of human bones. On the bottom at one side was a partly burned cradle frame, and the mummified foot of an adult. Other objects found scattered in the fill are as follows: fragments of fur-string robe, dressed skin robe, twined-woven grass mat, string apron, a sandal, an atlatl, a grooved club, a skin-covered umbilical pad, the bark core of another, a skin bag, a bunch of human hair, a fragment of squash shell, and many small bits that could not be identified. All these specimens were more or less charred.

But one other slab cist was encountered. Its only unusual feature was a bottom lining of thin slabs of spruce bark.

Nearly all the level portion of the cave floor was occupied by a deep ash bed in which only a few minor specimens were found. Just outside this area at a depth of 1 foot 6 inches was a tray basket, and buried in the loose fill near it at about the same depth was the small woven bag in which was the little skin pouch shown with its contents in plate 44.

On the right of the cave the floor rises and narrows until it gives place to a mere bank of débris piled up against the back wall. At the highest point of this bank and next to the wall, three deer or possibly mountain-sheep snares were found. They had been cached in a shallow hole scooped out of the fill, and were covered with cedar bark and a thin layer of dirt. These snares are new items in our Basket-maker list. They are described and figured in another place (plate 32). A few feet from where the tray basket was found, and at the same depth, were three sherds of a substance resembling pottery of unbaked clay, tempered with shredded cedar bark, and bearing on one side the imprint of coiled basketry (plate 25, a). This may really be a primitive form of pottery or may represent only some left-over material for smearing joints in a slab cist, which was prepared outside the cave where both water and clay could be had, and then brought into the cave, while soft, in a convenient tray basket, from which it was not removed until it had hardened by drying. It is the nearest approach to pottery we have yet encountered under circumstances that would free it from suspicion of Cliff-dweller origin. Mr. John Wetherill,

to whom it was shown, said it recalled the pottery found in the Basket-maker caves of Grand Gulch. This, according to McLloyd and Graham's description as quoted by Pepper,<sup>1</sup> was "a very

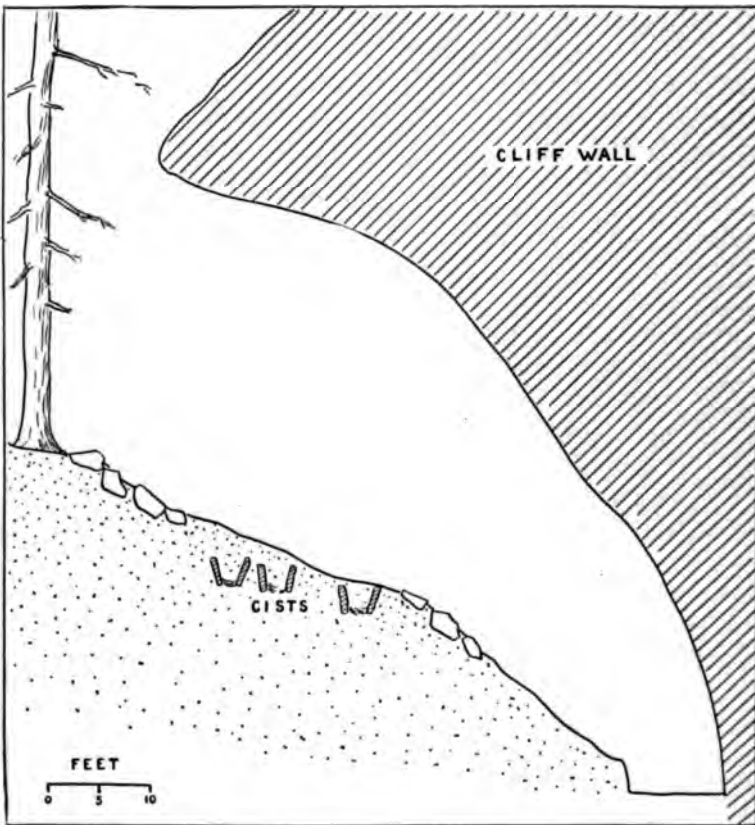


FIGURE 8  
Cross-section of Cave 7, South Comb.

crude, unglazed ware, some of the bowls showing the imprint of the baskets in which they were formed."

As stated before, all our work in this cave brought to light not one trace of Cliff-dweller occupation, which includes not only potsherds, but also turkey droppings and turkey feathers, beans

<sup>1</sup> 1902, p. 9.

and rubbish layers. Hence the collection obtained here, though not extensive, is important as it supplies unmixed material with which to check our previous identifications.

**Cave 7.** About one mile north of Cave 6, we found another shelter very similar to it, except that it lacked the alcove room at the back. A steep hill rises directly in front of it. The slope of the hill next to the cliff lies almost wholly inside the line of shelter and its base at that point is cut away by an arroyo which continues along the wall for some distance. This seemed a very unpromising site, but on investigation we found a number of slab storage cists filled with cedar bark or grass, located as shown in the cross-section, figure 8. No Cliff-dweller remains were found here and only two Basket-maker specimens. These were the digging sticks shown in plate 37, e, f. This shelter seemed never to have been used as a place of abode for any great period as we found no extensive ash bed. Perhaps it was conveniently near some cornfield and was used only for storage purposes or as a temporary dwelling place while farming was in progress.

By the time that the work in Cave 7 was completed, the water in this section had become so bad that we were again forced to move.

### SAGIOTSOSI CANYON

Sagiotsosi Canyon, though small in size compared with many others in this region, exceeds all that the writers have visited in the number of caves to be found in it and its branches. Its scenery is exceedingly picturesque, and it is rendered doubly attractive in this parched land by a stream of clear cold water fed by numerous springs that emerge from the base of the cliffs on either side at the upper end. This stream flows the entire length of the canyon finally to disappear in the thirsty sands just outside the entrance. In one place where it has cut a deep arroyo, a dark peat-like stratum can be seen in the vertical sides of the cut, marking an old lake bottom that probably once provided a natural reservoir for the ancient inhabitants. Today a number of well-irrigated Navajo cornfields and thrifty peach orchards show the water supply to be still ample for the requirements of primitive farming.

The caves in the main canyon are for the most part high up under the rim-rock and are perhaps more properly described as shelters. Some are of huge size with high arched openings, but of

no great depth. Occasionally they occur in groups of three or four, quite close together. To enter them one must first climb over huge fallen rocks to the first bench of the cliff, then up a steep talus of finer detritus to the caves, the bottoms or floors of which are really nothing but the truncated apex of the talus. Several of these caves have in them small Cliff-dweller structures. A number have already been explored by Professor Cummings.<sup>1</sup>

On the right about half way up the canyon and high in the cliff is a fair sized cliff-dwelling which to date has not been excavated. An interesting feature of this ruin is a tower that commands every approach to the cave. A cursory examination indicated that the roof had been destroyed by fire. On the back wall of the cave is a pictograph similar to the one illustrated in plate 13, e.

**Cave 8.** This cave is in the first branch-canyon leading out of Sagiotso to the west. It is in reality a shelter under the overhang of the cliff, 30 feet in width, some 70 feet in length and about 25 feet above the bed of the wash. There is in it ample evidence of Cliff-dweller occupation, consisting of some foundation walls, a good depth of rubbish, with many potsherds, and a number of Cliff-dweller pictographs (plate 13, d, e); there is also a square-shouldered human figure done in white and yellow paint. This shows very faintly and a small Cliff-dweller painting of a snake overlaps it in one place (d). It was this square-shouldered pictograph that induced us to dig here, as our previous experience had shown these figures to be of Basket-maker origin.

Our excavations disclosed considerable Cliff-dweller rubbish with hard-pan below it in which we found a number of cists, empty except for cedar bark or coarse grass. These cists and the square-shouldered figure are the only remaining evidences of Basket-maker occupation. From the general digging we obtained a number of Cliff-dweller specimens including the skeleton of a young child on a perfectly preserved cradle which had been buried under the rocks at the top of the bank at the front.

This shelter seems insignificant in comparison to the huge caves in the main canyon. It provides, however, a further illustration of the fact that no cave or shelter in this region is so small that it has not at some time attracted tenants who have left traces of their occupancy.

<sup>1</sup> 1910, pp. 9-18.

**Cave 9.** Across the canyon from Cave 8 is a small Cliff-dweller ruin in a low cave that shows signs of previous investigation. Rooms along the back wall have been reroofed by the Navajo and used for storage purposes. This cave in the writers' opinion gives evidence of two occupations. This belief is, however, based wholly on the presence of typical Basket-maker cists excavated in the hard-pan floor (plate 14, c, d), for we found here no objects that could be classed as Basket-maker. The cists occurred in a small unoccupied area in the center and were completely filled with Cliff-dweller rubbish. There is, nevertheless, evidence at one place

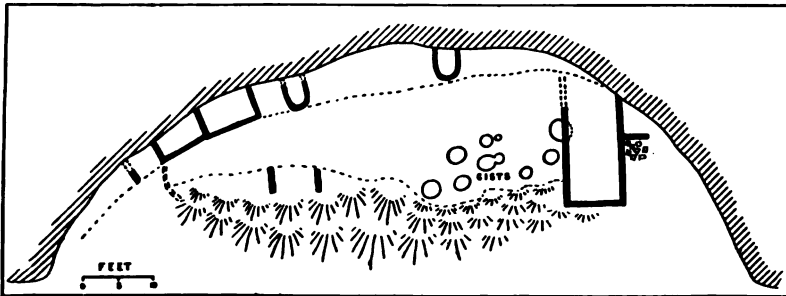


FIGURE 9  
Plan of Cave 9, Sagiotsosi Canyon.

that the cists were here when the Cliff-dweller structures were erected, for the side wall of one room is built partly across a cist (see figure 9). The latter could hardly have been made by the Cliff-dwellers, since they could have easily avoided weakening the foundation of their wall by digging the cist a little to one side.

In objection to the foregoing it may be said that the cists are of Cliff-dweller origin; they are, however, exactly like ones found in other caves containing Basket-maker burials, and since all Basket-maker cists have a certain unity of design and a certain "look," hard to describe but at once apparent to anyone who has opened a number of them, the authors are satisfied that their identification of the present examples is correct. Compare c and d, plate 14 with a and b of the same plate; the latter are from photographs of Basket-maker cists in White Dog Cave.

**Cave 10.** Just below Cave 8 there is a narrow break in the canyon wall with a length of perhaps 400 feet. About half way up this



gulch is a shelter 20 feet in depth and 40 feet across the front (plate 5, b). The only sign of occupation noticed on entering was the top of a stone slab cist which just showed above the surface sand and a number of hand-prints in red on the back wall at one side. Excavation proved, however, that the place had been occupied by both the Basket-makers and the Cliff-dwellers. The Cliff-dweller remains consisted of a few potsherds, several bone scrapers of a typical Cliff-dweller form,<sup>1</sup> and a quantity of corn-cobs which we think are Cliff-dweller because they are much longer and larger than the Basket-maker corn-cobs we have found.

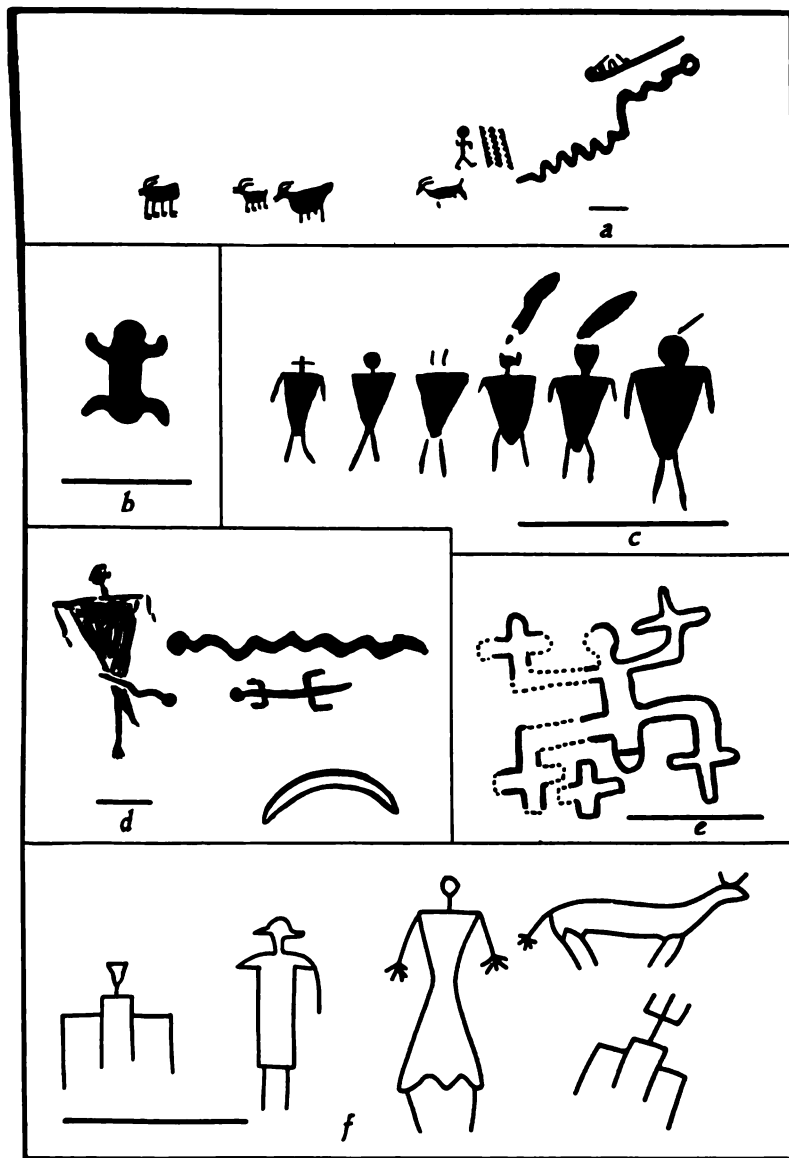
The Basket-maker remains were empty storage cists, both slab and excavated, with cedar bark in their bottoms. There was also one Basket-maker burial cist containing the partly mummified and headless body of a child, wrapped in a fur-string robe. With the body was part of a large dressed skin bag and at the feet lay badly rotted square-toed sandals. This burial was identical with those found in other Basket-maker caves. Evidence appeared that this or other cists had been plundered, as in the general digging there were found a number of fragments of Basket-maker basketry and a small piece of rabbit net made of human hair and fiber-string combined.

To gain entrance to the gully in which this cave is located one must cross a smooth, waterworn ledge. Up this is pecked a series of tracks representing the hoof-marks of a horse. They are very neatly executed and are the first instance that has come to our notice of pecked pictographs of recent (Navajo or Paiute) origin.

**Cave 11.** This cave is in the east wall of the main canyon near its head. It is some 200 feet above the wash and consists of a narrow shelter with a frontage of about 150 feet. On the back wall are a number of hand-prints and some nearly obliterated human figures all in white. On the surface were scattered a few bleached human bones. Large flat rocks along the front show deep axe-grinding grooves.

We were only able to spend a half day here. Our limited digging showed that for a considerable period the cave had been used by Cliff-dwellers and we recovered a number of their characteristic

<sup>1</sup> See Morris, 1919, figure 23, c. We found none of this variety in our cliff-house excavations in 1914.



Sayodnecchee Canyon: a, Pictographs in white paint, Cave 3. Sagiotsosi Canyon: b, Pictograph in red paint, Cave 12; c, Pictographs in white paint, Cave 14; d, e, In white paint, Cave 8; f, In charcoal, Cave 6.



artifacts from the rubbish. At one point we found a loom-anchor in place. This consisted of a smooth pole one and one-half inches in diameter and six feet long, having loops of braided yucca and heavy fiber cord strung on it at regular intervals. It was buried several inches below the floor and held down by flat rocks, the tops of the loops just protruding above the surface. Under some large rocks at the front of the cave, we uncovered a small Basket-maker pannier basket in a poor state of preservation, inverted over a quantity of corncobs; probably the corn had been stripped by rodents. Attached to it was part of a carrying-strap of human hair string.

In a narrow part of the shelter and under what must have been the path ordinarily used in entering it, we found a disturbed Basket-maker burial. Some of the bones including the skull were missing. There were with the remains fragments of a coiled basket, square-toed sandals and a piece of finely woven cloth.

**Cave 12.** This is a deep cavern a short distance down the canyon from Cave 11 and on the same side. It is about 90 feet above the wash and has a fairly level floor area 40 feet deep by 70 feet across the front. The walls and ceiling are much blackened by smoke, and the floor is thick with charcoal. At one point the top of a rude enclosure of stone slabs shows just above the surface. This is circular in shape and has a diameter of 12 feet. At one place in the back wall are a group of hand-prints in red placed as near together as possible and covering a space of 6 feet or more; the only other pictograph noticed is the small figure shown in plate 13, b, also done in red. On a flat rock at the front are a number of axe-grinding grooves.

Our digging here was confined to test holes, as it was obvious that it would be too much of an undertaking for our small party to clear the cave completely. We found rubbish along the back wall to a depth of a little more than one foot. It was very compact and contained a large amount of broken sticks and twigs, straw and charcoal. There were two or three slab cists partly filled with cedar bark but holding no specimens.

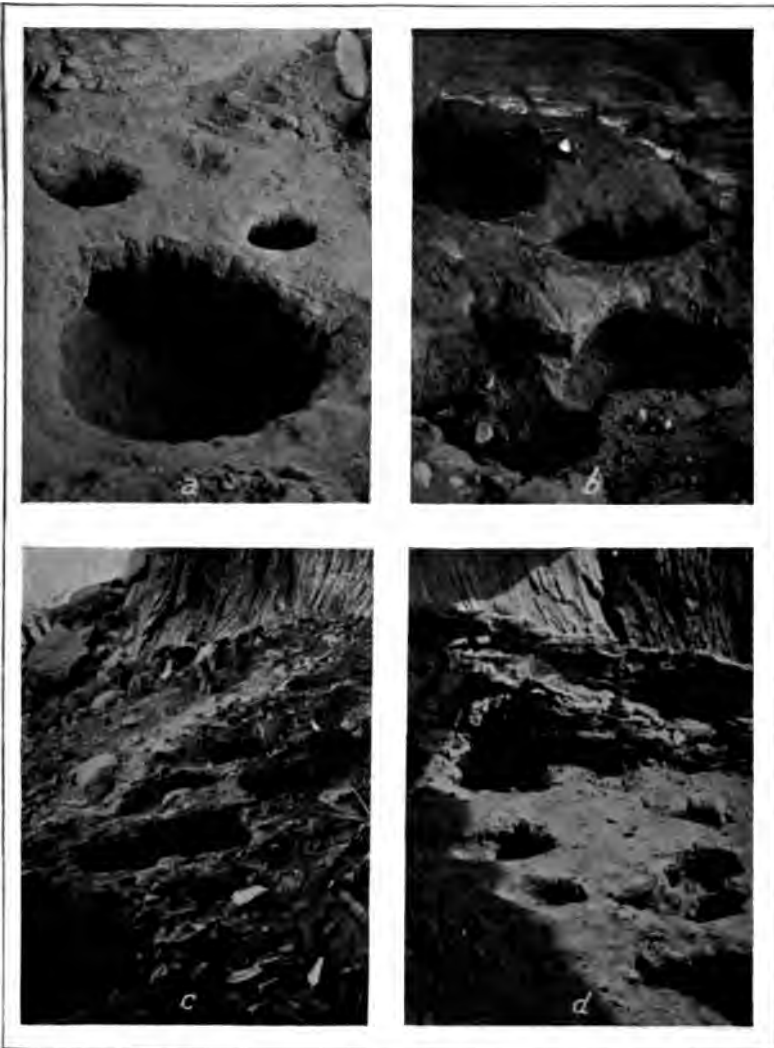
We do not think any great returns would reward further work at this site. It had apparently been used by Basket-makers and Cliff-dwellers in turn, but did not appeal to the latter strongly

enough to warrant the erection of any structures. It is set very deep in the cliff and gets but little sun; it may have been considered undesirable on this account.

**Cave 13.** This is a very long shallow shelter high up in the cliff near the head of the branch canyon in which Caves 8, 9 and 10 are located. At some not very remote time a great quantity of the roof had scaled off, burying almost the entire floor beneath tons and tons of rock. At one end of the cave is a series of small cliff-house rooms, some of which still retain roofs; others are crushed and the walls partly buried beneath the fallen rocks. Along the whole front of the cave can be traced a low roughly built wall. It seems probable that beneath the rocks are structures similar to those in the end of the cave, but to reach them would be a very large undertaking. We noticed no pictographs here.

**Cave 14.** This cave, the last to be explored, is but a short distance from Cave 13. It consists of a shallow shelter 200 feet above the canyon bottom, and has a usable floor space 20 feet deep by 70 feet in length. The line of shelter extends some 20 feet beyond the point where the floor breaks away at the front. At one end is a small niche in the back wall 7 or 8 feet above the floor. Leading up to it are a number of pecked toe-holes. The ceiling and some parts of the walls of the cave are blackened by smoke. On a smooth area of the wall near the center is a group of square-shouldered human figures painted in white, while other similar figures show faintly at other points (plate 13, c). These are distinctly Basket-maker. Built against the back wall of the cave is a series of seven stone slab structures, six of which are in a fair state of preservation. These will be given a more detailed description further on.

In our excavations here we found below the surface several slab cists of the usual Basket-maker type. From one we obtained a small skin pouch, which with its contents is shown in plate 38, a-c; also, in the loose fill, a wooden implement plate 36, a; and the bundle of human hair wrapped with string illustrated in plate 32, e. At the extreme right of the cave a single square-toed sandal was found in the general digging, and several ears of corn cached in the loose dirt against a large flat rock. So near is this cave to Cave 13 that it is inconceivable that it had not been frequented by Cliff-dwellers to some extent, yet careful search of the surface, and



a, b, Cists dug in hard-pan, White Dog Cave; c, d, Cists, Cave 9.



watchfulness throughout the digging failed to produce a trace of their handiwork with the possible exception of the corn which may be Cliff-dweller, as it is unlike the characteristic Basket-maker corn. It was found in a part of the cave quite remote from the cists. There were no potsherds, twilled sandals, feather cloth or even axe-grinding grooves. The latter are seldom absent from caves in which the Cliff-dwellers have lived.

The most interesting things in the cave are the slab structures along the back wall (plate 12, b). They average about 5 feet in diameter, the best preserved standing three and one-half feet above the surface. Large stone slabs are used in their construction, in most cases overlapping. The space between the joints is filled with adobe mortar which in some instances has been plastered all over the slabs both outside and in. Small stones are set in to fill holes between the slabs and the cave wall to reinforce the slabs at their bases. In the structures and on the surface about them were a number of timbers from 4 feet 6 inches to 6 feet in length and 4 to 6 inches in diameter, probably roof timbers. Other shorter sticks were found which had once formed a part of a rim molded on to the top of the slabs. These pieces had traces of adobe on one side; there were also found large lumps of adobe tempered with cedar bark with one side moulded round, the other bearing imprints obviously made by the short timbers just mentioned. These sections of stick and adobe are important because they show that the present above-ground cists are identical in rim construction with a subterranean Basket-maker storage place (Cist 14) found in Cave 2, Kinboko during the 1915 season.<sup>1</sup> Another larger cist (12) in the same cave had a similar rounded adobe coping strengthened with stones instead of sticks. The drawing, plate 9, e, represents one of the Cave 14 cists with a short section of the rim restored. The slabs are shown partly denuded of the adobe plaster, while on the wall behind the cist a line of adobe is indicated which probably marks the outline of the roof. This structure more fully restored appears in f, of the same plate.

Why so much care should have been taken to finish the rim, if the roof timbers were to rest directly on it, we are unable to say, though it is evident that a rim made in this way would greatly

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 88.



strengthen the whole structure. These slab cists seem hardly large enough for living rooms or even for sleeping places. It seems more probable that they were storage cists. We do not hesitate to identify them as Basket-maker, because they are exactly like the Basket-maker structures in Cave 2, Kinboko.

MATERIAL CULTURE<sup>1</sup>

## FOOD

**Vegetal Food. Maize.** In 1914 and 1915 we found indications that the Basket-makers cultivated but a single and rather primitive type of corn, while that grown by the Cliff-dwellers seemed to have been more highly developed and more varied in character. Our evidence was not, however, absolutely conclusive, for certain specimens of the advanced corn were taken from Basket-maker caves, though from so near the surface that we regarded them as probably intrusive. The expeditions of 1916 and 1917 supply us, fortunately, with enough new finds to settle the question beyond any reasonable doubt. A number of Basket-maker caves were thoroughly investigated and many samples of corn were recovered from undisturbed and surely identifiable burials and storage cists; among all this material there is not a single kernel of any of the parti-colored flour or large white flint corns that are so common in the cliff-houses.<sup>2</sup>

On specimens submitted to him for examination Mr. G. W. Collins of the United States Bureau of Plant Industry has kindly given us the following report:

The collection of maize samples from the Basket-maker caves is of unusual interest.

The specimens all appear to belong to one general type, a type we have called Tropical Flint. This type resembles the New England flint varieties in having a large part of the endosperm hard or corneous. It differs from New England flint in having a larger number of rows and smaller seeds. Tropical flint varieties are common in Central and South America but are rare among the types grown by the Indians of the United States. So far as our collections show the Papago is the only tribe with varieties uniformly of this type.

The cobs of the specimens from the Basket-maker caves are all light brown in color. The pericarp is either red or colorless. The endosperm is either light yellow or white. The aleurone or layer of cells just beneath the pericarp in all the specimens is a yellowish red. This is a color entirely unknown in the aleurone of existing varieties. If this color is not the result of some slow disintegration, it constitutes the first clearly marked distinction between prehistoric maize and present day varieties.

Most of the specimens are remarkably well-preserved. The embryos have of course disintegrated but the colors are much brighter than is usual with old specimens.

<sup>1</sup> Only objects believed by us to be of Basket-maker origin are included. Specimens recovered from the cliff-houses will be treated in a later paper.

<sup>2</sup> See Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 154.

The specimens cannot be referred to any existing variety with which I am familiar but with the possible exception of the unusual aleurone color they present no new characters.

Here then is an undifferentiated, and judging from its distribution, a primitive form of corn grown by a people whom the purely stratigraphic evidence shows to have antedated the highly developed agriculturists of the region. This agrees very well with the other manifestations of Basket-maker culture, and particularly with its lack of true pottery, stone architecture, and cotton weaving, all of which traits are characteristic of the perfected puebloan civilizations. We have thus good evidence that the Basket-makers were the pioneer corn growers of the district.

To what degree these people depended upon maize is uncertain, but quantities of it were found in the burial cists and cached for future use as food or for seed. There were also recovered agricultural implements such as would be needed for its cultivation, and the large number of storage cists in the caves would indicate by their capacity that a considerable harvest was obtained. The sites explored by us were all within easy reach of tillable land and this is also true of the Grand Gulch Basket-maker caves.

Of the actual finds of corn the best example is the skin bag full of shelled kernels from Cist 13, White Dog Cave (plate 15); there are about four quarts, every grain in perfect preservation. This may represent a food offering deposited with the dead, or perhaps it is carefully selected seed cached unknowingly in the same cist with the burials (it was found some 8 inches above the remains shown in plate 10, e). Other interments, however, were accompanied by corn and the remains of rotted hide containers, so that it may indeed be a food offering. A selection of the more perfect ears of Basket-maker corn is shown in plate 15.

*Squash.* This seems to have been the only other cultivated crop of the Basket-makers.<sup>1</sup> We unearthed with the burials varying quantities of squash seed, *Cucurbita pepo*, and many pieces of rind, as well as the complete vessel made from a squash shell that is shown on plate 31, b.

*Seeds.* In a number of the burial cists in White Dog Cave, large quantities of coarse grass seed were found. We saw growing in the

<sup>1</sup> Though we were constantly on the watch for beans in the Basket-maker sites, none were found. This strengthens our belief that they were not grown by the Basket-makers.

Vicinity, the same variety of grass from which it was obtained. Mr. W. E. Safford of the Bureau of Plant Industry identifies this as follows:

*Oryzopsis hymenioides*, commonly called Indian Mountain Rice, is used by several Indian tribes for food; by some only in times of scarcity, by others as a regular food staple. Mr. F. V. Coville states that the squaws of the Panamint Indians of southern California gather it by means of a wicker paddle resembling a small tennis racket with which they beat the seeds from the standing grass into wicker baskets, after which they are winnowed and sifted, and parched and ground into *pinolli*. The late Dr. Edward Palmer found this seed in use among the Paiute and Pueblo Indians, who store it for winter use.

Cummings<sup>1</sup> found caches of seed in Sagitsosi ("coarse bunch grass"), which may be the same. No doubt other seeds were gathered and stored for food, as we found in 1915 several quarts of *Coreocarpus* seeds in a burial cist in Cave 1. Powell in his explorations of the Colorado found a tribe which subsisted chiefly on wild fruits, nuts and native grains. In our own explorations we came upon an old Navajo squaw in the vicinity of Sagitsosi who was gathering the small seeds of a low weed. She told us that these were cooked and made into a kind of mush by mixing with goat's milk, also that they were now (1917) being used again for the first time since the "great war" (Navajo war, 1863). These are identified by Mr. Safford as *Chenopodium sp.*, who writes as follows regarding them:

They are perhaps the most interesting of the collection. It has been impossible to determine their specific identity. They are much larger than the seeds of *Chenopodium fremontii*, gathered for food by the Klamath Indians, and those of *Chenopodium leptophyllum* eaten by the Zuni. In shape they bear a close resemblance to the seeds of *Chenopodium quinoa*, the well-known food staple of the Peruvian and Bolivian Plateau, but they are of smaller size and of a much darker color than the latter. These seeds have been carefully compared with those of the species growing commonly in the southwestern United States; they bear a closer resemblance to *Chenopodium petiolaris* than to any other species in the herbarium, but they do not seem to be identical with the seeds of that species. They are evidently rich in starch and would undoubtedly form a nutritious article of food.

*Piñon Nuts.* These were also an important item of diet and were found with other food offerings in many of the graves.

<sup>1</sup> Cummings, 1910, p. 14.

**Unidentified Food.** Small quantities of plant stalks, shriveled beyond recognition, accompanied some burials. These are probably from certain edible plants that grow in the region, and which are eaten today by the Navajo.

**Animal Food.** The bones of mammals and birds, generally so common about the dwelling places of primitive people, were entirely lacking in the group of Basket-maker caves examined. We do not believe that this indicates a preponderatingly vegetarian diet, but rather that it proves the caves to have been used merely as temporary shelters and as burial places for the dead. That these people killed a great deal of large game is evidenced by the abundance of articles made from the hides of deer and mountain-sheep; while quantities of the pelts of badgers, rabbits, prairie-dogs, and other small animals were employed for bags, pouches, and in fur-string robes. It is probable that the flesh of all the above was eaten.

As to the birds we have less evidence. Such feathers as were found came principally from hawks and owls, species not commonly relished as food by any people; or from very small birds of bright plumage such as warblers, bluebirds, and woodpeckers. As we have never come across a single identifiable turkey feather, it is reasonably certain that the turkey was not domesticated, nor indeed does it appear to have been commonly hunted.

Although there is no evidence that the Basket-makers used the dog for food, it may be well to refer here to the finding of two remarkably well-preserved dog mummies in White Dog Cave. They represent different types, formerly of wide distribution in the warmer parts of America (plate 15). Dr. Glover M. Allen of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, who has made an exhaustive study of the native Indian dog, has kindly contributed the following regarding these specimens:

The larger is a long-haired animal the size of a small collie, with erect ears and long bushy tail. The hair is still in good condition and though now a light golden color, with cloudings of dark brown, it may in life have been darker. It is, apparently, a breed very similar to the long-haired Inca dog found at Ancon, Peru, in a mummified condition and described by Nebring (*Sitzb. Ges. Naturf. Freunde*, Berlin, 1887, pages 139-141). The latter specimen is also described as yellowish in color, though this may have been in part due to fading. A more detailed comparison of the two specimens is not possible without removing and cleaning the bones and so injuring the present example for exhibition purposes.



WHITE DOG CAVE

Mummies of two varieties of dogs, ears of corn, and skin bag containing shelled corn.



The other dog is a much smaller, black-and-white individual, about the size of a terrier, with short, but not close, shaggy coat, erect ears, and long full-haired tail. Its muzzle is rather short and stubby in contrast to the fine slender muzzle of other Indian dogs of about the same size. In common with many skulls of American Indian dogs, the first premolar is lacking in the adult dentition of the lower jaw. This specimen is of especial interest as establishing beyond doubt the identity of certain dog bones from Ely Cave, Virginia, described as *Pachycyon robustus*, for they agree perfectly with corresponding parts of the Arizona dog. An identical breed is represented among the mummified remains of dogs from the necropolis of Ancon, Peru, and has been figured by Nebring as *Canis ingae vertagus* in the folio report of Reiss and Steubel, plate 118, figure 1. Evidently it had a wide distribution in our south and southwest, and was known also to the Peruvians. I have called this the short nosed Indian Dog.

These and other dog remains, are true dogs, in no way derived from Coyotes or other native dog-like animals of America. Their forebears probably reached America with their human masters, but their Old World ancestors still remain to be determined.<sup>1</sup>

## DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

**Body Clothing.** We have few data on this subject; it is probable, indeed, that the Basket-makers wore very little clothing except robes of fur-string or hide,<sup>2</sup> and "gee strings" or cord aprons. It so happens that all the robes found in sufficiently good preservation to permit of measurement had been interred with babies; the largest of these (plate 16, a) is only 25 by 23 inches. About an adult mummy (A-2939) from Cist 22, White Dog Cave, however, there is wrapped what appears to be a very large blanket of fur-string; and we have fragments from deer and mountain-sheep hides which seem to have been originally of ample size for use as mantles by grown people.

Nothing resembling fitted garments of leather or cloth has so far come to light; it is possible, however, that certain woven fabrics, bits of which were recovered from the caves<sup>3</sup> may have been used as ponchos. This guess is based on the resemblance between a zigzag decoration on one of the cloth specimens (plate 26, c) and similar patterns painted on the chests of Basket-maker human pictographs from the Monument country.<sup>4</sup> It must be admitted,

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the types of prehistoric American dogs, see Allen, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> For details of the weave of these robes, see p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> See plate 26, b, c.

<sup>4</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, figures 100, 101.



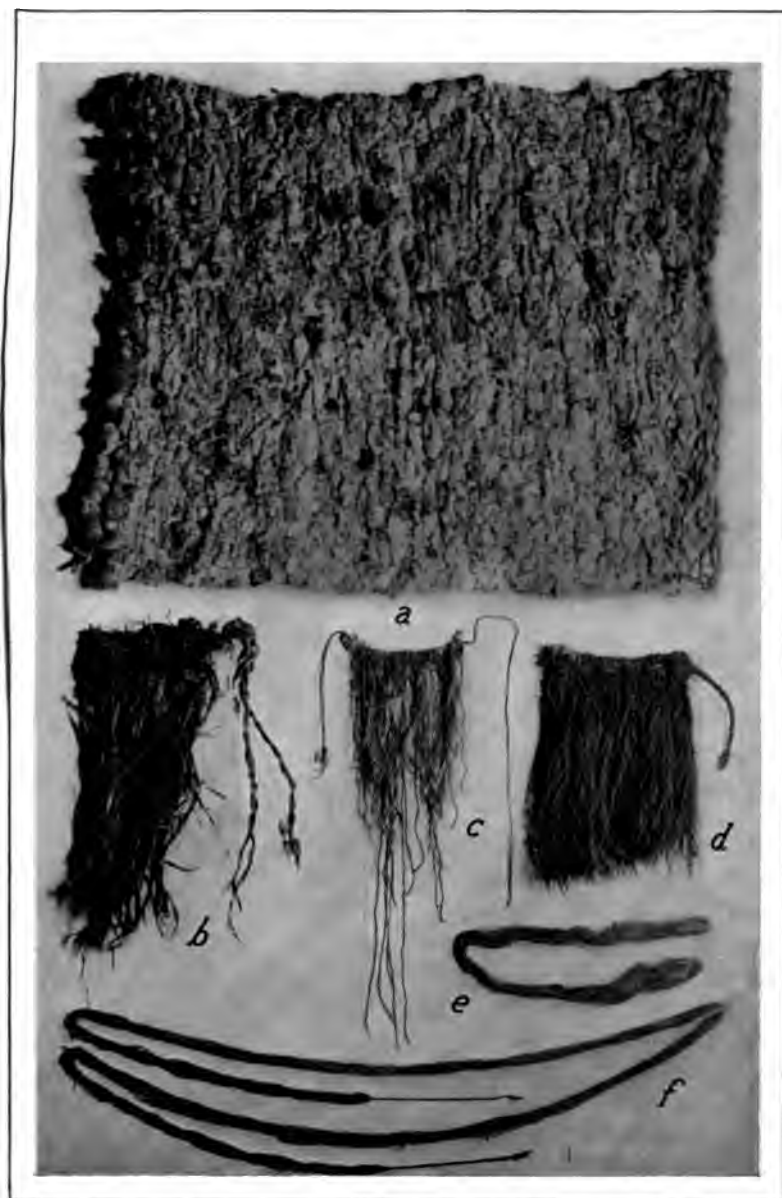
however, that the zigzag was a favorite Basket-maker design, and that the marks on the pictographs may perfectly well represent body-painting.

A string apron recovered by the 1915 expedition still remains our best specimen of this type. Although it was illustrated in our former report (plate 66, a), we have since succeeded in unraveling it for a somewhat clearer photograph; this, with a picture of a second example from the general digging in White Dog Cave, are here reproduced (plate 16, c, d). It will be seen that in both cases there is a waist cord to which is attached a fringe of pendent strings. In the 1915 specimen the strings are of apocynum and are looped over the human hair waist cord and gathered in bunches of about three hundred; the fringe is 12 inches long.<sup>1</sup> The apron from White Dog Cave (plate 16, c) is more fragmentary; the yucca-fiber waist cord is double; over it are hung yucca strings which are gathered together in pairs and held, close under the waist cord, by a row of twined weaving, one strand yucca, the other human hair. Although somewhat longer than the first apron this garment is much thinner and contains fewer strings.

Plate 16, b, shows part of a similar skirt made of cedar bark. The pendent strands are about 12 inches long and are held together by a twining of twisted cedar-bark string, the prolongations of which once formed the waist cord.

As the term apron implies, the fringes of these articles did not extend all the way around the body, but merely covered the front of the waist; it is probable that they hung loose, for the strings are too short to have been pulled between the legs and fastened over the waist cord behind. They are evidently a woman's garment, as in every case where they were discovered in place on a mummy, the body proved to be that of a female. Though we have never found any covering at the loins of a male, there are in the collection two objects that may well have been the ties of "gee strings." One is a loose twist of thirty animal wool threads (plate 16, f); it is nearly 7 feet long and its ends are tapered as if for knotting. The other is 5 feet 2 inches long and made of fifty to sixty thin strings of human hair; the ends are seized with fiber thread to prevent unraveling.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller description, see Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 157.



Clothing: a, Fur cloth blanket; b, Apron of shredded bark; c, d, Aprons of fiber string; e, f, String belts. All from White Dog Cave except d, f, which are from Kinboko Canyon, Marsh Pass. (About 4.)



**Sandals.** As most of the specimens recovered by the 1916 and 1917 expeditions are very badly rotted and as no new types appear, the reader is referred to the classification and descriptions of the 1914, 1915 material given in the previous report.<sup>1</sup>

**Necklaces.** These were of two sorts: strings of beads; and twisted skin or fiber cords, to the middle of which were attached a few pendants or extra handsome beads. Of the latter class there was recovered only one fragmentary example (plate 17, b); it bears two very beautifully polished lignite discs strung on a fiber cord, which is itself attached to a sinew-bound thong; the whole was probably fastened to a longer neck cord as was done with a similar specimen found in 1915.<sup>2</sup>

The second type is more fully represented, several strings of beads having been taken from the necks of skeletons in White Dog Cave. A selection is given in plate 25, e-h. The most interesting of these is composed of seventy-one thick discoidal black lignite and white limestone beads strung alternately on a narrow thong. They are graduated in size from a maximum diameter of  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch at the center of the string, to  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch at the ends. An unusual refinement of technic was practised by cutting several of the beads to a wedge-shape (see figure 10, c, and plate 25, h) and introducing them here and there throughout the set in order that it might hang evenly. Loose behind the neck of the mummy who wore this string were fourteen olivella shells that apparently had once been fastened together to form a sort of "dangler" attached to the tie-strings of the necklace.

Another string (plate 25, f), which was recovered in order, is made of one hundred little saucer-shaped shell beads (figure 10, g); seventy-five thin, roughly discoidal shell beads (figure 10, f); and eighteen olivella shells, one of which bears an incised zigzag decoration (figure 10, i). These different kinds of beads were grouped together. Plate 25, e, shows a third necklace composed of ninety-five beads arranged as follows: one of lignite, seven olivella shells, one of seed, one of bone, one of red shale, one of green shale, one of red shale, eighty-one of white limestone. Plain strings of olivellas designed to go once or twice around the neck are not uncommon.

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, pp. 157-160.

<sup>2</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 161 and figure 72, a. A full description of this type of necklace is there given.

**Beads.** Under this head are considered all the beads found, whether strung into necklaces, discovered loose in the cists, or included in "medicine outfits." The commonest of all are little cylinders averaging  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch long (figure 10, e, and plate 25, g); some are of albatite, a phase of asphaltic shale, but the great majority (hardly distinguishable from the above except under a magnifying glass) are made from some hard black seed so cut down in manufacture as to be unidentifiable. Other seeds were used un-

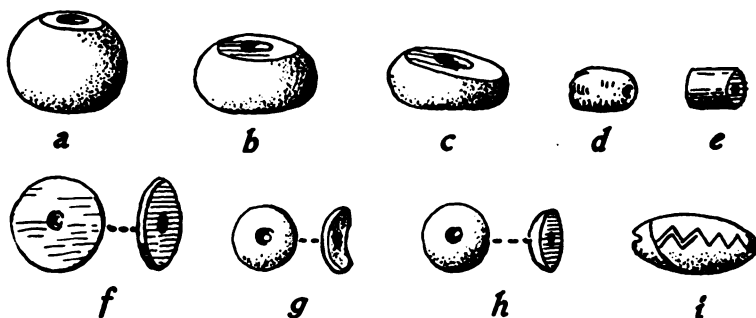


FIGURE 10  
Beads from White Dog Cave. (Full size.)

worked except for a narrow bore.<sup>1</sup> Two varieties of these seed beads are identified by Mr. Safford:

The first is the polished white nutlet of *Onosmodium occidentale*, a plant of the Borage family, belonging to a genus not far removed from *Lithospermum*. These beautiful little nutlets may well be called pearl-seeds, since when strung they must bear a close resemblance to small seed-pearls. Accompanying these is a small longitudinally grooved dull brown seed, somewhat resembling the seeds of the bead tree (*Melia azederach*) in form. The terminal scar is removed by the perforation, and it has been impossible to identify this, or even to determine to what botanical family it belongs.

Stone beads are of fine-grained white limestone, lignite, serpentine, quartz, hematite and alabaster. Most of them are large, no minute beads, such as those from Aztec<sup>2</sup> or the Upper Gila,<sup>3</sup> occurring. In shape they run from the flattened spherical type (figure 10, a)<sup>4</sup> to the more or less thickened discoidal form (figure 10, c).

<sup>1</sup> See also Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plate 70, k, a string of acorn cups.

<sup>2</sup> Morris, 1919, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Hough, 1914, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Wrongly called "hemispherical" in our former report (p. 163).

Most of the shell beads were made from olivellas simply by cutting off the end of the spire. There are in one of the strings (plate 25, f) seventy-five very thin disc-shaped beads,  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in diameter cut, apparently, from the shell of a fresh-water clam (figure 10, f). The same necklace contains one hundred shell beads made from the curving wall of the large olivella (figure 10, g). The saucer-like form of these allows them to fit closely over each other when strung. Enormous quantities of identical beads are in the Museum's collection from the Channel Islands, California. There are a few small bone beads (figure 10, h) apparently made in imitation of these.

**Pendants.** These were less common in the burial cists of White Dog Cave than they were in the mortuary cave of Sayodneedchee.<sup>1</sup> The single stone specimen (plate 17, h) is of a hard brown stone mottled with brownish green; the surface is highly polished and has a waxy texture.

Four shell pendants were found, all of abalone; three are illustrated in plate 17, c, d, e; the fourth is attached to a ceremonial object (plate 39, b). The largest (plate 17, c) is round and 2 inches in diameter. It has two perforations in the center from which radiate the four arms of an incised cross figure. Along the edge are two other round holes and three pairs of minute perforations. At the bottom of this disc there is a drilled hole which has been stopped up by inlaying a little piece of abalone shell carefully shaped to fit the aperture. The second abalone pendant (plate 17, d) is the reused half of a disc similar to the above; it fractured, apparently, along an incised median line. Traces of the favorite Basket-maker zigzag may be seen along the upper edge of the old break. The third specimen (plate 17, e) is a bit of the thickened rim of an abalone, the edges ground down and polished.

**Feathered Pendant.** This object (plate 18, f) is described under the head of personal ornaments although it may have served some other, possibly ceremonial, function. It consists of nine two-ply twists of rawhide thong, seized with sinew to a loop of the same material. Small feathers, whose butts alone remain, were once fastened to the ends of the streamers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, figure 77.

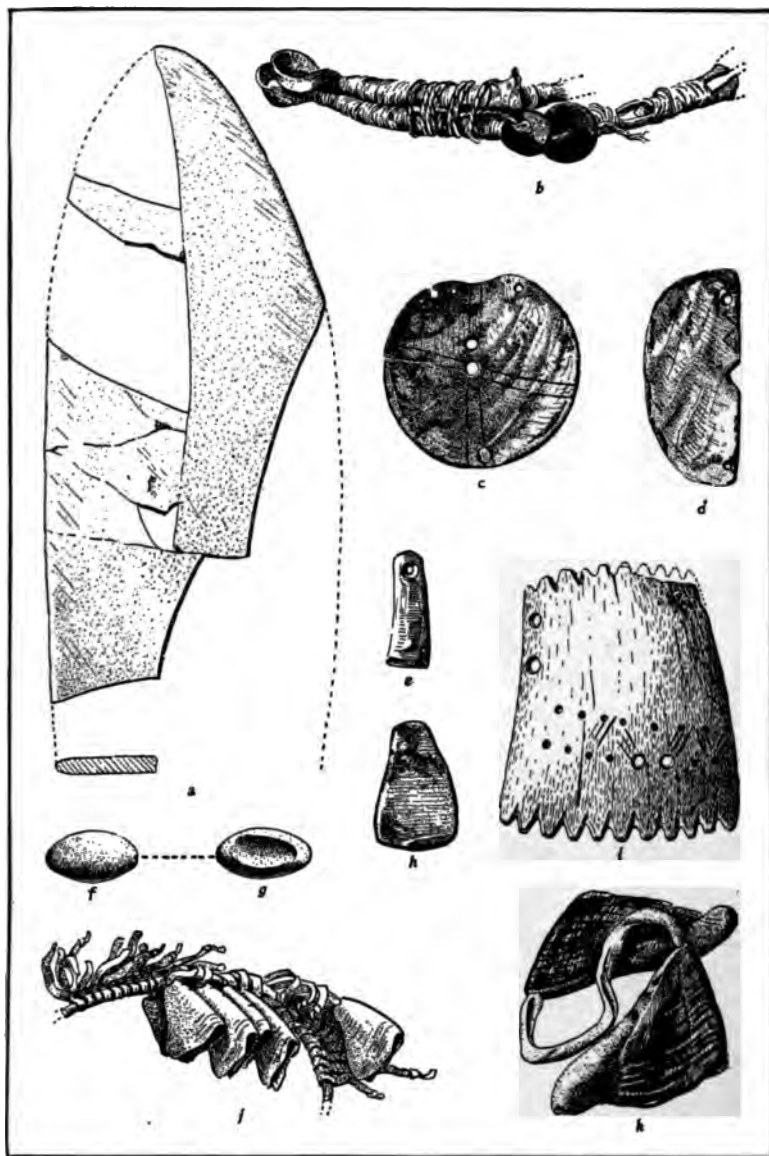
**Ornament of Mountain-sheep Horn.** This object (plate 17, i) is 3 inches long by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  wide. The convex side shown in the drawing bears, besides two pairs of drilled perforations, a double series of small holes which do not run through. Incised lines drawn between the two series, seem to show a start at a zigzag decoration. The toothed ends of the specimen were produced by sawing broad notches along the upper and lower edges. The bottoms of the notches are well worn and smooth, but whether from general use or from friction of threads (supposing the object to have served as a weaving comb), we do not know.

**Deer-hoof Rattles.** As in the preceding two cases, the identification of these specimens (plate 17, j, k) as ornaments is open to question; a ceremonial use is quite as likely. One of them consists of the horny outer coverings of two large hoofs, attached to the ends of a buckskin thong.<sup>1</sup> The other shown in j is made of much smaller hoofs; these are fastened to the ends of thongs which themselves are looped over a slim pliable twig and held to it by a twining of fine cords. This is an incomplete specimen, as is another similar one (not figured, A-2930) which had, in place or detached, nearly a hundred hoofs. There is little doubt that the stringing together of these dry resonant hoofs was done to produce a rattling sound, but whether the assemblages were employed as belts, as fringes, or fastened to handles to form true rattles we have no means of telling.

**Unfinished Ornament.** This object (plate 35, h, i), found in the general digging in White Dog Cave, is a neat example of two processes in working stone: flaking and grinding. The specimen is a disc of grey flint, convex on both sides. It was first chipped roughly to its present form, then ground to efface the chipped surface. The grinding process was, however, not completed and there remain on either side marks of chipping, as well as numerous grinding facets.

**Tablet.** Plate 17, a, shows, partly restored, a tablet-like object of compact white limestone found in Cist 6, White Dog Cave. The pieces fitted together have a length of 7 inches, but a number of fragments that could not be joined show that the original length was considerably more; the greatest width is 3 inches, the thickness

<sup>1</sup> Modern Hopi hoof rattles are figured by Hough (1919, plate 22).



## WHITE DOG CAVE

a, Tablet-like object of stone; b, Neck ornament; c, d, e, Shell pendants; f, g, Object of stone; h, Stone pendant; i, Object of mountain-sheep horn; j, k, Hoof rattles. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)





uniformly  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch. The edges are rounded and all surfaces very smoothly worked down by grinding. The fine finish and the fragile nature of this object seem to indicate that it was used as an ornament.

**Head Ornaments.** An object, of whose function we are not positive, but which was probably used to decorate the hair, was found on the breast of mummy 2, Cist 27 (plate 18, b). It consists of five neatly made bone pins, each  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and a little less than  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in diameter, fastened together side by side. The bindings are of sinew; the upper set is overwrapped with fine fiber cord evidently as a finish, since the string, though badly decayed, shows traces of a central red band. Projecting from the top, and held by the wrappings just described, were bundles of small feathers, of which only the butts of the quills and traces of the pile now remain.<sup>1</sup>

Figure a, plate 18, shows a similar ornament from Cist 6, made up of three wooden pins each 10 inches long and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in diameter. A bundle of six wooden pins, each 8 inches in length and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch thick, possibly ready to be made into a pair of ornaments like the ones just described, is figured in c. A number of finely fashioned but broken bone objects, of about the same size and shape as large knitting needles, some tied up in bundles, others loose, were found in the course of the excavations in White Dog Cave; most of them show signs of long use. These no doubt are also unassembled parts of head ornaments. There are in the 1915 collection similar broken bone pins.<sup>2</sup>

Just how these contrivances were worn we do not know, but from their comb-like structure we judge that they were probably stuck in the hair, singly or in pairs. Some basis for this belief is found in certain Basket-maker square-shouldered pictographs depicted with objects which may represent ornaments such as these protruding from their heads.<sup>3</sup> In the Peabody Museum there is a Paiute "warrior's plume," made of five wooden pins placed side by side and held together by colored strings woven about them in such a way as to produce a simple pattern; this specimen is not feathered, but is otherwise much like those from White Dog Cave.

<sup>1</sup> A fairly well-preserved example from Grand Gulch is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (cat. no. H-13375).

<sup>2</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plate 86, e.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., figure 101.

In the Coahuila, Mexico, cave collection in the Museum there is an arrangement of six wooden pins which may be either a head ornament or a comb; we are inclined to think the former, as the same collection contains an object that is surely a comb, constructed in an entirely different manner.

The object shown on plate 18, d, may be an ornament, a projectile for a dart game, or possibly a ceremonial object; it is a thin twig with three small feathers seized to it at their butts and tips by sinew; the ends of the stick are broken off, so that its original length is unknown.

**Hair-dressing.** Several of the mummies from White Dog Cave are in so good a state of preservation that their heads still retain the hair, dressed, probably, as in life. On plate 19 are illustrated the various methods; figures a, b, c are drawn from mummies, and d, is restored from a scalp found in the same district in 1915.<sup>1</sup>

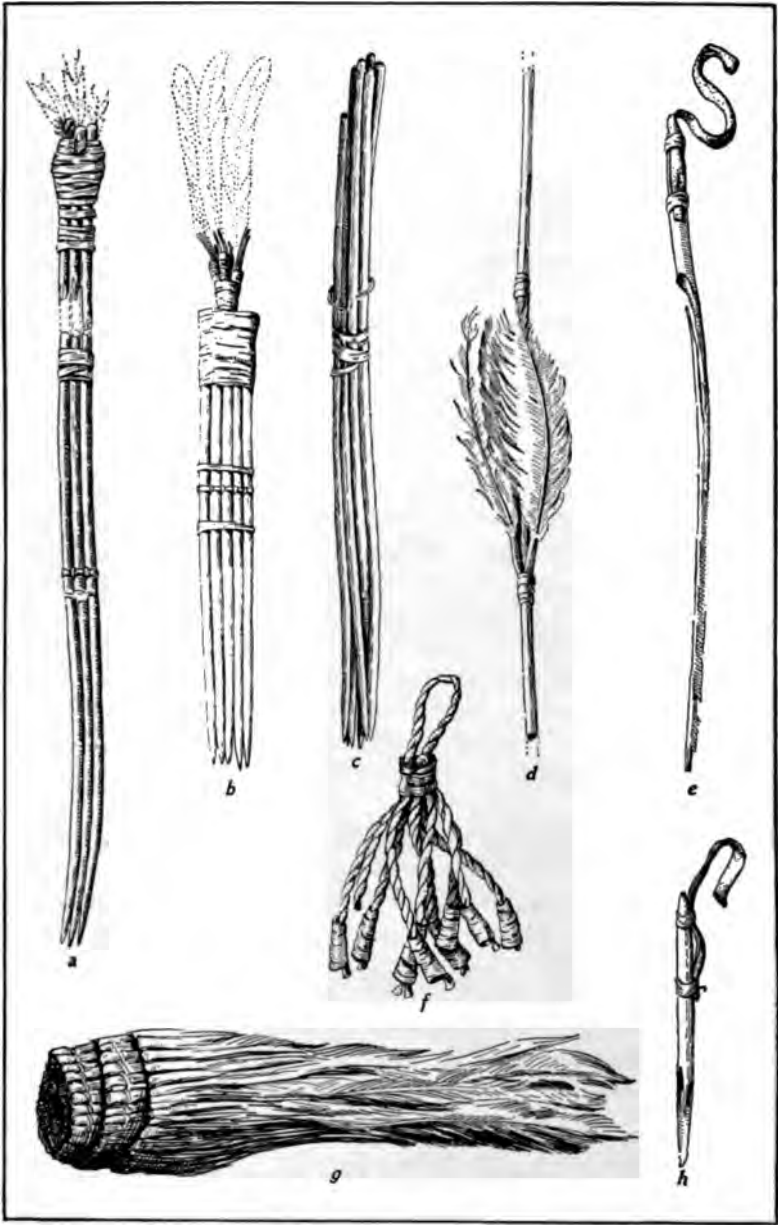
Figure a, shows the simplest manner of wearing the hair, which in this case is cropped to an average length of 2 inches. The raggedness of this haircut is apparently the result of gathering together and hacking off a single lock at a time. The individual in question was a female about twenty years of age found in Cist 22 (mummy 2).

Figure b, shows the arrangement of the hair of an adult male from Cist 24. It is parted in the center from forehead to crown and falls loose on either side; that of the back of the head is gathered into a queue, the end of which is turned back on itself and wrapped for a space of 2 inches with a fine string. From the crown there hangs a lock the thickness of a pencil closely wound with string for nearly its entire length.<sup>2</sup> The end of this tress is bound up with the end of the queue. Where this lock grows from the scalp, the surrounding hair is clipped away for a little space.

Figure c, is drawn from the head of a male about twenty-five years old, from Cist 22. The hair is arranged as follows: from a strip 1½ inches wide straight back from the middle of the forehead the hair has been cut off close to the scalp. This exaggerated "part" terminates at the crown in a circular tonsure in the center of which there is a thin lock of long hair. The hair on either side

<sup>1</sup> For pictures of this interesting specimen, and for a description of its preparation, see Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plates 87, 88, and pp. 190-192.

<sup>2</sup> As was noted on p. 13, a section of a similar lock wound spirally with a leather cord was found in Cist 6, White Dog Cave.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, b, d-g. Feather ornaments; c, Package of wooden pins, probably used in making feather ornaments. (About 1.)



of the "part" is gathered together and tightly bound  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the ends with fine human hair string; these tresses hang in front of the ears. The back hair, which is about 14 inches long, is similarly gathered together and bound near the end for a space of 2 inches. The lock from the center of the tonsure is included in this binding.

The following description of the scalp shown in d, is quoted from our previous report:<sup>1</sup> "A 'part' 1 inch wide, from which the hair has been clipped, runs up to a large semilunar tonsure at the crown. The brow tresses on either side are gathered together in 'bobs' that fall in front of or over the ears, and are tied up with wrappings of apocynum (?) string. The long hair from just behind the tonsure is braided into a thin plait, the lower end of which is doubled back on itself and bound with hair string. The remainder of the back hair is made into a single short thick 'bob,' string-wrapped, that falls to the nape of the neck." As shown in the drawing this specimen combines features of both figures b and c, but is more elaborate than either. It seems to have been preserved as a trophy and for this reason, when discussing it in the earlier report, we were in doubt as to whether it represented a method of hair-dressing practised by the Basket-makers, or that of some tribe of which we had no knowledge. The side-bobs inclined us to the belief that it was a Basket-maker style, as Basket-maker pictographs are often shown with "bobs" on either side of the head. The finds from White Dog Cave serve of course to confirm this idea.

Although many tribes shaved one portion or another of the head, and the thin scalp-lock was not an unusual thing, we can find no reference to analogous coiffures ancient or modern with the exception of those of the Maya thus described by Bishop Landa:

They wore their hair long, like women. On the top they burned a sort of tonsure; they let the hair grow around it, while the hair of the tonsure remained short. They bound the hair in braids about the head with the exception of one lock, which they allowed to hang down behind like a tassel.<sup>2</sup>

Judging from our material it would seem that the men dressed their hair more elaborately than did the women.

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Schellhas, 1904, p. 617.

## CRADLES AND ACCESSORIES

**Rigid Cradles.** It seems well, before taking up the several empty cradles in the collection, to describe the one case in which we have the baby with all its wrappings still in place. The bundle is shown as found in plate 4, g, and plate 21, c; its different parts are separated and spread out in the other figures of the former plate. The infant, enveloped in robes, is tied in by means of a criss-cross lashing. The binding cord is of human hair, four-ply and 5 feet long (plate 4, i); it is rove through a series of string loops that are attached to the sides of the cradle. The seven stout cords that may be seen hanging loose on the left side of the unwrapped bundle (plate 4, g and plate 21, c), and laid out separately in h, had probably been used for hanging up or transporting the cradle; if the baby had not died so soon (it can hardly be more than a few days old), these cords would undoubtedly have been woven into a regular carrying strap like those shown in plate 23, k, l.

The outermost wrapping is a much tattered remnant of woven cloth (plate 4, a); it is described on page 63. The second cover is a fur-string baby blanket, measuring 17 by 17 inches. The body of the robe is of cords overlaid with strips of rabbit skin, its outer sides have a border, two strands in width, made of string, between the plies of which are caught bunches of long, coarse hair, probably dog. We have called coverings of this sort baby blankets because they were obviously woven to their peculiar bifurcated shape for the special purpose of leaving an opening at the place where they would otherwise constantly have been wet and soiled. Inside this blanket there was another of exactly the same size and shape; (plate 4, f) but, because it was to hold the baby itself, much softer and more carefully made. It is also of string, wound with strips of fluffy white fur from the bellies of rabbits. In handling this specimen, one is so impressed by the freshness of the fur that it is difficult to reconcile its perfect condition to its great antiquity.

The mummy of the infant (plate 4, c) lay on this inner blanket with the lower side-pieces folded over its legs. It was provided with a loose bundle of shredded cedar bark to serve as a diaper (c). On the abdomen, covering the navel, was a pad (d), made of cedar bark sewed up in prairie-dog skin, the hair side out. This obviously acted as a binder to prevent rupture. The umbilical



Styles of hair-dressing as shown by the remains from Basket-maker caves.





cord itself had been dried and was attached by a string to one corner of the outer baby blanket, so that it hung directly before the face of the infant;<sup>1</sup> it may be seen at the upper right-hand edge of the blanket (b).

The cradle (i) is 14 inches long and 10 inches wide. The frame is a single unpeeled withe,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter, bent into an approximate oval. The body is made of fifty straight, unpeeled twigs placed close together; these run transversely and are fastened underneath the frame by a continuous lashing of fiber string. Along each side of the cradle there extends a stout cord, fastened to the hoop at intervals and forming loose loops for the attachment of the binder that held the baby and its wrappings in place.

This cradle is much the smallest in the collection and is crudely made. It shows none of the careful finish and ornamental features of the specimens about to be described. The uncompleted carrying strap, the roughly put-together umbilical pad and the small size of the baby itself all point to the probability of birth having taken place before the usual elaborate "layette" was ready.

There are five other more or less complete cradles in the collection, all of which were found in White Dog Cave. Four had been buried with babies upon them but disturbance in some cases and decay in others rendered it impossible to recover the "mummy bundles" in their original condition; the fifth cradle was found in rude Cist 54 (plate 5, a) that contained no bones. While these specimens are all much alike in general make-up, they differ considerably in details. As no account of a rigid Basket-maker cradle has yet been published, it seems worth while to describe each one of this exceptionally well-preserved lot.

The handsomest cradle is the one illustrated, front and back, in plate 20, a, b. It is  $23\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, by  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide at the broadest part. The rim is composed of two trimmed and peeled hardwood sticks  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter, each bent into a U; the open ends of the two U-shaped pieces are spliced together with their sides overlapping a little; tight ligatures hold them in that position, and so envelop the joined ends that they cannot be seen. The

<sup>1</sup> As recorded by Catlin in 1842, Vol. II, p. 133. The custom of preserving the cord as a charm was practised by many tribes, particularly those of the plains. The Ute, Dakota, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre enclosed the dried cord in more or less elaborate coverings of skin ornamented with quill or bead work and fashioned usually to represent reptiles. These were hung on the front of the cradle (see Kroeber, 1908, pp. 166, 167).

body of the cradle is made of two series of slim willow twigs, from which the bark has been scraped. The transverse rods are ninety-nine in number; they are laid as close together as they will fit and are fastened at their ends to the under side of the frame by a continuous figure-eight lashing of yucca string. This binding is over-wrapped with soft fiber, until the slightly protruding ends of the rods are entirely hidden, and each side of the cradle is built up into a soft, bolster-like roll an inch in thickness; this in turn is sewed up in a cover of deer or mountain-sheep hide dressed with the hair on. The hard sides of the hoop and the sharp projecting rod ends are thus completely padded and form a sort of rim along the two edges of the cradle on its upper surface.

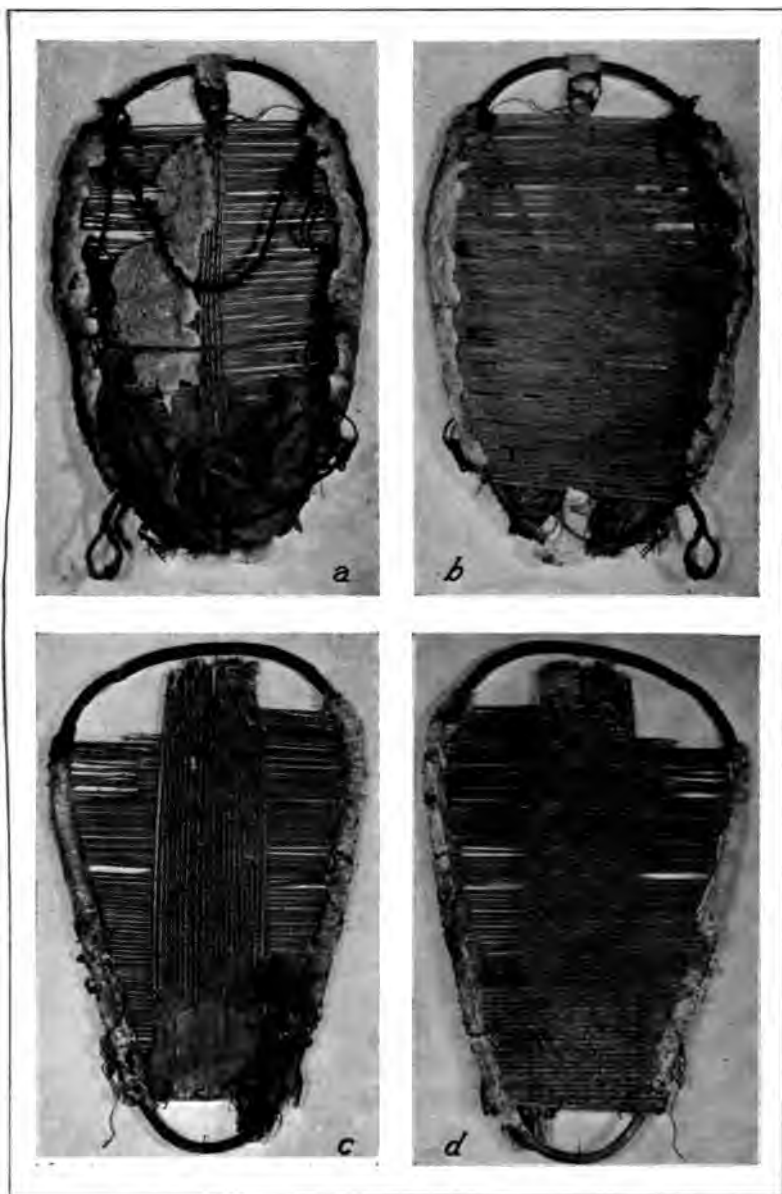
The second, or longitudinal, set of rods consists of five twigs running up the middle of the transverse rods and attached to them by a lashing of heavy sinew, so arranged as to produce the zigzag design seen in the photograph. The ends of the longitudinal twigs are fastened to the head and foot of the hoop in some manner which cannot be made out, because the attachment is padded and tightly sewed up in a hide covering.

Tied around the bottom of the hoop there is a horse-shoe shaped roll of cedar bark, which must have formed a kind of soft platform for the baby's feet to rest against when the cradle was held upright. A series of human hair strings are caught into the "bolsters" along the sides of the cradle; these, like the loops on the specimens first described, were to hold the laced binding cord. At the head and foot are much longer loops, designed, apparently, for suspending the cradle in a horizontal position.<sup>1</sup>

A double yucca string is tightly stretched across the upper surface of the cradle about 8 inches above the foot. From just below this string to the foot, the cradle is much discolored by the excreta of the baby. The purpose of the string was probably to hold in place the rather inefficient diaper-bundles of cedar bark or fiber.

Plate 20, c, d, illustrates a cradle very similar in shape to the above; its measurements,  $23\frac{1}{2}$  by  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches, are almost identical; the hoop is also made of two pieces tied together at the sides. The backing is of reeds instead of twigs; there are eighty-three in the transverse series and twenty-two in the longitudinal, the latter is secured to the former by narrow rawhide thongs whose emergences

<sup>1</sup> See Saunders, 1912, photograph facing p. 86.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, b, Front and back of cradle, Cist 35; c, d, Front and back of cradle, Cist 54. (About 1/9.)



produce a pattern of diamond figures. The longitudinal reeds were once attached to the head and foot of the bow, but their ends are now missing. The sides are padded with fiber and covered with hide, and there are the remnants of a cedar-bark foot rest. The ends of a diaper string are present, but there are no side loops for the laced binding cord.

The remaining three specimens are more nearly oval than the two preceding. The largest one (plate 21, b) is 25 inches long by 12 inches wide. Viewed from the side it is rocker-shaped, but this curve is probably due to warping. The frame and its side-padding (mostly decayed) offer no new features, nor does the method of attachment of the seventy-nine transverse willow backing-rods. As will be seen in the plate, the longitudinal rods are differently arranged; they are in two sets of six each, spaced well apart and curving away from each other as they approach the head of the cradle where each set is bent about the side of the frame and tied back on itself; the lower attachments are gone. The diamond-pattern lashings that hold the longitudinal to the transverse rods are of strips of rawhide. Between the two longitudinal sets, and also alongside them, the transverse rods are bound together by a sort of over-eight-under-eight twilling of leather thongs painted red. Side loops and diaper string have disappeared; the mark of the latter, however, can be made out on the backing, and below it there are as usual heavy stains and caked mud.

The cradle shown in plate 21, a, is from the same cist as the foregoing. It is an elongated oval,  $19\frac{1}{2}$  by  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Of the two sticks bent to form its frame, the upper one is peeled, the lower unpeeled. The sides are padded into the usual long rolls, but there is no evidence that they were ever encased in skin; no loops or diaper string remain. The transverse twigs are ninety-eight in number; the first seventeen, counting from the top, are in natural color; then comes a row of eight rods dyed black, then eight in natural color, eight black, eight natural, eight black, eight natural, and eight black; the last twenty-five to the bottom are undyed. The eight longitudinal twigs are not attached to the transverse ones by the usual ornamental bindings. They are turned about the frame at the head of the cradle and tied back on themselves; at the bottom they are cut off at the level of the last transverse element and their ends are made fast to it by a row of twined yucca string.

The last of the three oval cradles is  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches across. The two sticks of its frame are unpeeled. There are seventy-seven transverse rods (willow twigs, scraped and trimmed as usual) and seven longitudinal ones, bound to the former with the conventional diamond pattern of thong-emergences; their attachments to the top and bottom of the frame have been broken off. The frame padding along the sides is of string and yucca fiber, and was once encased in hide. There are no side-loops, but the diaper string is still in place, stretched tightly across the upper surface of the cradle at a point one-third of the distance from the head to the foot.

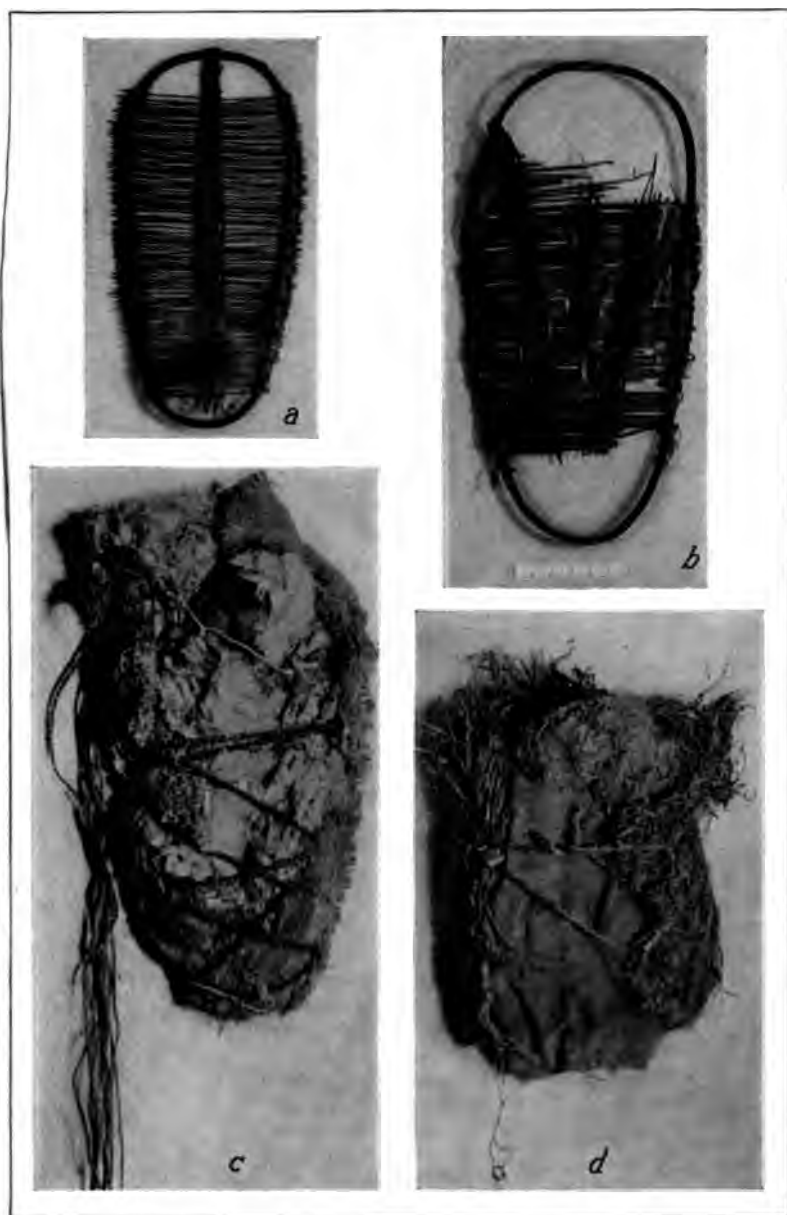
**Flexible Cradles.** These are of two types. The first has a rim made of a long thin bundle of grass rolled tight, tied with yucca leaves and bent to the same shape as the wooden hoop of the rigid cradle. The body or filling is a rough mesh of yucca leaves. The second type is a sort of mat made from long strips of cedar bark held together by twined-woven rows of yucca leaves; the edges of the mat are turned up and fastened together by a yucca network. Both types are illustrated and more fully described in the report on the 1914-1915 expeditions;<sup>1</sup> all the specimens recovered in 1916-1917 were very fragmentary, but enough of them were found to show that these cradles were in common use.

**Umbilical Pads.** During the early part of the 1916 season there were taken from the graves of infants a number of flat pads, made by sewing up various substances in covers of prairie-dog hide. Their use, at first doubtful, was made clear when the well-preserved baby burial from Cist 13 was examined, and a similar pad (plate 4, d) was found lying against the navel of the infant; a second case (infant from Cist 35) was discovered later. It was then obvious that all these specimens had been used as are our modern "binders" to prevent umbilical hernia by exerting pressure on the navel of the new-born child.

Each of these pads has a light but rigid or semi-rigid core, most commonly made of five or six corncobs cut to equal length and bound together side by side; several examples are whittled from slabs of yellow-pine bark (plate 22, c);<sup>2</sup> still others consist of a rope or tight twist of cedar bark, coiled and sewed to itself to form

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, pp. 165, 166; plates 71, b; 72, a, b.

<sup>2</sup> The piece of bark figured in our first report (Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plate 85, b), and classed as problematical is one of these.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, b, Cradles; c, Cradle containing mummy of child, Cist 18; d, Package containing mummy of child, Cist 35. (About 1/10.)





a small oval mat (plate 22, b); in one case a thin slab of sandstone is used.<sup>1</sup> The crudest were wads of cedar bark or grass. The cores were wrapped and padded with shredded cedar bark, more or less thickly according to their hardness, and were finally enclosed in prairie-dog skin covers prepared as follows (plate 22, a); the complete hide was trimmed by cutting away the feet and tail, and shaped into a long bag with the fur outside. The padded core was placed in the bottom of this, the upper part folded down, and the whole neatly sewed up with sinew or fine fiber thread. There is one specimen (plate 31, a) to which is still attached the narrow human hair string band that formerly held it in place against the abdomen of the infant.

### BASKETRY

**Coiled Basketry.** The Basket-maker culture was so named by the Wetherill brothers because of the abundance of baskets found in the graves. The burials of this people excavated by the Peabody Museum expeditions in Marsh Pass ran true to type in this respect as in all others; and, wherever the cists were protected from moisture and undisturbed by ancient looters, fine specimens were always to be found, while throughout the general digging in the caves fragments of worn-out baskets were encountered in great abundance.

All the specimens recovered were of the coiled variety, no case of twining, checkerwork, or wickerwork having been found; a single twilled example, in reality more like a flexible pouch than a true basket, will be described later. In weave the coiled baskets form a very homogeneous group; they are made over a foundation consisting of two slim osiers laid side by side, with a padding or welt of yucca fiber or shredded roots. The sewing elements are wooden splints averaging a little less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide; they enclose the rods and the fibrous padding bundle and also pass through about half of the bundle of the coil below. It is this gripping of the bundle of the lower coil which alone holds the fabric together, as the stitches of one coil never interlock with those of the coil below them.<sup>2</sup> While the weave is so solid and compact that many of the

<sup>1</sup> For a description of this specimen see Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 192; its use was then unknown to us.

<sup>2</sup> For a diagram of the weave, see Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, figure 80.

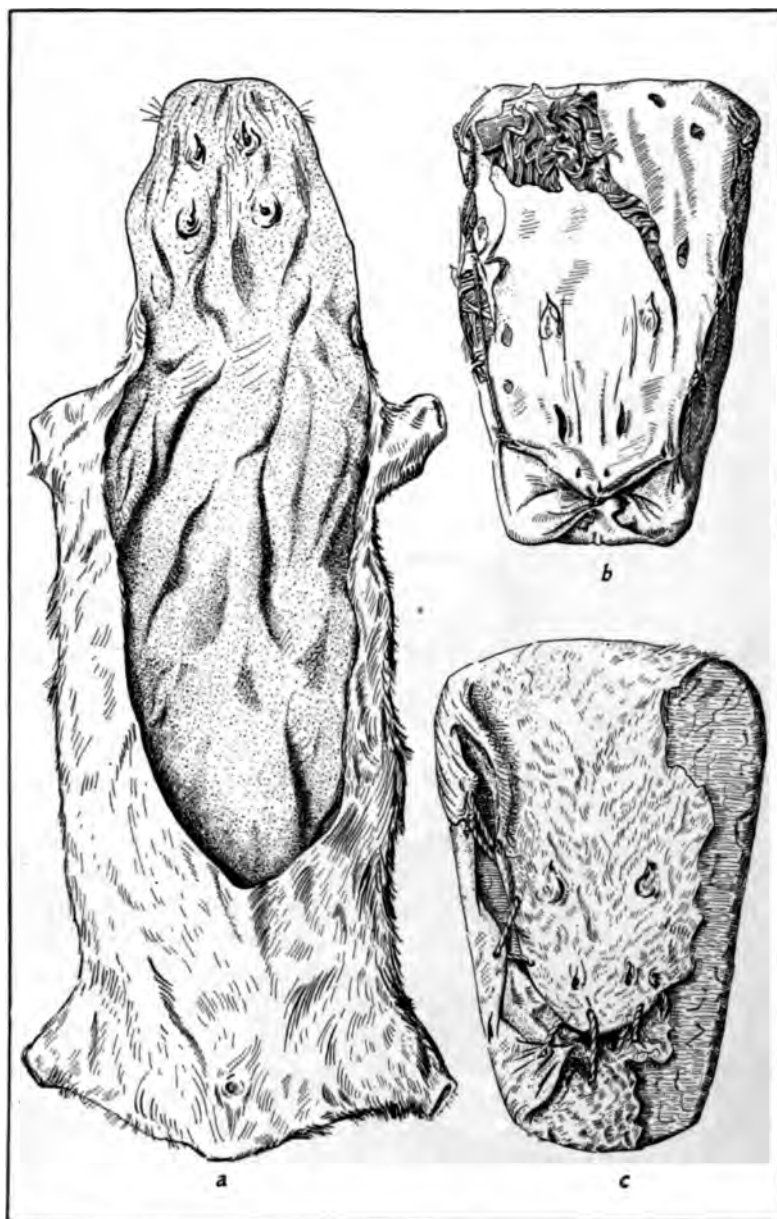
better pieces must have been watertight, it never attains the fineness of texture seen in many California coiled baskets. These ancient weavers strove, apparently, for strength and serviceability rather than for refinement of technic. No more stitches than necessary were used; hence the relatively great width of the individual sewing splints and their broad spacing, which allows the foundation to appear between them. The average tray basket has five coils to the inch and nine to eleven stitches along each inch of coil; the finest specimen has eight coils and twelve stitches; the coarsest, a fragment from a large pannier, has coils  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide and six to seven stitches to the inch of coil. The edge bindings of all the baskets save one are in simple wrapping; the exception is a bowl-shaped piece (plate 23, i) in which the entire rim is finished in "false-braid" as in Navajo baskets.<sup>1</sup>

Our specimens fall into the following five classes:

- |                     |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Trays            | 4. Water baskets   |
| 2. Bowls            | 5. Trinket baskets |
| 3. Carrying baskets |                    |

*Trays.* This is by far the commonest type. The examples are very flat, and run from 12 to 24 inches in diameter. They were probably used for the serving of food, and perhaps in gambling. One tray (plate 23, j) obviously had another purpose; about its rim at equal distances apart were four loops, two of which remain (the others were in place when found, but soon crumbled away). Each loop is made of a twig tied into a circle 2 inches in diameter and is attached to the rim of the basket by a short buckskin thong. The whole interior of the tray shows much wear, particularly severe at the bottom where, indeed, it had begun to give out and was reinforced by overstitching with new splints, which themselves were partly worn through. The outside and bottom exhibit no wear at all. It seems likely that this basket was suspended by the loops and used for the simultaneous hulling and winnowing of seeds too delicate to be shelled in a mortar. The process might have been to keep a stone rolling among the seeds by shaking the suspended tray, and to blow off the hulls as they were detached by

<sup>1</sup> For details of this stitch, see Mason, 1904, figure 197. A Basket-maker basket from Grand Gulch, in which the last inch of the terminal coil is done in "false-braid" is mentioned by Pepper (1902, p. 16); exactly the same treatment appears in a basket from Step House, Mesa Verde (Nordenakiold, 1893, plate XLIV, 4); Diegueño and Kawiia (southern California) tray baskets also have the last inch of coil in "false-braid" (Peabody Museum Collections).



WHITE DOG CAVE  
a, Covering for umbilical pad; b, c, Umbilical pads. (About 1.)



bruising of the stone. This explanation is, of course, pure guesswork, but it seems to account satisfactorily for the presence of the loops and for the excessive wear on the inside.

*Bowls.* As will be seen in the illustrations (plate 23, a, c, f) these bowls are of lesser diameter than the trays and of much greater height; their bottoms are flat and the sides rise more or less steeply. The largest is 14 inches wide at the mouth, by 8 inches deep. We have that some of the larger bowls were used for boiling by the stone method, as two examples are heavily daubed with a mixture of mud and ashes applied, apparently, to render them airtight; they also have a soiled and battered look and many marks that indicate hard use.

*Carrying Baskets.* These are the largest of the coiled baskets, measuring 28 to 30 inches in diameter at the top, by 17 to 20 inches high. They have pointed bottoms, oval in cross-section; and by flaring upper parts (plate 23, k, l). By actual count of coils and stitches to the inch these are the coarsest of the baskets, yet they are as carefully and regularly woven as the finest; are very strong, but flexible enough to adapt themselves to the curves of the neck and shoulders of their bearers. There is no doubt that they served as panniers for carrying loads on the back; their shape and the use of similar forms by modern tribes are sufficient indications. The identification, however, is rendered certain by the fact that they all have pairs of loops, usually of human hair string, sewed into their sides at the proper height for the attachment of carrying bands. In two specimens these bands are still in place. The non use of these panniers to cover interments is, of course, a secondary one.

*Water Baskets.* The excavations of 1916-1917 produced no specimen of this type, yet fragments of oval bottoms of a close weave than is usual in panniers seem to indicate that such baskets were not rare. A fine example from Cave II, Kinboko, is described in our former report. Dimensions: total height 17 inches, greatest diameter 14½ inches, orifice 4½ inches. It has an elongated, oval in cross-section. The upper part flares out and becomes rounded; it is constricted again at the top, and the orifice is small. It does not seem to have been a neck, but there is some evidence that there was once a string-hinged cover. On opposite sides, just below the point of greatest diameter, are pairs of carry-

ing loops made by twisting into a heavy cord eight or ten two-strand human hair strings. The entire inner surface of the basket is thickly pitched with piñon gum, and the same material has been daubed on such parts of the exterior as had begun to wear through. A design of small stepped units may be faintly made out on the upper curve.<sup>1</sup>

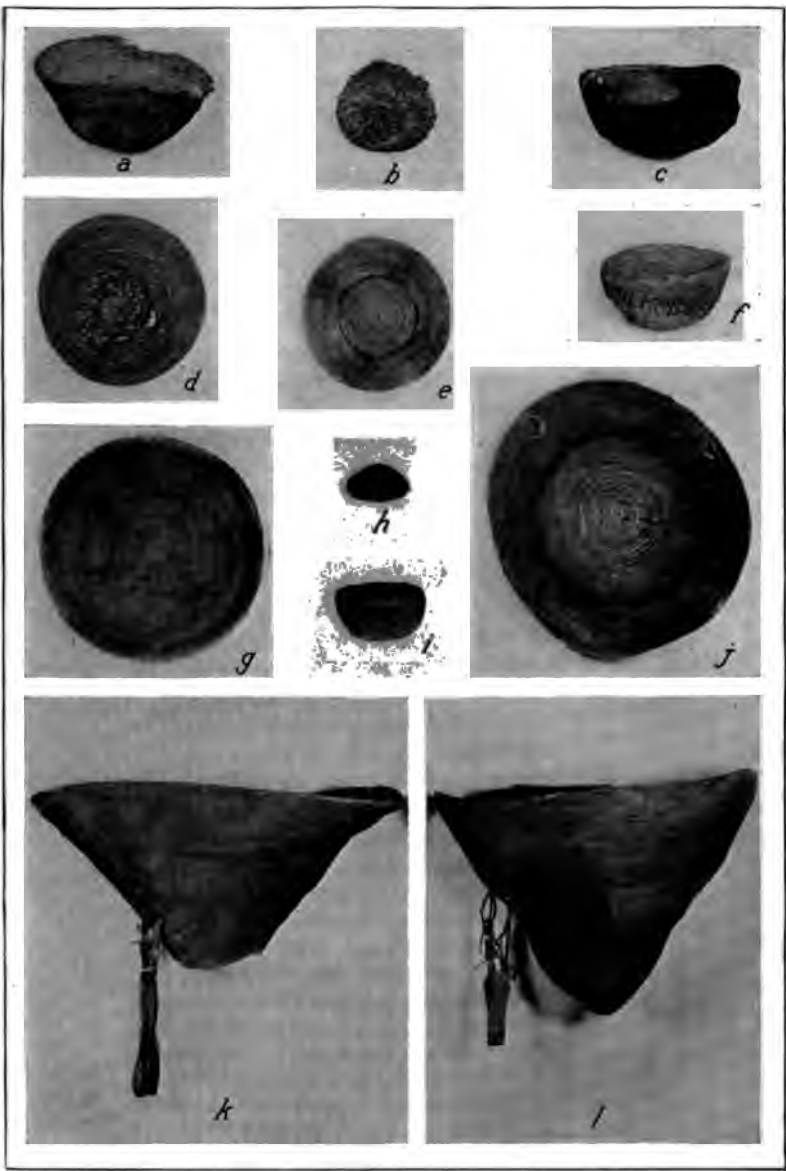
*Trinket Baskets.* These are neatly made little receptacles with round bodies and small orifices. The range of sizes and shapes is shown in the illustrations (plates 23, h, and 24, d). It is probable that these baskets were put to a variety of uses; many of those found in the graves contained small trinkets of one sort or another.

*Decoration.* Baskets of all the above types were ornamented with designs in black. Red elements, reported by Pepper<sup>2</sup> in Grand Gulch baskets, are not found in our collection. The designs are of great interest because they are without much doubt the oldest examples of basketry ornamentation that have yet come to light in the United States. Furthermore, they illustrate the decorative art of a people who preceded the pottery-making tribes of the region, and so may eventually be expected to throw light on the vexed question of whether or not southwestern pottery designs developed from those of basketry. We give, accordingly, all the decorations that are sufficiently well-preserved to copy (plate 24). These, together with the fine series of baskets figured by Pepper,<sup>3</sup> will give the reader a very good idea of the make-up of the designs. Descriptions of the patterns tell no more than do the pictures, and any attempt to supply symbolical meanings to designs as old as these would naturally be pure guesswork. We have made notes towards a comparative study of these and the designs of the baskets from the Plateau and Pacific Coast areas, but they are as yet far from complete, nor have we space in this publication to present the mass of data which has already accumulated. It may be said, however, that the art as a whole seems to find its nearest parallel in that of the central and northern California tribes. In technic, on the other hand, the baskets most closely resemble those of the Paiute.

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 170 and plate 78.

<sup>2</sup> 1902, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, the same pictures may also be found in Mason, 1904, a more accessible publication, plates 84, 104, and 205 to 211 inclusive.



Baskets: All from White Dog Cave with the exception of h, which is from Cave 1, Kinboko Canyon, Marsh Pass. (About 1/16.)





**Twilled Basketry.** The only specimen in this weave is a flexible bag-like basket of yucca leaves with flattened spherical body and small mouth. Although it is fragmentary, the following measurements are approximately correct: width  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches; depth  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches; diameter of aperture 4 inches. It is made of entire leaves of *Yucca angustifolia*; the butts of the leaves are turned outward over a heavy fiber cord that rings the mouth of the basket, and are fastened by twined strings. The long ends of the leaves are then plaited together, over-two-under-two, to form the body. The bottom is not woven, the last couple of inches of the leaves being simply laid across each other and tied in that position with string (plate 23, b).

Although the over-two-under-two weave is the same, this specimen is entirely different from the twilled ring baskets so abundantly found in cliff-houses.<sup>1</sup> The latter are always bowl-shaped and have a wooden hoop at the edge. They are fabricated upwards from the bottom; not, as in this case, downwards from the rim. No trace of ring baskets has yet come to light in our excavations in Basket-maker caves; a bit of twilled work found in Cave 1, 1915,<sup>2</sup> was probably part of a flexible bag-basket like the present one.

## TEXTILES

**Plain Weaving.** As the collection of Basket-maker textiles described in our first report contained no example of straight over-and-under weaving, we believed that the Basket-makers practised but two technics, namely twining and coiled-netting (coil without foundation). Among the material collected in 1916-1917 there are, however, three pieces of plain over-and-under weave. The largest of these is the cloth outer wrapping of the infant from Cist 13, White Dog Cave. Though much torn and showing long use, enough remains so that by arranging tattered ends of selvage in their proper positions one dimension is shown to be  $27\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The other, based on extending the design to a symmetrical termination, would be 26 inches. It is probable that allowing for error in these measurements the original piece was square. The general appear-

<sup>1</sup> See Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 108 and plate 43. The specimens figured by Pepper (1902, p. 23) are probably not Basket-maker, particularly as one of them was found filled with beans; the basket shown on p. 25, however, seems to be identical with the one under discussion.

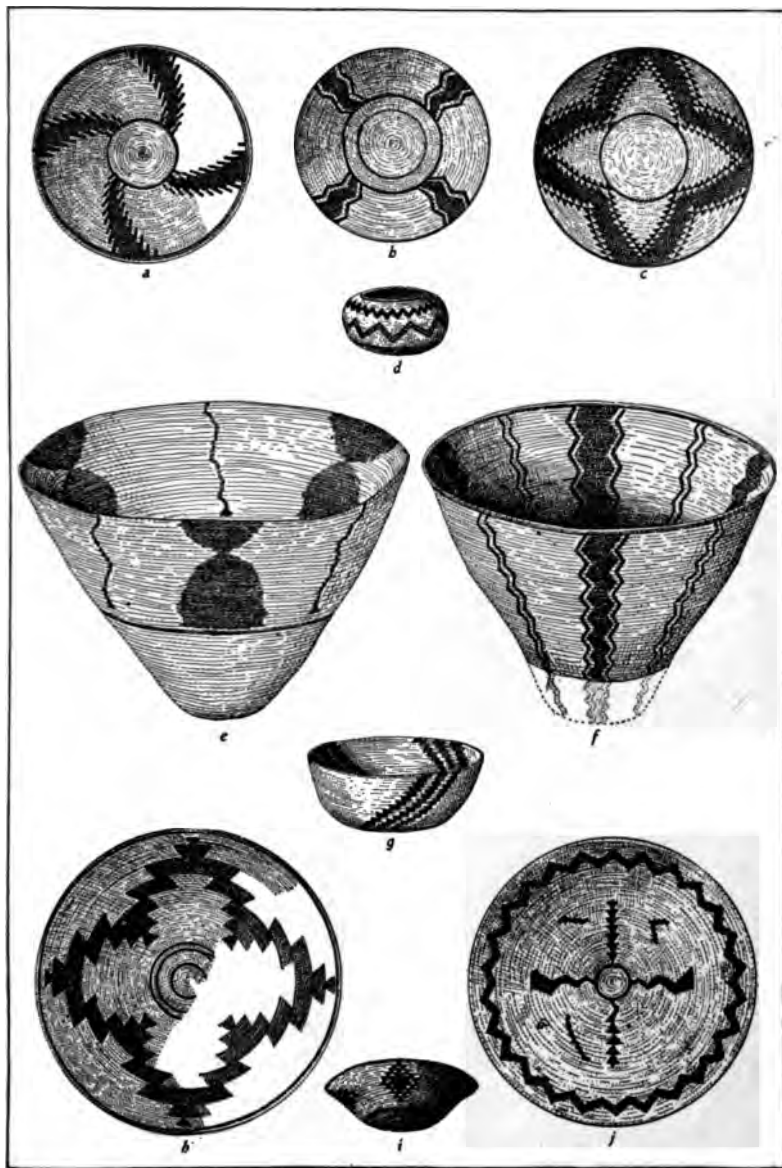
<sup>2</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 167.

ance of the fabric is the same as that of the twined-woven bags both in color and design, the difference in technic not being apparent at first sight. The weave is rather coarse, having nine warp and fifteen weft strands to the inch. Both warp and weft are of a uniform sized two-strand twist of rather coarse vegetal fiber presumably yucca. As far as it is possible to work it out from the scant material at hand the weave is as shown in the diagrammatic drawing, figure 11, b. Details as to the manner in which the warp edge is finished appear in figure 11, b, and plate 25, c. The warp ends are cut close and the weft kept from unraveling by a buttonhole stitch. The edge running parallel to the warp is finished by twining two fine strands of human hair through the loops that result from turning back the weft for a new start; this also is illustrated in figure 11, b.

In the photograph, plate 4, a, there is seen at one point a circular hole, cut in the fabric, and finished all around by overcasting with fiber thread. The design (plate 26, b) consists of a series of large rectangles arranged in three rows, the two outside rows red, the center one black. The units average  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. Separately dyed elements were not introduced to produce the design; but apparently, when the weaving reached a point where a change of color was desired, the weft strand was thoroughly rubbed with color for the required length and then woven in. The warp cords show little color, such as appears on them probably resulting from contact with the weft. It is possible that the finished piece may have been treated with some mordant to fix the dye.

The second example of this weave is a fragment 12 inches long by 2 inches wide in very bad condition, one end showing darning. It is also from White Dog Cave. There are traces of a broad design in red, the exact character of which cannot be determined. The piece appears to be a part of a blanket very similar to the one just described. There remains a short section of one edge finished with a thread of human hair twined through the weft loops.

The third piece, from Cave 11, Sagiotsosi, was found with the disturbed burial described on page 37. It is very evenly woven with fourteen warp and twenty-one weft strands to the inch. The fragment has a length one way of 12 inches, and is a part of one corner of the original piece, so that two edges remain. Both warp and weft edges are finished in the same manner as the one first de-



Baskets: All from White Dog Cave with the exception of d, which is from Cave 2, Kinboko Canyon, Marsh Pass. (About 1/16.)



Scribed: a buttonhole stitch of fine string, and human hair twining thread respectively. The design is in red and black, and so far as it can be traced is shown in plate 26, c. It is painted, not woven, and the color was applied only to one side of the cloth; the red pigment has soaked through the fabric and the red parts of the design appear faintly on the back. The black paint has not soaked through at all. To the corner is tied a dressed leather thong, which leads us to think that it may have been part of a garment.

These fabrics remind one strongly of the Coahuila cave textiles, many of which are large poncho-like blankets woven in the same

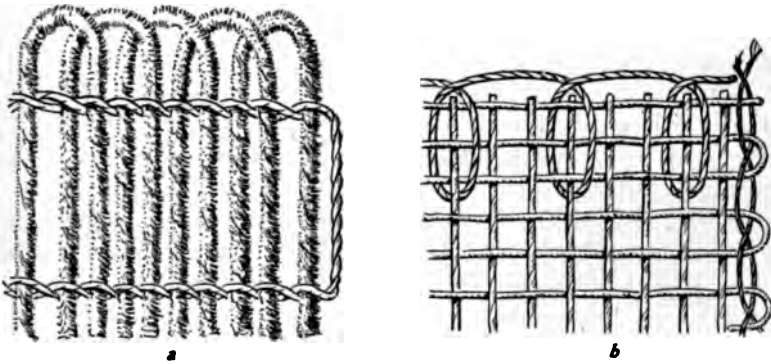


FIGURE 11

a, Detail of weave, fur cloth blankets; b, Plain woven cloth, detail of weave and selvage.

way as these, and also have one edge finished with the buttonhole stitch. The latter resemblance seems significant, since we have not been able to find in the Museum collection textiles from any other region so finished. The designs, it is true, are different, though some of the elements seen in the Basket-maker twined-woven bags are also found in the Coahuila blankets.

The zigzag lines seen in the second specimen (plate 26, c) are very similar to the zigzags painted on the breasts of certain square-shouldered Basket-maker pictographs from the Monuments.<sup>1</sup> This resemblance has suggested to us that these woven fabrics may have been used as shirts.

**Twined Weaving.** The bags illustrated on plates 26, 28, and 30 form one of the most interesting groups in the collection, not only

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 197, figures 100, 101.

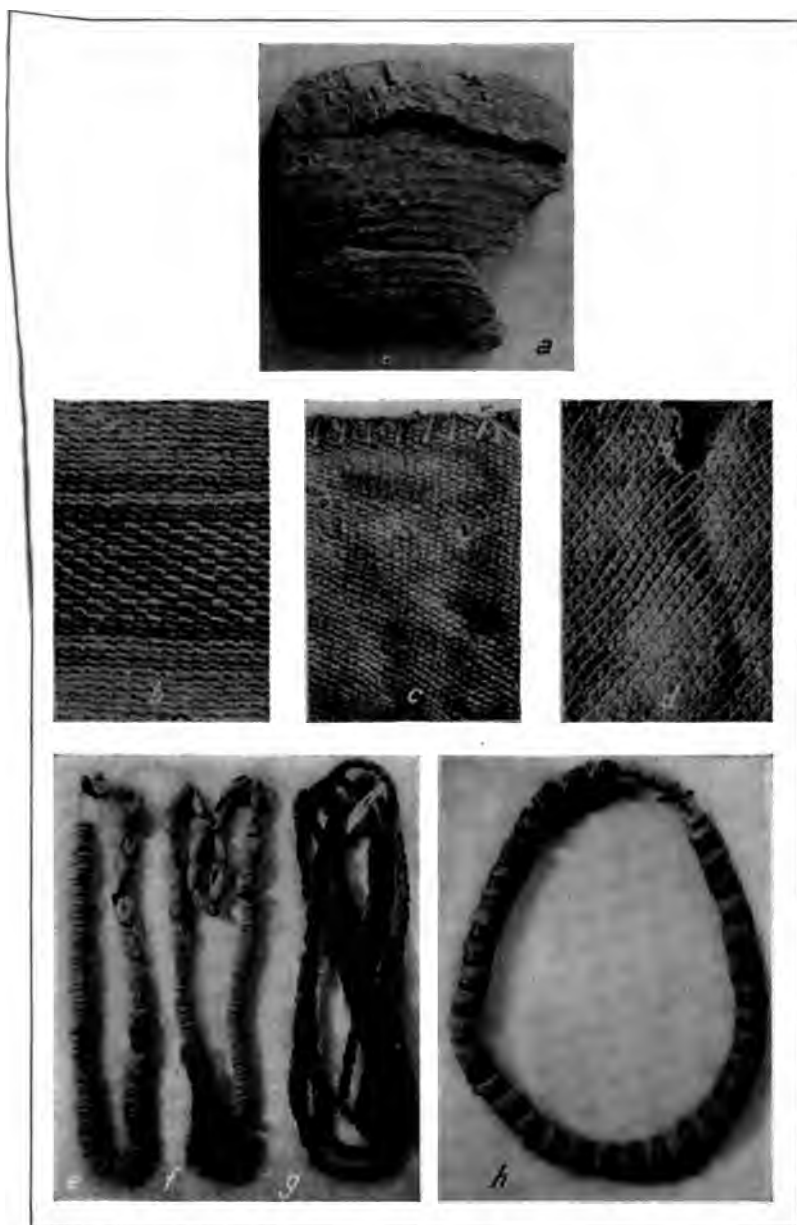
because of the excellence of their manufacture and the variety and beauty of their decoration, but also because they are so peculiarly characteristic of the Basket-maker culture. We have, fortunately, a large amount of material: complete bags to illustrate size, shape, and design; and great numbers of rags and fragments to make clear the details of technic.

The bags are flexible seamless sacks with full, round bodies and long, gradually constricted necks (plate 26, a, d). They range from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches to 2 feet or more in length. All are made in the same way, of close twined weaving; the majority of specimens have both warp and weft of two-ply apocynum string, though some have yucca warp and apocynum weft. The combination of apocynum warp and yucca weft is rare.

Our study of the weave was begun by examining the bottoms of the bags in order to make out how the preliminary "set-up" of the warp cords was accomplished. By dissecting several fragmentary specimens we found that there were two methods, one common, the other rare. The former was as follows: six long strands were laid across each other, three above and three below (figure 12, a); the middle strand of each set of three runs out straight, the others are bent so that their ends radiate from the common center. There are thus produced twelve original warps. The second method consists of twisting three strands about each other and then bending their ends so that they radiate and form six warp cords (figure 12, b).

The above systems are very simple and practical, and avoid the ugly lump and the potential weakness in the fabric which would have been the result of knotting the warps together at the base. The method of inserting the weft also obviates knotting: a single long string is worked over and under the radiating warp cords close about their common center; this is shown slack in figure 12, a, b; in reality it is pulled up very tight and holds the warp firmly together. When a circuit of the spoke-like warps has been made, the two ends of the weft string of course come together; they are then combined into a single strand of twined weaving, which continues spirally around and around to form the body of the bag fabric.

To return to the warp-skeleton. Many large bags have as many as three hundred and fifty warps at their point of greatest diameter.



a, Pottery, Cave 6; b, Twined-woven fabric, White Dog Cave; c, Plain woven fabric, Sagiotsai Canyon; d, Coiled netted fabric, White Dog Cave; e-h, Necklaces, White Dog Cave.





It is obvious that these could not all come together at the bottom of the bag; hence the base begins with six or twelve warps only (as described above) and sets of new cords are introduced as the original ones radiate away from each other. Upon the number of new warps depends the size of the finished bag; and upon the rapidity of their insertion depends the degree of flare imparted to the base. If many new warps are added close to the bottom, the latter will naturally be very flat; if they are put in more gradually the bag will have an egg-shaped base. Figures 13, a, b, illustrate

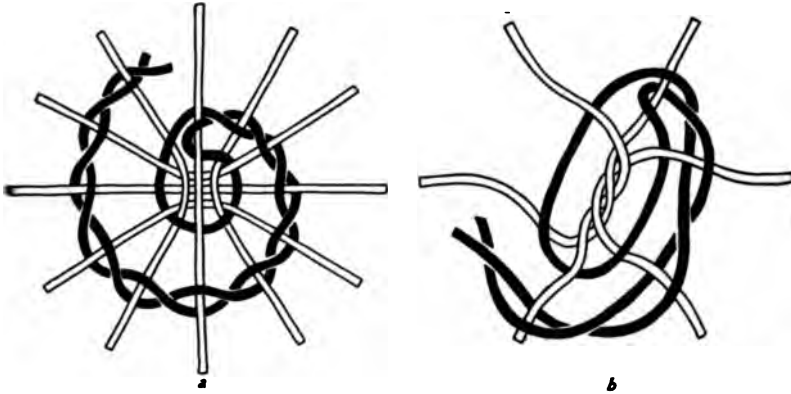


FIGURE 12

Methods of arranging and binding warp cords when beginning the construction of twined-woven bags. The weft cords are shown in solid black.

this; each one represents, diagrammatically, a circle about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter at the bottom of a bag. In figure 13, a, the original twelve warp cords are multiplied to forty-eight by two series of insertions, the first or inner series consisting of twelve new cords, the second of twenty-four. In figure 13, b, the same total is arrived at, but there are three series of insertions; the first of six, the next of twelve and an outer one of twenty-four. Figure 13, c, shows an area of bottom no greater than in the former specimens, but containing seventy-six warps, set in as follows: original series twelve, first insertion series twelve, second series fourteen, third thirty-eight. The weft in all three cases is woven in with approximately the same degree of tightness; hence the warps of a and b are pulled close to each other and the bags have

narrower bottoms than in c, where the quicker insertion of warps allows the base to grow rapidly broader.

We have not yet mentioned the actual method of inserting new warps. Two ways were employed. In one (plate 27, b) the string to be added was looped and laid between two of the old warps (b, b') thus forming two new ones (a, a'); the first two or three turns of the weft (c, c') attach the new strands to the old warps on either side of them holding all firmly in place; the next turn of weft (d) takes in each new element separately and the weaving continues normally.

In the second method (plate 27, a), the strand to be added was doubled into a loop, making, as before, two new warps; the string

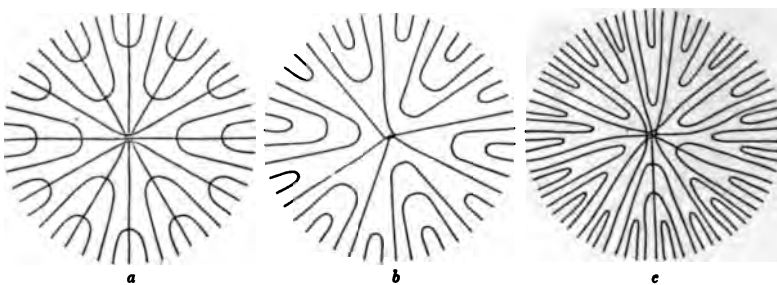


FIGURE 13

Methods of inserting new warp cords to increase diameter of bottom of bags.

at the bend of the loop was twisted apart into its two component plies and one of the old warps (b) was threaded through the resultant opening; the loop (a, a') was then slid up the old warp and brought close against the last woven turn of the weft (c), thus producing a pair of new warps (a, a') one on each side of the original one (b); on its next revolution about the bag the weft (d) takes in the two new warps and holds them solidly.

By the two methods just detailed the new warps become integral parts of the fabric without leaving any loose ends and without necessitating any disfiguring knots. The tension on the warps, however, incident to the use of the bags, tends to pull the loops very tight and so away from the last weft turn woven previously to their insertion, thus producing the little open space in the web indicated in the two figures. Where many new warp-pairs were introduced (as in the outer circle of figure 13, c) these little holes



Textile designs: a, d, Twined-woven bags; b, c, Plain woven cloth.



naturally lie close together and make very characteristic open-work rings about the bottoms of the bags.

The two different ways of adding warps (figure 13, a, b) are about equally common. In most bags either one or the other is adhered to; occasionally the two are mixed (figure 13, c). All bags seem to start with either six or twelve original warps, the ultimate size of the fabric depending on the number of new ones introduced; a medium-large bag (A-3054) had at its point of greatest diameter a total of about three hundred and fifty warps. Almost all specimens are more or less constricted toward the mouth; this is accomplished partly by tightening the twining of the weft and thus bringing the warp closer together, and partly by dropping out warps. A warp to be dropped is merely cut off and its end hidden by the next turn of the weft.

The final point in the study of the warps is the method of securing them at the edge or mouth of the bag to insure a strong and ravel-proof selvage. This was sometimes accomplished by turning the warp ends about a stout edge-string (figure 14, a) and running them back a little way on themselves; they were held in this position by the last few turns of the weft; their loops about the edge cord were then pulled tight and the ends of the cords clipped off close to the fabric. In other cases the warp ends were looped under each other, then gathered into bundles of four or five, tucked with an awl through the fabric just below the edge and finally clipped (figure 14, b). A third method also dispensed with the edge-cord: each warp was bent at the edge, paired with the warp next it, run back along it towards the bottom of the bag, held by the upper weft-turns, pulled snug, and clipped (figure 14, c).<sup>1</sup>

We now take up the twining of the weft, which is perfectly simple and regular. It begins at the very bottom (figure 12, a, b) and continues in a close spiral to the mouth. Fresh lengths of weft string were not tied to the ends of the old ones (these weavers seem to have had a deep-seated aversion to knots), but were run a little way with them until firmly set. The entire weft, while made, of course, of many pieces, is thus essentially continuous. The method of procedure is unknown; it is probable, however, that the work was downward, the base of the bag having been attached

<sup>1</sup> Compare with a similar method of fastening warp ends in Cliff-dweller sandal heels (Kidd-Guernsey, 1919, p. 104 and figure 38).

to a limb or pole and the warps allowed to hang either free or tied in loose bunches to prevent tangling.<sup>1</sup> The twelve-year old daughter of one of the authors has experimented with this technique and has quickly become expert in making the bags. She holds the two weft-strings loosely across the palm of her hand separated by the index finger and gives the twist necessary to cross them between warps by merely turning the hand over. Each successive warp is hooked up and drawn between the wefts with the index finger. No tool is necessary for beating up the weft, as it

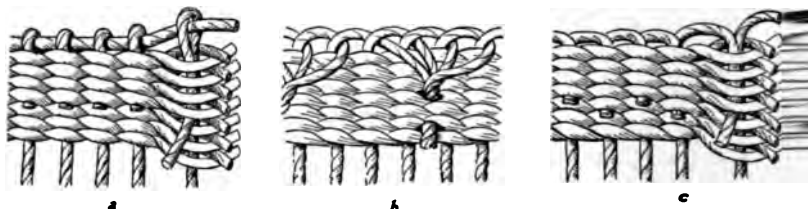


FIGURE 14

Various methods of finishing the top of twined-woven bags.

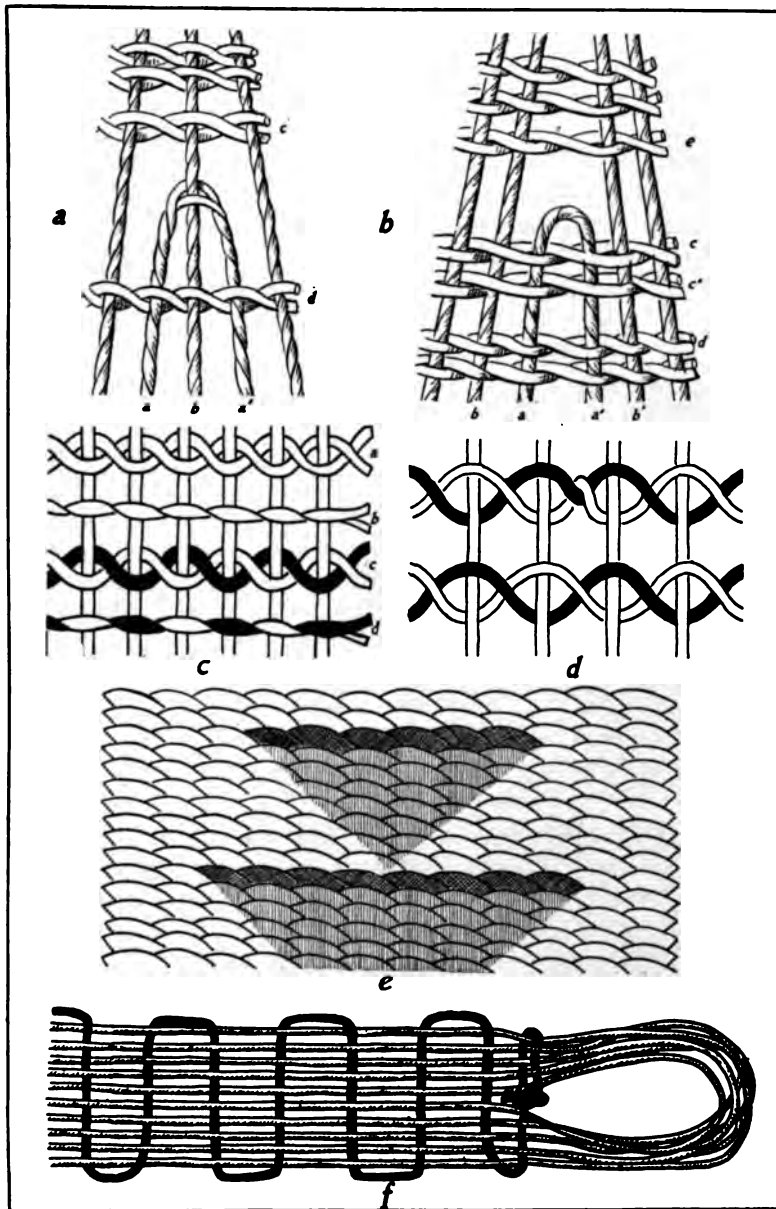
can be made to sit tightly by a slight pull after every few warp-crossings.

The weave of the ancient specimens is very even, and the number of wefts per inch over the whole surface of any given bag is always practically the same, though the warps at the necks of constricted examples are pulled somewhat closer together than they are at the swell of the bodies. The coarsest weave in the collection (A-3005) has five warps and fourteen weft-pairs per square inch; the finest (A-3161) has fourteen warps and twenty-three weft-pairs. The normal texture lies approximately half way between these two extremes with about nine warps and seventeen or eighteen weft-pairs.

The decoration of the bags is no less interesting than their structure. There are two styles, woven and painted, both sometimes appearing on the same piece.

The woven ornaments were accomplished by what may be termed the "dyed weft" process. When a band of color was to be introduced a new weft-pair of the desired shade was not added,

<sup>1</sup> See a picture of a Virginia Indian woman weaving a bag-like basket, Mason, 1904, figure 148.



a-e, Details of twined-woven bags; f, Detail of plain woven carrying-strap.





but the weft then in use was itself stained or rubbed with dye for the requisite length and then woven in. While there is no reason why very short lengths of weft should not have been so colored and small unit figures thus produced, we have found no instance of the practice in the twined bags,<sup>1</sup> all the designs being in the form of bands completely encircling the bodies of the sacks. These bands are infinitely variable, but all are made in the same way and are very easily analyzed. To understand them one must keep in mind that in twined weaving a double weft is used, the two elements of which twine both about each other and about the warps. Each of the two elements crosses every other warp, hence all the warps are crossed (plate 27, c, a); and when the weft is pulled tight the warp is entirely hidden, each weft element (in the pair) appearing on the surface of the fabric over every other warp. If the two elements are of the same color the resultant line of weaving will be monochrome; if of different colors, the line will be "beaded," half of one color, half of the other (plate 27, c, d).

The bodies of the bags are woven of undyed apocynum, a warm yellowish-brown. The band designs are commonly in red, black, or a mixture of the two (plate 28).<sup>2</sup> The simplest are the single lines in solid black or solid red that encircle the bases of most specimens as shown in this plate. By introducing wefts with one black and one natural element, or one red and one natural, beaded lines are produced and these are combined to make up the great variety of bands shown in the illustrations. They are all narrow (the widest in the collection contains but twenty-four lines) and no two, except the simplest types (such as plate 29, c), are ever exactly alike. A favorite practice was to make a band containing both red and black as in b, of this plate, and then weave just above it the same band with the colors reversed. A little study of the detailed drawings in the plate will show better than any amount of description the nature of the patterns and the ways in which, by combining "beaded" and solid lines, the different vertical, horizontal and oblique effects were produced.

<sup>1</sup> Except as "markers" in painted designs (plate 27, e). See, however, the woven fabric (plate 26, b), where squares are made in this way.

<sup>2</sup> There is one specimen (A-3056) with a band in brown; this dye caused the string to which it was applied to rot rather badly. Another bag (A-3005) has two lines each one made of one red and one dark blue strand. The third case of the use of colors other than the conventional red and black, is the appearance of a few yellow lines in A-3470.

The type of pattern illustrated in e, is the only one which needs explanation. Normally the weave of the bags is counter-clockwise, and a series of " beaded " weft-rows produces an oblique design, whose lines run downward to the right as in a. By shifting the weave to a clockwise direction, the slant of the oblique lines is changed and they run downward to the left. The decoration shown in e, therefore, was made by introducing three clockwise rows, then six counter-clockwise, and finally six clockwise. There are but two examples of this style in the collection.

One further point should be noticed: the weft is continuous, going around and around the bag; if the number of warps were even, and if (for example) a weft-pair of one black and one natural strand were being used, the black strands would, at each successive revolution about the bag, cross the same warp, and a series of vertical black bars would be produced (as in the two upper rows of f). If on the other hand, the number of warps were odd, the emergences of the black strand on the surface would be offset at each revolution and the resultant design would be oblique as in a. As both types, vertical and oblique, often occur in the same band, as shown in d, it is obvious that when the change from oblique to vertical or vice versa was to be made the weaver had to employ some device to reverse the order of emergences of her alternating colors. How this was done is shown in plate 27, d.

Painting, the second style of bag decoration, would call for little notice beyond the illustration of the designs themselves, were it not for two very interesting peculiarities, namely, the practice of applying the designs to the inside as well as to the outside of the bags, and the use of markers woven in, apparently to aid in this duplication. These methods were employed in the decoration of the bag shown in plate 30, f, and restored in color in plate 28.

Perhaps the clearest way of presenting the technic is to describe the steps by which we arrived at an understanding of it. We had examined the bags a number of times and had always supposed, because the designs appeared on both sides of the fabric, that they had been woven in probably by means of the dyed-weft method; closer scrutiny, however, showed that the vertical and oblique edges of the figures were perfectly even and straight, not finely serrated or stepped as is always the case with such edges in a woven design. Under a magnifying glass the edges of the colored



WHITE DOG CAVE  
Color-scheme of woven bag.



Areas proved to be formed not by the stitches of the weave, but to run quite independently of them as illustrated in plate 27, e. This showed, of course, that the designs had been painted on, not woven in; but we were still at a loss to account for the accuracy with which they were reproduced on the reverse of the fabric (we had pushed pins through the weave at various juts and corners of the figures and had found that their points protruded at exactly corresponding places in the designs on the other side). We then decided that some dye must have been used which struck clear through the material and colored both surfaces. This explanation satisfied us until we chanced to pry apart some of the weft strings, and noticed that their under parts and the warps were not colored. This puzzled us greatly because we could not conceive of a dye which would act on both surfaces of a cloth without affecting its body. We then returned to our pin tests, and eventually discovered a few places where the designs on front and back failed to correspond by a small fraction of an inch, and one spot where there was an error of a quarter of an inch.

It was then clear that the two sides had been painted separately, but we could not understand how the elaborate patterns had been duplicated so exactly. Further examination cleared up this question also. We noticed that the top line of weaving in many of the colored units was of a darker shade than its body; on picking one of these upper lines out, we found that for the space necessary to cross the top of the design-unit, both its strands had been tinted before weaving in (weft-dyeing). These little colored lines or markers appeared, of course, on both sides of the fabric and must have made it quite easy for the weaver to paint identical patterns on each. They must also have been of great assistance in the original laying-out of the designs, for by introducing markers at regular intervals (ascertained by counting warps) along any single line of weft, regularity of spacing in a horizontal sense could be accomplished; by counting weft lines as they were woven upward from the one last marked and then marking a new weft, symmetrical vertical spacing could be insured (see plate 27, e; the shade of the markers is there exaggerated).

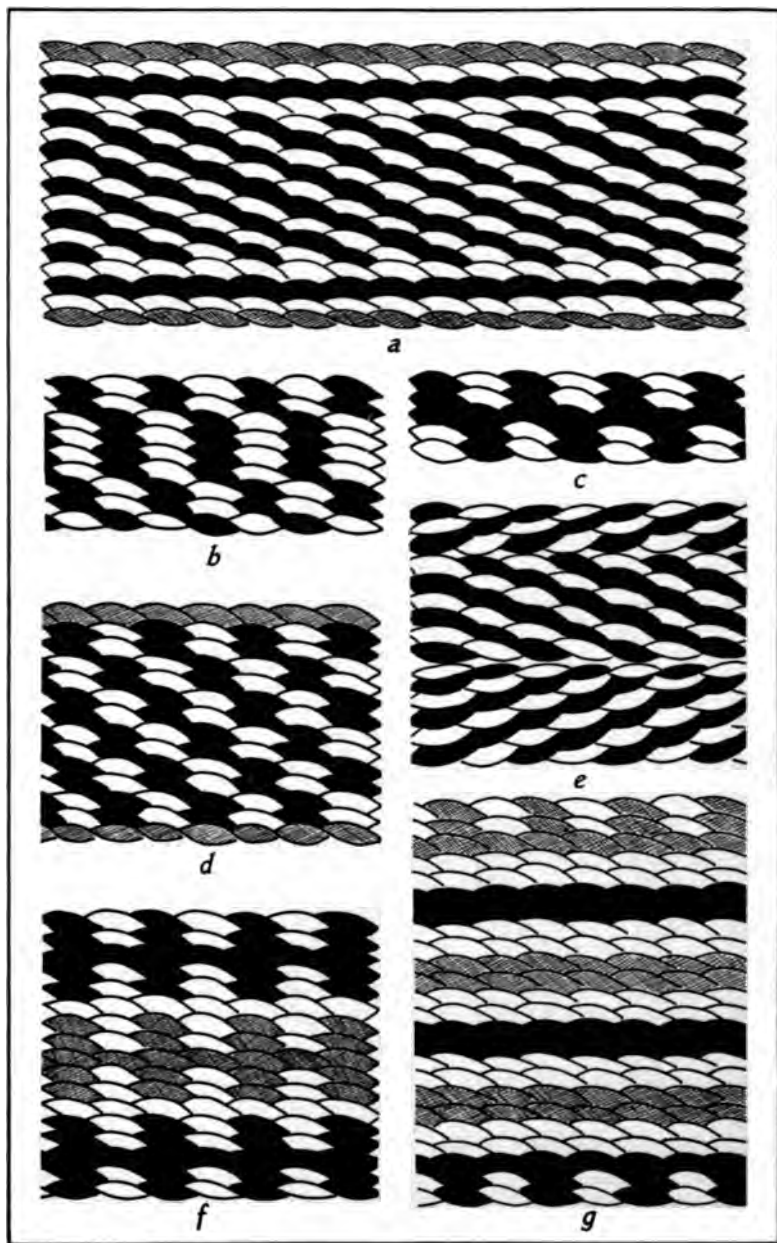
One further point: we experimented with water-color paints on bits of the bag fabric and found that it takes them without any blotting or running; furthermore the moisture in the paint (carry-

ing very little of the color itself) quickly soaks through and shows on the reverse side in sharply defined wet areas of exactly the same shape as the painted figures. By painting over these moist areas the decorator was still further aided in the accuracy of the duplication of the design.

This painstaking reproduction was accomplished on nearly all the painted bags in the collection; there are but few specimens decorated on one side only. Its purpose is not obvious, for while the bags are reversible, the weave being the same within and without, specimens showing long use are much more worn on one side than on the other. It seems, therefore, that the patterns on the inside were normally invisible. That they were so meticulously carried out may be due to the strong craving for perfection and love for detail possessed by so many primitive craftsmen; or it may have resulted from an equally common psychological trait, namely that of wishing to carry over into a new technic the qualities of an older one. To be explicit: it is likely that basket-making was practised by these people before they learned to weave this specialized type of bag; the painted patterns under discussion are also found woven in the baskets (compare plate 24 with plates 26 and 28); hence it may be that when painting such decorations, it was thought proper that they should appear on both sides of the fabric as in baskets.

*Fur cloth.* This was one of the most important textile products of the Basket-makers. Robes of fur cloth were presumably the usual overgarment for cold weather, were doubtless used for sleeping blankets, and were invariably wrapped about the dead previous to burial; young babies were provided with specially shaped fur cloth coverings (plate 4, b, f).

The strings that compose the body of the fabric were variously prepared. The commonest method was to wrap a yucca cord with narrow strips of the hide of small animals applied raw and with the fur on; deer and mountain-sheep skins, when used, were generally dressed. The strips were applied spirally, the end of one piece holding down the beginning of the next. The tight wrapping of the hide caused the hair to stand out in all directions, thus giving the finished string the appearance of a greatly magnified pipe-cleaner. Another way of making the string was to catch tufts of long, woolly animal hair (dog or buffalo) detached from the hide,



Twined weaving; designs produced by different manipulations of the weft-strands.





through the twists of a two-ply cord; the same was also done with small patches of skin from the heavily furred bottoms of rabbits' feet. Strips of tough skin with the hair on were sometimes twisted upon themselves instead of being wound about a cord.

The weaving process was very simple; the prepared string was wound about some sort of frame, or perhaps around a pair of long pegs driven in the ground. The winding was done in such a way as to lay each succeeding turn of the string parallel to and close against the preceding one. When the desired size was reached, the strings were fastened together by twined rows of yucca cord; finally, the frame was removed. To illustrate the nature of the selvages, a corner of one of these fabrics is shown in figure 11, a. The upper edge is composed of the looped turns of the single long fur-string which forms the body of the cloth. On the lateral selvage may be seen the method of bringing the continuous twining cords down the edge for a new crossing.

Due to the wide spacing of the rows of twining cord, the texture of fur cloth is very loose. The component string is, however, so fluffy and hangs so evenly between the twined cross-rows, that the finished blanket has a very smooth surface; it is also softer and more flexible than the best dressed hide. Pleasing blends of color were produced by mixing different kinds of fur; ornamental edgings and tassels were sometimes made by using bits of string wrapped with strips of downy bird skin; or strings between the plies of which were held pieces of rabbit foot fur, colored red.

**Narrow Fabrics.** Carrying bands were employed for the transportation of heavy loads. We have found them attached to the large pannier baskets (plate 23, k, l), and one accompanied the bulky bundle containing a hunting net discovered in White Dog Cave. It is probable that they were also used with cradles. They are long woven straps with loops at either end. Although individual specimens differ from each other in dimensions and in the details of weave and ornamentation, most of them are fundamentally alike in that they are made of a long cord looped into a flat skein and held together by a single binder, which runs over and under, back and forth across it. The binder terminates just before reaching the ends, thus leaving two loops for the attachment of the strap to the burden (see the diagrammatic drawing, plate 27, f). Ornamental patterns are sometimes introduced by making the

skein of strings of contrasting colors, or by using a binder of a color different from the rest of the fabric.

One of the straps found with a pannier basket (plate 23, k) is made of a single heavy yucca fiber string looped on itself twelve times to form twenty-four parallel elements; the binder is also of yucca. The length of the specimen is 22 inches, width  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The second pannier strap is longer, 32 inches, but of the same width. It is composed of yellowish fiber and black human hair strings, alternated to produce a simple design; the binder is yucca. There are also several fragmentary bands of the same weave, in one of which (A-3495) the one remaining loop is tightly wound with fine string.

The band found with the rabbit net (plate 31, c) is constructed on the same basic principle, but its binder, instead of being covered by the longitudinal strings, forms the surface of the fabric. In making this strap, a single stout yucca cord was looped four times, producing eight parallel strings; the binder is woven back and forth over and under these; it is a heavy cord twisted of a mixture of dog and buffalo hair, and is so fluffy and is beaten up so tightly that the underlying yucca strings are entirely concealed except at the ends, where they protrude to form short loops for the attachment of tie-cords. The specimen is 22 inches long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide.

*Tape.* Very narrow flat fabrics were made on the same general principle as the coarser carrying-straps, but the materials are finer and the weave more elaborate. They are rare, our only new example being a short length of tape  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch wide which was found attached, apparently as a tie-string, to a large fur cloth robe enveloping mummy 1, Cist 24, White Dog Cave. It has parallel longitudinal elements and a single binder; the parallel strings are twenty-eight in number, arranged in fourteen pairs which twine about the successive crossings of the binder instead of merely passing over and under them as in the carrying-straps. The design, produced by mixing brown and white strands, is very similar to that of a tape found in Cave 1, 1915. In number of elements and in weave the two specimens are identical.<sup>1</sup>

*Rigid bands.* We have only a single specimen of this type, but there is a very similar one from Grand Gulch in the American

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 173 and figure 82.



Twined-woven bags. All from White Dog Cave with the exception of d, which is from Cave 6. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



Museum of Natural History in New York. Our example (White Dog Cave, A-3452) is composed of thirty slim, peeled willow twigs laid side by side to form a flat band  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide and held together by a tight, twilled over-two-under-two weave of fine string. The upper part of the cross-weaving is in human hair string, the lower of apocynum. The object is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, but is broken off at both ends so that we cannot even guess at its original length, nor at the way in which it was finished.

### NETTING AND CORDAGE

**Coiled Netting.**<sup>1</sup> A bag from White Dog Cave is our best example of this technic. It is a little apocynum string sack, 6 inches long, with rounded body and constricted neck. The stitch is very even and regular (plate 25, d); there are twelve coils to the inch and each coil has nine loops to the inch. The entire bottom of the bag is red; the neck is in natural color, encircled by narrow bands of red and brown. As there is no sign that new strings were introduced to make the changes in color, it seems probable that the entire fabric is made from a single long strand, which was stained or rubbed with pigment for the proper length whenever it was desired to produce a colored band.

**Rabbit Net.** This remarkable specimen, which, according to Dr. J. W. Fewkes, is probably the largest piece of ancient textile so far recovered in North America, is from White Dog Cave. When found it was rolled upon itself, partly wrapped in bunches of fiber, and tied into a neat bundle with yucca leaves. Undone and spread out, it proved to be a net 240 feet long, 3 feet 8 inches wide, and with meshes  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches square. It is in perfect condition and, except for a single strand which has at some time been burned through by a stray spark, is as firm and strong as the day it was made. The material is a two-ply twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), very firm and evenly twisted and about  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch in diameter. An estimate of the amount of string composing the net gives approximately 19,581 feet, or very nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Extending the length of the long edges and across the ends is a marginal cord, of stouter two-ply yucca string; the method of attaching this can be seen in plate 31. The mesh-knot is one that is

<sup>1</sup> This term has been suggested by Mr. Willoughby as a more appropriate one than Mason's "coil without foundation"; for a diagram of the weave, see Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, figure 45.

used almost universally. The entire net is of the same mesh, but there are two sections, one 9 and the other 6 feet long, in which human hair has been used with the apocynum fiber, one strand of hair twisted with one of fiber.<sup>1</sup> These sections are naturally of a darker color than the rest of the specimen. Strung on the cord of one of the meshes is a single olivella shell bead, another bears two stone beads; still another has attached to it a few downy feathers which may be seen in the plate; on a fourth is a small pink feather, and at a fifth place there is a paw of some small animal tied on with sinew.

Attached to the net when found was a carrying-strap of coarse dog or buffalo fur-string. Such a strap was no doubt needed for transporting the net, as the whole bundle weighs over twenty-eight pounds. The bunches of fiber that partly enclosed the rolled up net are of Indian hemp (the same material in its raw state as the twine); it is stripped up and tied in hanks in much the same manner as are the trade bundles of Indian hemp in the Peabody Museum collected from the Thompson Indians.

The method of using nets such as this is made clear by the following quotation from Powell:<sup>2</sup>

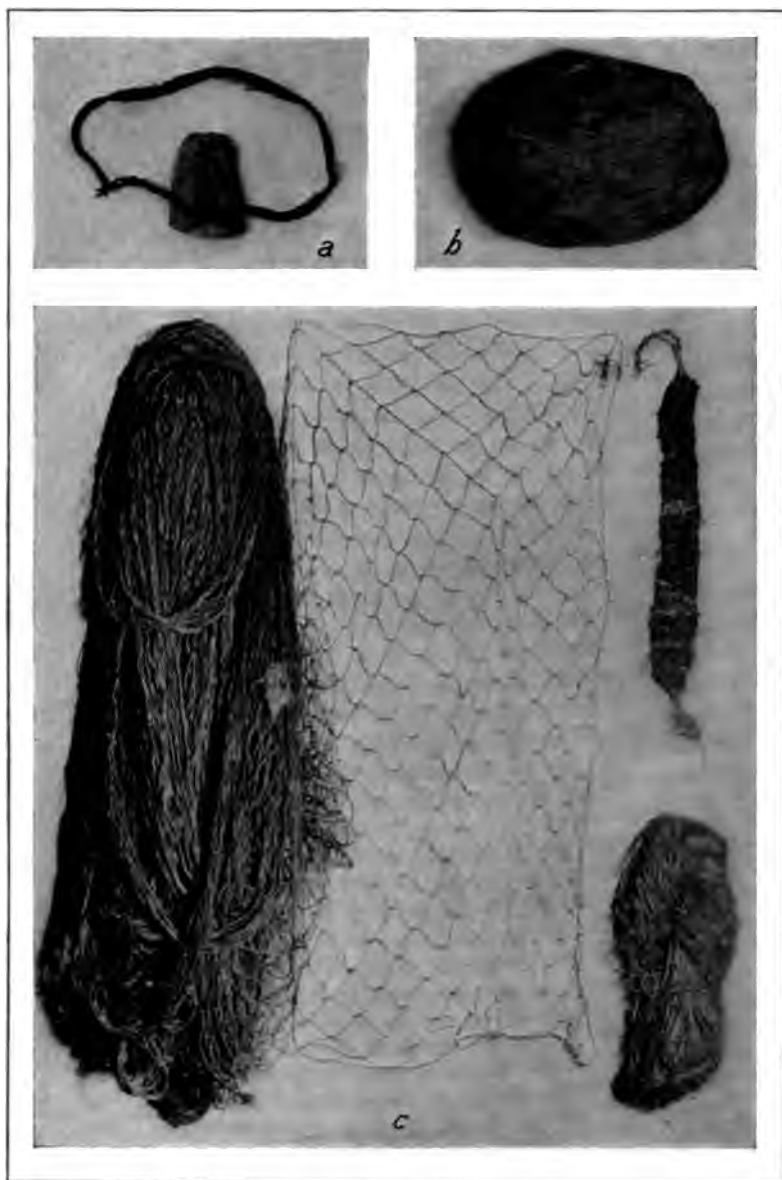
They (the Paiute) get many rabbits sometimes with arrows sometimes with nets. They make a net of twine, made of the fibers of a native flax. Sometimes this is made a hundred yards in length, and is placed in a half-circular position, with wings of sage brush. They have a circle hunt, and drive great numbers of rabbits into the snare, where they are shot with arrows.

It has occurred to us that the hair string sections, being darker than the rest, might have been intended to lure the quarry toward them, for, to a frightened animal they might appear to be openings.

Of interest because of its close similarity to the present specimen is a rabbit net in the Peabody Museum that was collected from the Paiutes about 1870 by Dr. Edward Palmer. Its length is 124 feet, width 4 feet. The mesh is practically the same, and the material is also apocynum fiber; furthermore, there are sections which appear darker than the rest of the body, though no human hair string is used. This net is provided with a number of light crotched sticks which were used to hold it upright when set. No such sticks were

<sup>1</sup> From Cave 10 came a fragment of another net of the same weave and mesh size; this piece is also made of human hair and apocynum string.

<sup>2</sup> 1875, p. 127.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, Umbilical pad; b, Gourd vessel; c, Rabbit-net, carrying-strap and bunch of fiber found with the net. (About 1/10.)





found with the specimen from White Dog Cave. In the collection from the caves of Coahuila, northern Mexico, is a fragment of netting similar to the above. Heye records a fragment of yucca rabbit net from a Diegueño cache pot.<sup>1</sup>

**Snares.** The best preserved of the three specimens of snares found in Cave 6, measures 8 feet 6 inches in length and is made from twelve strands of twisted yucca fiber, braided into a rope  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch square. At one end is a loosely tied knot, at the other a loop, 2 inches in length. This loop is not spliced or seized to the body of the rope, but is an integral part of it (plate 32, a). To accomplish this, a piece 7 inches in length was first braided with six strands, then doubled to make the loop, and the twelve strands thus brought together were braided to form the rope itself.

A second specimen made of the same material and in the same way measures 7 feet, 4 inches in length.

The third snare though made in the same way as the other two, is of a different material, probably apocynum fiber. The strands are more evenly twisted and the braiding so done as to give the finished rope a very smooth appearance. It is also more flexible than the others, and shows signs of considerable use. It was broken or cut into three sections when found. Attached to the loop of the noose is a fragment of coarse netting made of soft fiber string. Fastened to the netting at several points is a thread-like fiber string.

Tied to the noose of each of the first two specimens described is a short piece of twine, and a bit of netting made of similar twine was found loose in the cache. Attached to one end of this netting are four beads and a little pendant of a material resembling opal, very brilliant in the proper light. Of the beads, the one next to the pendant is of white stone and measures  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch in diameter, and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch thick. It is very symmetrical. Another white bead of the same material is a thin disk. The third and fourth are discoidal in shape and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch in diameter; one is made of a green stone, the other of shell, *Spondylus calcifer*.

The use of snares of this kind is not confined to any one region, but appears to have been general where game, such as deer, antelope, or mountain-sheep, was found. The Pomo Indians employ a similar contrivance, the noose, when set, filled with coarse netting.

<sup>1</sup> 1919, p. 45.

Lumholtz describes and figures a snare used by the Huichol Indians of central Mexico, which is set with a netting across the noose opening.<sup>1</sup> Waterman illustrates a Yahi deer snare of the same type as those under discussion, but without the netting.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the Cliff-dwellers also used snares, as one of a series of pictographs found near Ruin 5 by the 1914 expedition depicts a man in the act of throwing a noose over the head of a mountain-sheep.<sup>3</sup>

The netting with which the noose was filled no doubt made the trap more effective, as it could be set to cover a much wider space in the runway. The animal in pushing its way through the net would draw the noose tight about its neck.

The method of braiding a rope square is also widespread and has survived into modern times as in Navajo leather riatos. Examples are found principally in regions where the lariat is used, though the Northwest Coast tribes braid ropes in this way for their harpoons and other fishing devices, as do the Mohave for neck strings.

A running noose probably designed for a snare is the clever little device illustrated in plate 32, b. The braided loop is replaced by a short section of hollow bone, neatly cut and seized to one end of the string with sinew. This makes a very free-running noose.

### OBJECTS OF WOOD

**Atlatl or Spear-thrower.** The atlatl is a device which serves to add greater length, and therefore, greater propulsive force to the arm of the thrower in launching a spear or dart. It consists of a long, thin stick with a grip for the hand at one end, and a hook-like spur to engage the butt of the spear at the other. In throwing, the butt of the spear was placed against the spur at the end of the atlatl; its shaft lay flat along the atlatl with its point projecting in front of the user's hand; it was held in this position, probably near its middle, by the second (fore) and third fingers which passed through the loops of the atlatl on the sides of the grip. The fourth and fifth fingers were clenched upon the atlatl grip below the loops, holding it firmly against the palm and heel of the hand. The base of the thumb served to solidify this grip on the atlatl,

<sup>1</sup> Lumholtz, 1903, Vol. II, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Waterman, 1918, plate 13.

<sup>3</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plate 93, b.

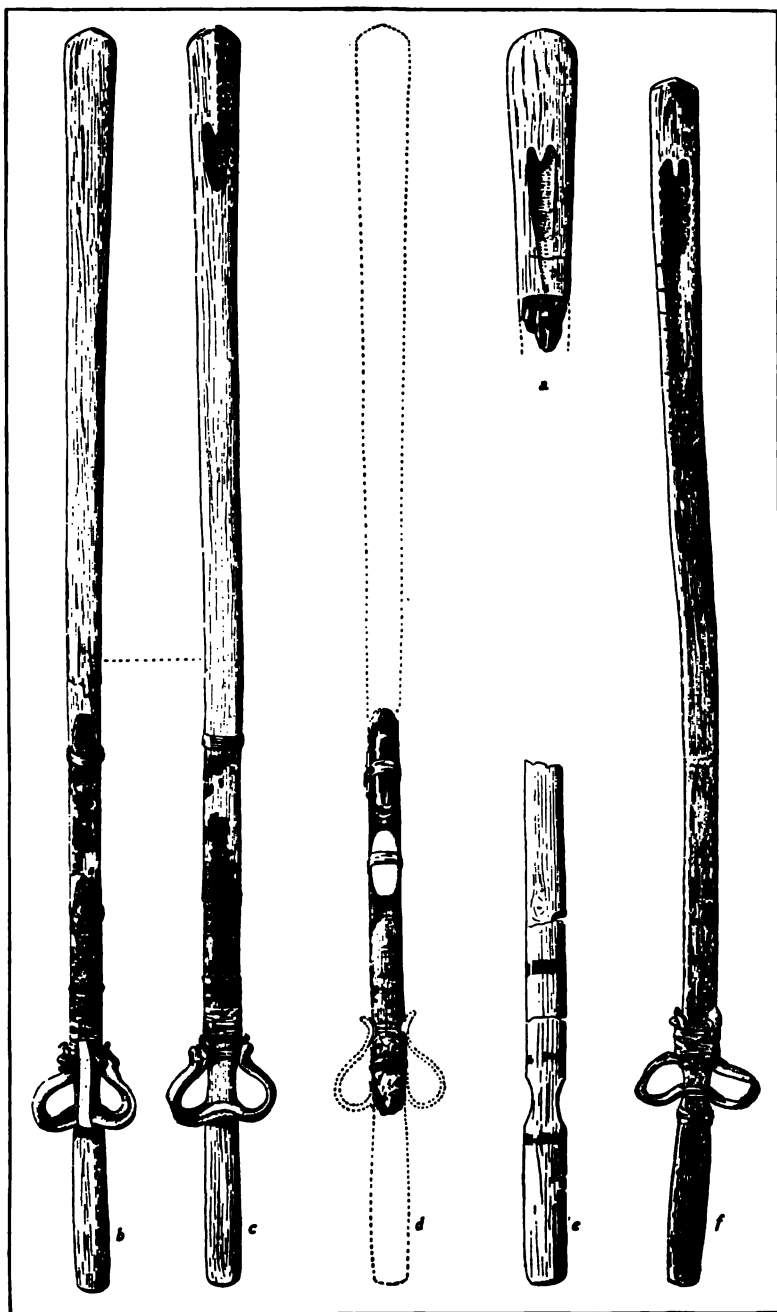


a, b, Snares showing details; c, d, e, Bunches of human hair; f, g, Skin bags.  
b, c, d, f, g, White Dog Cave; a, Cave 6; e, Cave 14. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

The second atlatl (plate 33, f) is somewhat less well-preserved, its oak shaft being checked and a little shrunken, and the finger-loops dried stiff. The lateral curve of the stick is probably due to warping. The total length is  $23\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The spur is slimmer and sharper than that of the specimen just described; and the groove, instead of being deep and short, is shallow and runs nearly 5 inches down the shaft. The finger-loops are straddled as before, over a pair of broad notches in the side of the stick; they are made by folding a buckskin strip, slitting it in the middle, and drawing it over the shaft, to which the ends are attached by a cross-binding and an over-wrapping of sinew. The slit middle part is kept from slipping backward by an annular seizing. Ten inches from the butt there may be seen on the front (illustrated) side of the weapon the print of a former ligature; on the back there is a light colored oval mark corresponding exactly in size and shape to the flat base of a chipped stone (plate 35, f) found loose in the same cist. These traces indicate, of course, that the stone was once attached to the back of the weapon.

The next atlatl to be considered is a fragmentary one, shown in plate 33, d. The part recovered is a section of the shaft  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches long extending forward from the former seat of the finger-loops. To the back is attached an elaborate series of "weights." The specimen was found, done up with other objects, in a skin container that was tucked between the outer coverings and the fur cloth robe of mummy 2, Cist 24. Both ends are bruised and rounded, indicating that the piece was used in some way, perhaps as a ceremonial object or as a fetish, for a long time after the original weapon was broken.

In size and shape the fragment differs little from corresponding parts of the atlatls described above. The side grooves under the missing finger-loops are shallower; and there are a pair of notches just forward of these, which once held the fastenings of the front ends of the loops. Of the attached "weights," the lowest is a small triangular chipped point,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches long and  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch wide; its lower side is flat, so that it fits snugly against the stick, the upper side is somewhat rounded. The sinew wrappings which hold it pass about the shallow finger notches. Two and three-quarters inches above the chipped point there is a flat oval piece of white limestone,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches long,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide, and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch thick;



WHITE DOG CAVE  
Atlatis or dart-throwers. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



it is very neatly made and is well polished. Almost touching this is a polished, loaf-shaped piece of dark green satin spar, 2 inches long. Pushed under the sinew binding that holds the latter in place is a section, 1 inch long, broken from a round skewer-like bone object, perhaps from a pin such as was used in making hair ornaments (plate 18, b). A dark, pitchy stain covers that portion of the shaft to which the objects just described are attached, and is smeared over the sinew wrappings of the two forward ones. Adhering to the stick when found were some downy feathers, but it is not certain that they had not become stuck to it accidentally.

The two remaining figures of the plate show pieces of broken atlatls. The butt fragment has two narrow notches on one side below the finger-grooves, a feature not observed in any other specimen. Ligature prints of the finger-loop attachments, and also of a "weight" binding may be seen. The broken distal end is the heaviest and broadest one in the collection; it measures  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches across; the groove is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches long.

**Darts.** The darts cast with the aid of the atlatl consisted normally of two parts: a long main-shaft, feathered at the proximal or butt end; and a short foreshaft set into the tip or distal end of the main-shaft. Heretofore there has been little accurate knowledge as to the main-shafts, the material recovered having been very fragmentary. The expedition of 1916, however, yielded three nearly perfect specimens, as well as a number of less complete ones, from which additional details can be learned. These were all found with burials, and had, on account of their length, been broken before being placed in the cists.

The three entire shafts referred to above were in halves when discovered; mended they measure exclusive of foreshafts,  $52\frac{1}{2}$ , 55, and  $55\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The tips or distal ends are the heaviest parts averaging  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in thickness; from this maximum diameter there is a gradual taper to the butts or proximal ends, which average  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch through. They are made of straight, slender branches of some light wood with a small pithy heart; the bark has been carefully removed, the twigs trimmed close, and in some cases the knots have been further eliminated by rubbing. The large ends of some shafts have a very slight terminal taper (plate 34, h), and the edges of the butts are rounded. One specimen has marks on



its surface such as might have been caused by using a shaft-straightener of the wrench type.<sup>1</sup>

In the distal or large end of the shaft is drilled a cone-shaped hole  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in diameter at the mouth and 1 inch to 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches in depth; into this socket was fitted the butt of the foreshaft as in j. In order to prevent the socket from being split open when the foreshaft was driven back into it on impact, it is reinforced by outer ferrule-like wrappings of stout flat sinew as shown in the drawing. The proximal or butt end of the main-shaft is provided with a shallow cup, b, to engage the spur of the throwing stick, and here again there is sometimes applied a band of sinew to prevent splitting.

The method of winging the shafts can be accurately reconstructed from the material at hand. As shown in a, b, three feathers possibly somewhat trimmed, but with unsplit quills, were laid along the shaft and seized to it at both ends with flat sinew.<sup>2</sup> The average length of the feathers on five specimens is 7  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches; the average distance from the end of the feathering to the butt is 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The feathers themselves were prepared for attachment as follows: the end of the quill was cut off and into its hollow body there was introduced a tight fitting plug, 1 inch to 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, either of wood or of the sharp, hard tip of a yucca leaf. The end of the quill was further solidified by wrapping it about with sinew. Both these features are illustrated in b.<sup>3</sup> Heavy flat seizing of sinew secures the thus prepared lower end of the feather to the shaft; the light tip end has no extra strengthening and is merely bound to the shaft with a few turns of thin sinew. The purpose of this careful plugging and binding of the quill was undoubtedly to render it so firm and solid that it could be tightly bound to the shaft at exactly the correct angle; an unplugged quill would have been crushed by the ligatures, and the feather

<sup>1</sup> Though not uncommon in cliff-dwellings, we have found no such implement among Basket-maker remains. The Cliff-dweller wrenches are made of mountain-sheep horn, are 9 to 10 inches long, and have a hole, or a series of holes of different sizes, in one end; through these the shaft was drawn and then straightened by leverage on the other end (see Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plate 46, a, e). See also Hough, 1919, plate 46, figure 4.

<sup>2</sup> We are now able to rectify an error in our previous report. In our restoration of the feathering of atlatl darts there given (figure 89) we were misled by the presence of some extra seizing bands not really connected with the feathering, and postulated a triple attachment like that on lower Yukon shafts. This is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> Although we have not seen the specimens, we think it likely that the loose ends of cords bound under the seizing of the feathers on darts described by Pepper (1905, p. 121) represent the remains of feather-butt reinforcements similar to those just described.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, b, d, Lower portion of darts showing method of feathering; c, Point of dart; e, Upper portion of dart showing bunt-head; h, Upper portion of shaft showing socket for forehaft; f, g, i, Foreshafts with chipped stone points; j, Forehaft in position, and upper portion of shaft. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



would not have held rigidly to its intended position. The arrangement just described is, as far as we know, unique in shaft feathering, but is found in the feather hair ornaments of the Mohave (P. M. catalogue number 10091).

So little of the pile of the feathers has resisted decay and the ravages of insects that it is impossible to identify the species of birds from which they were obtained. Plumes of corresponding length and weight, tied into bundles and perhaps intended for the winging of darts, were found in Cave 1, Kinboko, in 1915 (Kidder-Guernsey 1919, plate 81; a, b); these belonged to Hutchin's (?) wild goose (*Branta canadensis hutchinsi*) and the western red-tailed hawk (*Buteo borealis calurus*).

A non-functional feature of the main-shafts remains to be described, namely, decoration. All the darts are painted or stained on the shaftment under the feathering, and also for a short distance back from the socket end; some, we judge from fragments, were colored their entire length. The most elaborately decorated shaftment (plate 34, a) is painted black with a spiral line of red; a second (d) was painted black over a temporary wrapping, which when removed left a spiral ornament in the light natural color of the wood. Another, on which the paint shows but faintly, seems to bear four broad longitudinal lines separated from each other by narrow stripes of natural surface. Most of the socket ends were painted black as shown in h, two, however, are red; and one socket end 25 inches long is stained black for 15 inches, thence to the break it is light red.

In the collection are a few broken main-shafts that have been put to secondary uses. The flint-flaker shown in figure 15, b, c, is mounted on such a fragment; another piece, from the butt-end of a dart, was whittled to a sharp point and served as a skewer-like pin for fastening together the wrappings of a mummy.

Foreshafts, complete with points, are represented by five perfect specimens from White Dog Cave. All of these are tapered at one end to fit into the socket of the spear shaft, and are notched at the other to provide a seat for the stone tip. The one shown in i, plate 34, formed part of a bundle resting in the lap of a mummy in Cist 31; it is the largest in the collection.<sup>1</sup> It is made from a peeled stick unworked except at the ends. The point is of red

<sup>1</sup> See table of measurements at end of description.

jasper and is secured to the stick by a seizing of heavy sinew. The one illustrated in f, found near the right hand of mummy 2, Cist 27, is slightly tapered at the notched end. The red jasper point is firmly wedged in the notch; the sinew bindings were in place when the specimen was found, but crumbled away on exposure to the air. Specimens g, and j, lay at the foot of mummy 1, Cist 24. The latter is flattened on either side at the notched end; its head is of yellow jasper and is secured to the shaft by a neat seizing of fine flat sinew applied very tightly. The body of the shaft is painted with a thin grey wash; at the notched end on either side are daubs of thick dark red paint put on over the wrappings and also discoloring the base of the chipped point. The head of g, is worked from a thin spall of dark flint, the original surface of the flake showing on one side. It is fastened to the shaft with flat sinew. The shaft itself is colored with dark red paint which ends where the taper begins, showing that it was tinted after it had been inserted in the main-shaft of the dart.

#### MEASUREMENTS OF FORESHAFTS IN INCHES

	A	B	C	D
Total length .....	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Length of shaft .....	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Diameter of shaft .....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Length of head .....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Width of head at base .....	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$

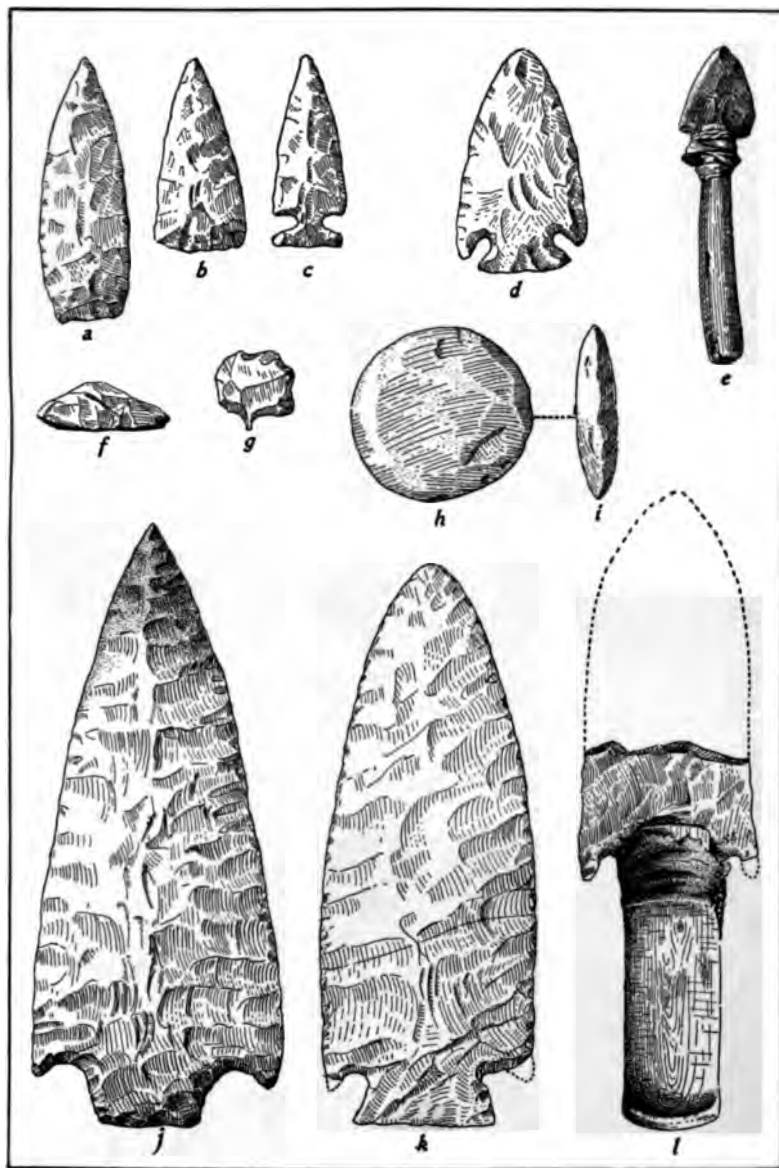
Comparing these with the dimensions of foreshafts from south-eastern Utah given by Pepper (1905, p. 127), it will be seen that the latter average considerably larger.

On plate 34, e, is shown a wooden bunt head tightly wedged into the socket of the main-shaft, beyond the end of which it protrudes for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The rounded end is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in diameter. It is roughly finished and is much like a specimen figured in our first report, which we thought might possibly be a bunt head for an atlatl dart.<sup>1</sup>

Pepper,<sup>2</sup> illustrates several foreshafts with bunt heads of bone fitted down over them. Nothing of this sort is in the collection, but there is a main-shaft, c, whose distal end, instead of being provided with the usual socket, is brought to a plain tapering point.

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernesey, 1919, figure 92 and p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> 1905, plate III.



a, b, Unfinished foreshaft points; c, Foreshaft point; d, Chipped knife blade; e, Hafted pipe-drill; f, Chipped atlatl stone; g, Chipped flint graver; h, i, Unfinished flint disc; j, k, Chipped knife blades; l, Flint knife (blade broken). a, f, h, i, j, k, l, White Dog Cave; b, c, d, g, Burial cave, Sayodneechee Canyon; e, Cave 6. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



It is possible that a bone head was slipped on over this, and the foreshaft dispensed with.

**Dart Points.**<sup>1</sup> All the chipped atlatl dart heads which were found attached to foreshafts were of the tanged variety. From a skeleton in Sayodnecchee Cave (1914), however, and in a little skin sack from Cist 6, White Dog Cave, were recovered a number of points similar in size and shape to the tanged specimens but with unnotched bases (plate 35, a, b). We believe these are dart heads completed up to the final step of flaking out the deep notches on the lower sides, a step deferred until just before mounting them in the foreshafts, because of the danger in an unmounted condition of breakage of the long and delicate flanges. Almost all our finished points are notched at right angles to their long axes, the notches having a depth equal to about one-third of the total width of the base. The notches of the large chipped knives, on the other hand, instead of being set at right angles to the long axes of the specimens, run in at an acute angle (compare the specimens illustrated in the two plates, 34 and 35).

**Atlatl Stones.** On plate 35, f, is illustrated a chipped object thought to have been originally fastened to the back of the atlatl shown in f, plate 33, which was found in the same cist with it (Cist 24, White Dog Cave). The material is translucent quartz; in shape it resembles a diminutive "turtle-back" with one flat surface. On the upper, or convex, side are faint marks that appear to have been made by wrappings.

Four small loaf-shaped stones were taken from the bottom of Cist 27. Though somewhat smaller than those fastened to atlatls b and d, plate 33, they are of about the same shape and were without much doubt atlatl stones. Each of them has one side flattened to fit snugly against the atlatl shaft. Three are made of a green stone somewhat the color of, but less hard than, jade; the surface of one is polished, the other two are roughened as if by some chemical action, but retain traces of an original polish. The fourth stone (plate 17, f, g) has rather more pointed ends and differs further from the others in having a deep concavity cut in the under side; it is made from an unidentified fossil and the surface is unpolished.

<sup>1</sup> These and the following specimens (atlatl stones) are treated here, rather than under their proper place among the stone objects, because they are really integral parts of the atlatl.

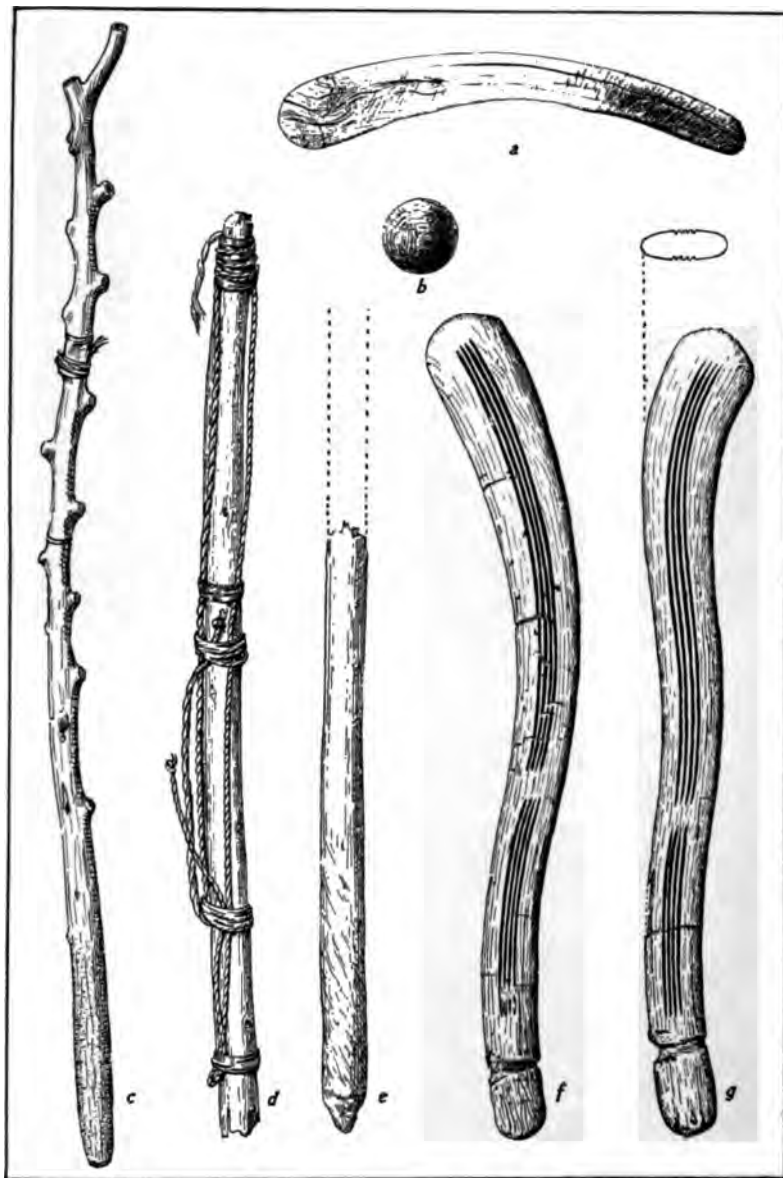


Another specimen is perhaps an unfinished atlatl stone; parts of its surface show chipping, others grinding. The material is the same as in the group of three described above.

**Grooved Clubs.** On plate 36, f, g, are shown two of these objects. The collection contains four complete specimens and one fragment. The former are from burial cists in White Dog Cave, and the fragment is from a looted and partly burned-out burial cist in Cave 6. The best preserved of these is one of a pair found with the mummy of an adult male in Cist 27. It is  $20\frac{1}{4}$  inches in length, 2 inches wide at the broad end, and tapers to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width at the small end; the average thickness is  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch. The warping of the stick may be partly accidental as it will be noted that the two specimens figured are not bent in the same direction. The edges and broad surfaces are rounded (see cross-section of the one illustrated in g). On each side are four deep parallel longitudinal grooves 17 inches long, with a break at one point as shown in the drawing. These grooves are neatly made, evenly spaced, V-shaped cuts. Two inches from the small end the club is ringed by a deep groove, set at a slight angle and widened at one edge to a broad curved notch; in the groove are traces of cord or sinew wrapping. A cement-like substance, thickest about the edge of the notch, still adheres to one side of the stick, and seems to have been put on over the wrappings. It is possible that the groove and notch may represent a seat for a wrist cord. There are two other much shallower encircling grooves, one 4 inches, the other  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches from the small end; in these also are marks of wrappings. All surfaces of the club show careful finish, but no traces of paint, the only color being a thin red line in one of the grooves which is probably a print from a wrapping cord. The edges and ends of the stick are not bruised or battered. Because of age and partial decay the club now weighs but  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ounces, but an undecayed fragment from Cave 6 shows the original wood to have been dense and heavy.

The foregoing description will answer for all the clubs in the collection, as they show little individual variation. While we can assign no specific use to these objects, we do not think they are rabbit-sticks such as those used among the Pueblo tribes.<sup>1</sup> Most of the latter differ from these in some details, particularly the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. C. Willoughby has suggested that they may have been used to ward off spears after the manner in which the natives of one of the Solomon Islands use an odd-shaped club for fending off spears, and also as a weapon of defense.



a, Wooden implement; b, Wooden gaming ball; c, Ceremonial stick; d, e, Opposite ends of wooden device; f, g, Grooved clubs accompanying atlatls. All from White Dog Cave except a, which is from Cave 14. (b, about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; a, c-g, about  $\frac{1}{5}$ .)



familiar type used by the Hopi, which in addition to having a hand grip cut at one end, is as a rule decorated by a painting with a prescribed design, one element of which is a pair of black markings symbolizing rabbit ears or rabbit feet. An ungrooved rabbit-stick, 6 inches longer than our grooved clubs but somewhat resembling them in shape, is in the Peabody Museum. It was collected by Dr. Edward Palmer in 1875 from the Diegueño Indians and is catalogued as a "boomerang." Clubs identical with our specimens were found in a pit-shrine near Laguna, New Mexico, by Mrs. Parsons,<sup>1</sup> and Hough figures one from a cave near Lava, New Mexico.<sup>2</sup> In the Peabody Museum are fragments of two grooved clubs from Yucatan which differ from ours only in that the broad surfaces and the edges are flat instead of rounded, and that there are a greater number of the parallel grooves. The sculptures of Chichen Itza frequently depict these clubs, usually in the hands of warriors who also carry atlatls and atlatl spears. One is figured most realistically on the sculptured top of an altar in the outer chamber or vestibule of the Temple of the Tigers, where it is shown in the left hand of a warrior, who bears as well an atlatl and sheaf of spears.

In company with all the grooved clubs noted either atlatls or some adjunct of the atlatl were found. The significance of this is two-fold; first, that it aids in establishing the identity of the Laguna pit-shrine and Lava cave specimens as Basket-maker; second, that it shows these clubs to be a distinct type used by a people who also used the atlatl. That the Laguna clubs were found with other offerings most of which were feather sticks of relatively recent make does not, to our minds, affect the question of their antiquity; the probable explanation of their presence in the shrine being that they were found in a Basket-maker cave by some Pueblo Indian who regarded them as appropriate offerings for the same reason that ancient arrow points are still prized by the Pueblos as fetishes. This seems all the more likely as the Zuni are said by Mr. Cushing to have recovered baskets from prehistoric deposits.<sup>3</sup>

**Planting Sticks.** In plate 37 is a series of planting sticks: numbers a, c, d, and g were found in Cist 24, White Dog Cave; e and f are from Cave 9.

The one shown in g, we regard as a type specimen of Basket-maker planting stick; it is 45 inches in length and is made from a

<sup>1</sup> Parsons, 1918, figures 36, 38, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Hough, 1914, p. 19, figure 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 267.

root of some hardwood tree, possibly oak. The whole surface has been smoothed by grinding, but very little altered in shape. The smoothing process has removed all bark except that in the deep depressions such as occur in roots. One end has been worked down to a thin blade having a rounded point and one sharp edge. The blade is 2 inches in width and begins 17 inches from the end of the stick. It has a smooth, almost polished surface. The crook at the proximal end is natural, but it gives the implement a nice balance when held in position for use. This specimen shows long service.

The sticks represented in e, f, differ but little from the one just described. Both are made from roots; f, is 42½ inches in length and has a very thin blade with one sharp edge; e, is 32 inches in length with a blade 2½ inches wide, sharp on the end and curved edge.

The Cliff-dweller planting sticks which correspond to these in form are much lighter in weight with thinner blades, and nearly straight, carefully shaped handles that normally terminate in round knobs.<sup>1</sup>

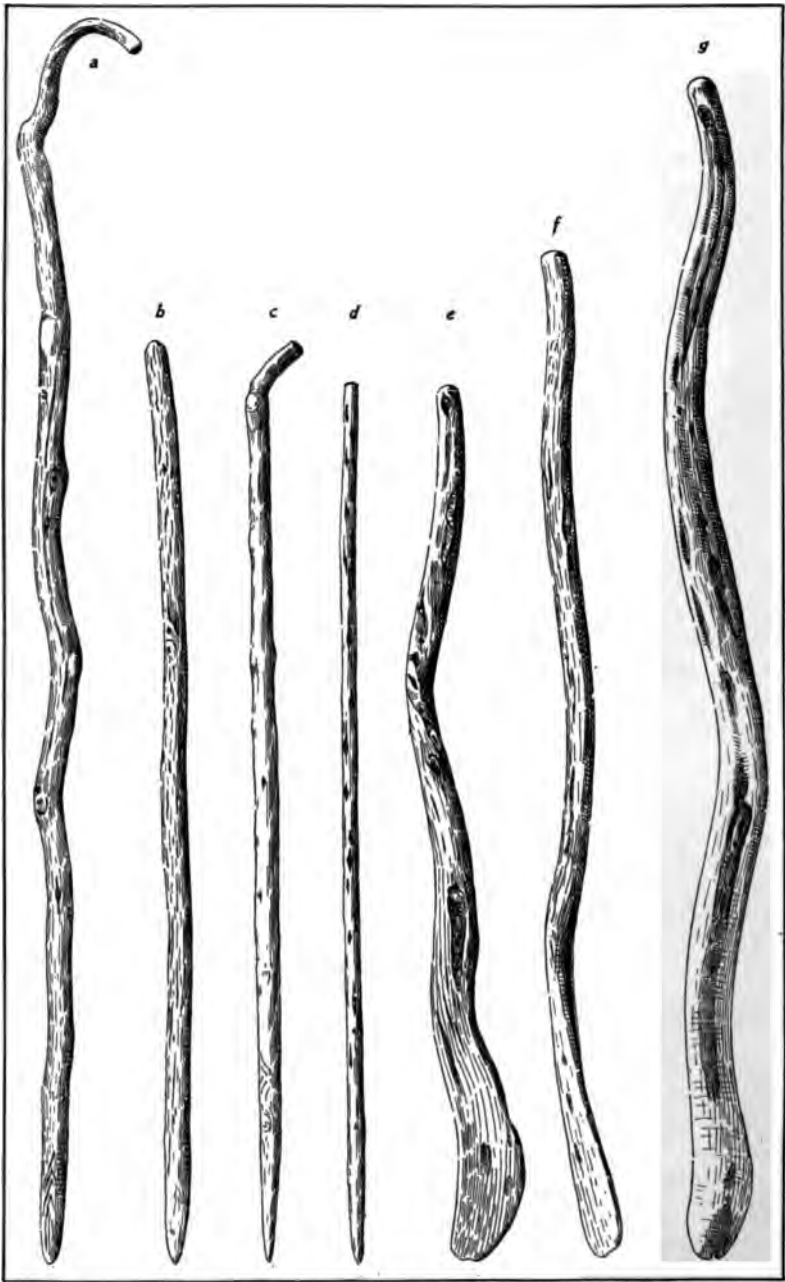
The one figured in a, found with mummy 1 in Cist 24, is of a different type, having a plain flattened point instead of a thin-edged blade; it is 49 inches in length and averages ⅞ of an inch in diameter. One end is worked down to a flat point, the other end has an artificial crook. It is made from a peeled limb of some hard wood. Knots are rubbed down and smoothed. This stick is dark in color and polished for its entire length by handling and wear.

The specimen shown in b, from Cist 6, White Dog Cave, is made from a heavy greasewood stick; it has a flattened point like the one just described. Simple sticks of this nature are also common in cliff-dwellings, and are used today by the Navajo.

The implement, c, is made from a rather light wood and has a neatly tapered point; the crook at the small end is partly natural; d is 32 inches long and is made of a slender greasewood stick; it has a long finely tapering point. The entire length of the implement has been smoothed and rounded. The point is slightly polished.

**Scoop-like Objects.** Wooden objects similar to those represented on plate 38, g, h, i, were found so regularly in Basket-maker

<sup>1</sup> See Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plate 47, d, e; the stick shown in plate 47, c, we now think is probably Basket-maker. It was found with a disturbed burial in a small cave in Sagi Canyon.



Planting sticks. All from White Dog Cave with the exception of *e* and *f*, which are from Cave 7. (About 1/7.)



caves that we came to regard their discovery in the preliminary examination of a site as an indication that other traces of Basket-maker occupancy would be found. For this reason they are given a more detailed description than their commonplace appearance might seem to warrant. All of them have very much the same general form as those illustrated; this seems due to selection rather than to shaping as they are simply wooden slabs from small logs, the outer or convex surface natural, the inner side and ends usually charred by fire. From this and their appearance as a whole, we judge that they were merely unconsumed pieces of firewood, selected, as before stated, on account of their shape. A few, however, show no burning, being shells of wood rifted from the outer part of a timber, then ground at the ends to the required length.

One unvarying feature of these objects is their worn and rounded edges; we once used a similar piece of wood to scrape the loose sand from a cist and found that the edges soon became worn in the same way; for this reason we are inclined to think they were employed principally for digging cists. They were, no doubt, found useful for other purposes, as one in the collection has a quantity of caked yellow pigment adhering to its concave side. Apparently it had been used as a palette. Such slabs might also have served as rude food trays, and possibly for beating and shredding grass, a guess that we hazarded in our first report. Still another possible function for these objects might have been transferring hot stones from the fire to cooking baskets, in which case they may have been used in pairs. Though all those found were not saved the collection contains nineteen pieces ranging in size from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and 3 inches wide to  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and 6 inches wide, the average dimensions being 7 inches long and 4 wide, a convenient size to use in the hand.

Hough figures "a shell of wood" from Tularosa cave which resembles the implements just described;<sup>1</sup> while another from the Mesa Verde apparently identical with ours is figured by Morris.<sup>2</sup>

**Curved Wooden Tools.** Our two specimens are so closely similar to each other that it is probable they represent a definite type. The better preserved example (plate 36, a) is a piece of very hard, close-grained wood, 12 inches long. Its pronounced curve is apparently natural, but all its surfaces have been worked down by

<sup>1</sup> Hough, 1914, plate 14, figure 2.

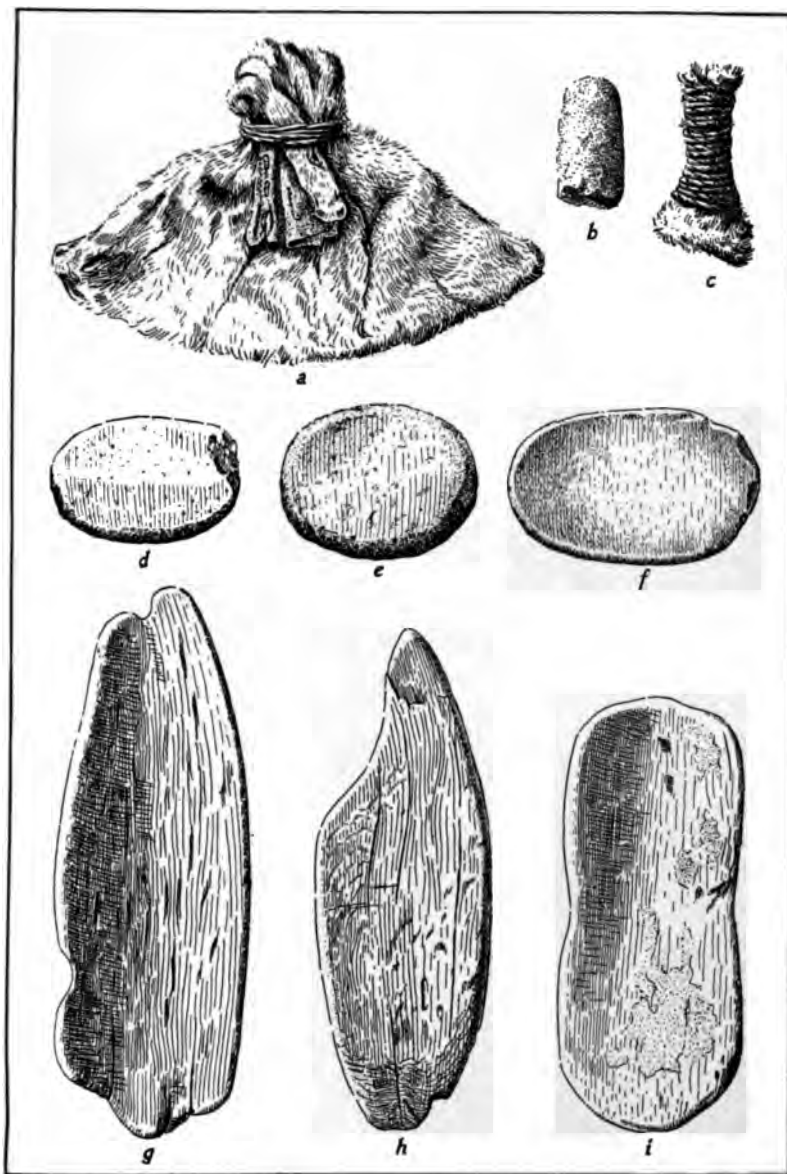
<sup>2</sup> Morris, 1919, a; plate 44, a.



whittling or scraping. One end is almost round, the other much thinner. The middle part of the concave side is worn to a slim rounded edge and is highly polished by long use. The two ends are stained dark by much handling. The object was obviously held by the ends and worked toward the body like a modern draw-knife. The unscratched condition and high polish of the concave edge shows that it must have been used on some non-abrasive substance. Its curve fits the thigh so well that we have thought the implement might have been employed in some way for dressing or suppling hides held over the knee.

The second specimen, though a trifle longer, is of the same shape and bears the same polish on the inner edge.

**Other Objects of Wood.** On plate 41, a, is illustrated a pair of slim worked twigs,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in diameter. The two are held together by a string tied in little grooves that encircle their lower ends; this is evidently a permanent attachment but it is loose enough to allow the two sticks to be spread apart. An adjustable tie was evidently used at the upper end, for there only one twig is grooved and the other has a small hole drilled through it. A string is made fast to the grooved stick; its loose end was undoubtedly passed through the hole, pulled tight and made fast when it was desired to close the pair together and hold them in place. A number of similar objects are in the Grand Gulch collection in the American Museum, New York (H-13180 and H-13267); these sticks are also tied permanently together at their lower ends, and have a loose-ended string set in a groove at the upper end of one of them. The other stick, in each of the New York pairs, has a little string loop instead of the drilled eye of the example here illustrated. All these specimens were evidently designed to be clamped over and made fast about objects 6 or 7 inches wide and not over  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch thick. As to what such objects might have been we are entirely ignorant. A wooden awl about 6 inches long, made from a peeled greasewood stick, was found; the butt is cut off square and the other end is whittled to a sharp point. For a variety of other specimens made wholly or in part of wood, see under "Ceremonial Objects."



a, b, c, Skin bag and contents; d, e, f, Manos or grinding stones; g, h, i, Wooden scoops.  
 a, b, c, Cave 14; d-i, White Dog Cave. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



## OBJECTS OF STONE

**Manos.** These are intimately related to the domestic life of corn-growing Indians, and in a measure furnish an index to their progress as agriculturists. The manos of the more highly developed tribes, such as the Pueblos, show a tendency towards specialized forms; while those used by people of less firmly established corn-eating habits are as a rule stones of convenient shape with little or no alteration of the original form other than that due to wear. Basket-maker manos belong to the latter class. Three typical examples from White Dog Cave are reproduced in plate 38, d, e, f.

The latter is  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches long,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick. It is made from a thin slab of indurated sandstone the edges roughly worked down to give the implement an oval shape. Only one surface shows use, this is ground nearly flat. The one figured in d, is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick; it is a hard lava-like stone of natural shape. One side is much worn and has a convex surface; a small area of the top also shows signs of use. That shown in e, is slightly larger than the last and of the same material. The form shows slight modification and both sides are about equally worn.

In addition to the above specimens, there is in the collection half a mano of soft sandstone with edges pecked and ground to give it an oval shape. Both sides are much worn; one shows traces of a dark red, the other of a yellow color, presumably evidences of secondary use as a paint grinder. Another stone of about the same size but which is probably not a mano, is a rounded river boulder  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. A portion of either side bears a high polish quite different from the rough surface produced by grinding on a metate. This polish is obviously the result of long rubbing on a non-abrasive surface; work on hides or use in hulling seeds in a basket may be suggested.

**Metate.** A single broken specimen was found. Like the manos it is of a crude and unspecialized type, being merely a flat slab unmodified except for a hollow on one side, the width of which is the same as the length of the manos.

**Chipped Knife Blades.** One of these specimens (plate 35, j) was found at the right hand of mummy 2, Cist 27, White Dog Cave.

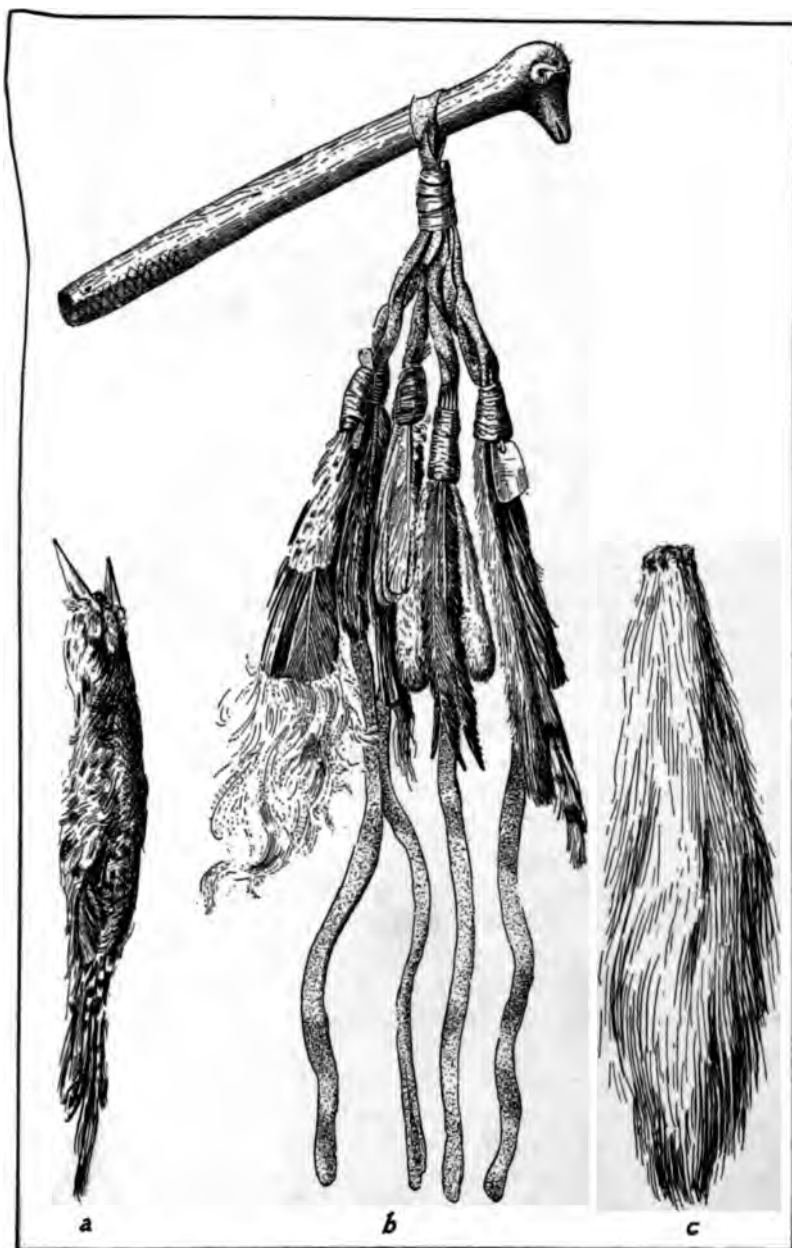
Its length is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, its greatest width is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the average thickness is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch. The material is a mottled yellow flint. The point for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches is a dark red which seems due to staining rather than being the natural color of the stone. It was reduced to an even thinness by the chipping off at regular intervals of long broad flakes, at so obtuse an angle that no central ridge is left, the face of the blade being slightly convex instead of angular. The cutting edge is keen, the result of fine secondary chipping. The stem is tapered to a wedge-shaped base.

The blade shown in k was found with mummy 3, Cist 22. It had been broken in two pieces before burial; the halves lay at a little distance from each other and one of them was discolored by some agency to which the other was not exposed. This blade measures  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width, and averages slightly under  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch in thickness. The material is chalcedony. It differs but little from the first specimen, except that the end is rounded and shows signs of an attempt to grind away a slight protuberance that had resisted the original chipping. On the base of the blade are traces of the gum that once served to cement it to its haft. The latter was also found in the cist; and although it is badly rotted and shrunken, its notch still fits the blade. In shape it is a duplicate of the haft next to be described.

The workmanship of these two knives compares very favorably with that of similar implements from other parts of North America. In shape and general appearance they most closely resemble the large chipped knives of Mexico and Central America.

**Hafted Knife.** The specimen shown in plate 35, l, is from Cist 6, White Dog Cave. The blade, part of which is unfortunately missing, was probably once  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 inches long; it is 2 inches wide at the base and has a thickness of  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. The material is a close-grained white stone. The chipping of the portion that remains is rather coarse, though the notches and barbs show skillful flaking.

The wooden handle measures  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, a fraction over 1 inch in width, and has an average thickness of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch. The lower end thickens considerably to allow for a notch  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch deep into which the blade is set and there held in place with cement-like gum reinforced by a small wooden wedge and wrappings of pitch-smear string. The handle is well-preserved and shows careful finish; it appears to have been made from a section of a small



WHITE DOG CAVE

Ceremonial objects: a, Stuffed bird skin; b, Wand; c, Deer tail. (About 3/5.)



limb worked down to shape by cutting away two surfaces; both the wide sides thus produced are slightly convex, while the edges are nearly flat. At the butt the handle curves and terminates in a neatly finished end, the peculiar form of which is duplicated in two other less well-preserved specimens; one of them is the handle of the large chipped blade, k, previously described. This type of butt may represent an individual whim, or it may perhaps prove to be a characteristic of Basket-maker hafts. There are a number of stone knives with plain handles from this general region in the collections of various museums; some or all of these may be Basket-maker, but unfortunately the data accompanying them leave doubt as to their exact origin. What are, however, surely Cliff-dweller hafts from Aztec, New Mexico, are described and figured by Morris,<sup>1</sup> and one from the Mesa Verde is illustrated by Nordenskiöld.<sup>2</sup> Hoffman figures two modern Ute knives with plain handles.<sup>3</sup>

**Pipe Drill.** The chipped point shown in plate 35, e, is apparently an old darthead remounted in its present handle. It is of very hard, lustrous flint,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch in breadth at the base. Both edges are much worn down and beveled by long-continued boring, the plane of the bevels indicating clockwise rotation. The handle is a stick  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch thick, having one end rounded, and the other notched to provide a seat for the chipped point, which is held in place by a seizing of fiber string.

The wear on the point indicates clearly that this specimen was used as a drill, and the nature of the haft confirms this. Held in position for boring, the haft is found to be just the right length to bear against the palm of the hand at the base of the index finger; in this position the drill can be easily turned by the index and third fingers and the thumb, while pressure can be applied to the butt by the palm. The chipped point exactly fits the bores of the Basket-maker stub pipes.

No pipes were found in 1916-1917, but type examples are shown in figure 94, a, b, c, of our previous report.

**Graver.** A tiny stone tool, evidently designed for scratching fine lines on wood or bone, is illustrated in plate 35, g. It is an irregularly shaped jasper flake, less than an inch in diameter, and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch thick; the top is convex; the lower side is flat at one

<sup>1</sup> 1919, p. 33 and figures 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> 1893, p. 97, figure 59.

<sup>3</sup> 1896, figures 52, 53.



place where a small and very sharp point has been carefully chipped out. Such an implement as this must have been used to incise the clean-cut parallel lines seen on the curved wooden clubs figured on plate 36, f, g.

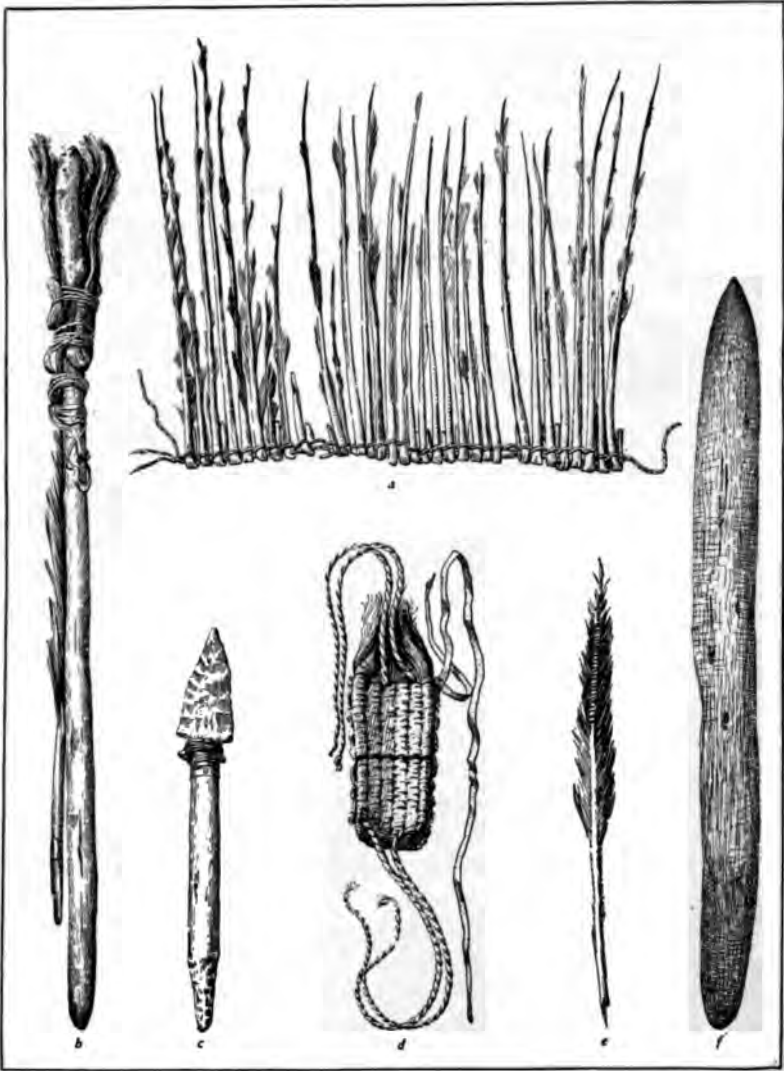
**Flaking Tool.** This implement (figure 15) from plundered Cist 6, White Dog Cave, is included here because of its intimate connection with stone chipping. So far as we know it is the only complete example of a prehistoric flaker of its type that has yet been found. It consists of an antler or very hard bone point mounted on a wooden shaft in the manner indicated in the drawing, which also shows more clearly than a description the shape of the point itself. The length of the latter is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches, of which  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch projects beyond the end of the shaft; the width appears to be uniformly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch. The projecting portion tapers to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch at the extreme end. The shaft is a piece of an old atlatl spear shaft 35 inches long. The bone point is bound to the smaller end of this by seizings of skin overwrapped with sinew. The larger end is worked to a rounded point, for the purpose, perhaps, of allowing it to be easily thrust into the sand to hold it upright while the workman was using other tools. In the middle are a number of turns of a wide thong of skin wound spirally about the shaft and running towards the working end. These are applied in two layers, one above the other; at the distal end they are held in place by a binding of sinew and there are signs that they once extended farther down the shaft than they do at present. These wrappings were probably cut from hide with the hair on it, although the fur has now almost entirely disappeared; their purpose will be discussed later.

There is no doubt that this implement was used as a stone-flaker. Pope figures a Yurok bone pointed arrow-flaker with a shaft  $17\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, which is very similar to this specimen.<sup>1</sup> Rau illustrates another from Nevada which he describes as a slender blunt point of horn bound with cotton cord to a wooden handle about the thickness of an arrow shaft. According to the drawing the length of the latter is  $29\frac{1}{4}$  inches.<sup>2</sup> Cushing gives a sketch of an arrowmaker using a long-hafted flaker, but provides no information as to the data on which the drawing is based, though he briefly describes the way the implement is used.<sup>3</sup> The following

<sup>1</sup> 1918, plate 27.

<sup>2</sup> 1876, p. 96, and figure 340.

<sup>3</sup> 1895, figure 6.



WHITE DOG CAVE

Objects forming bundle from lap of mummy (plate 7, b), Cist 31. (About 1/2.)



is Schumacher's description of the Klamath method of flaking: "The tool is worked with the right hand, while the lower part of the handle, usually ornamented, is held between the arm and the body so as to guide the instrument with a steady hand."<sup>1</sup> The foregoing makes clear the advantage of the long shaft, but does not point out the fact that the weight of the body can, by means of it, be brought to assist the pressure of the hand.

We can find no reference to padding of that part of the shaft that is held between the arm and body; such was undoubtedly

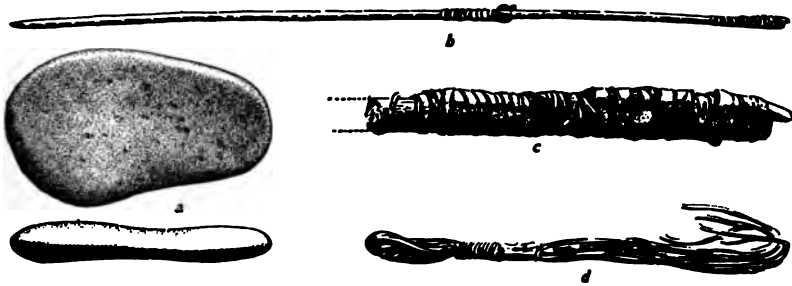


FIGURE 15

a, Flaking stone; b, Arrow-flaker of antler in wooden haft, much reduced in size; c, End of arrow-flaker; d, Package of sinew cord. All from White Dog Cave. (About  $\frac{1}{2}$ , with the exception of b.)

the purpose of the central hide wrappings on our specimen. A soft furry padding of this sort must have contributed greatly to the comfort of the user, particularly if his arm and body were not protected by clothing; and it probably helped also to secure a firmer grip than would be offered by the bare shaft.

**Flaking Stone.** The specimen shown in a, figure 15, is a small flat unworked stone, oval in outline,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick. It is much like certain stones obtained in the Museum's explorations of ancient burial places in Erie County, New York, which were invariably accompanied by bone flaking implements as well as finished and unfinished chipped points and knives. The Museum collection also contains similar stones from Madisonville, Ohio,<sup>2</sup> and eastern Massachusetts. Mr. Willoughby has identified these stones as forming part of the flint worker's equipment. The stones from New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts are marked with scorings which are not present on this specimen;

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Holmes, 1919, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> See Hooton and Willoughby, 1920, plate 6, 1, m.

our tentative identification of this as a flaking stone is strengthened by the fact that it was found among the partly rifled contents of Cist 6 which also held the hafted flaking tool described above, as well as a small skin bag containing two nearly finished points, a number of flakes of flint and various colored jasper, a combination of objects exactly duplicating those found in the New York graves.

#### OBJECTS OF CLAY, BONE, ETC.

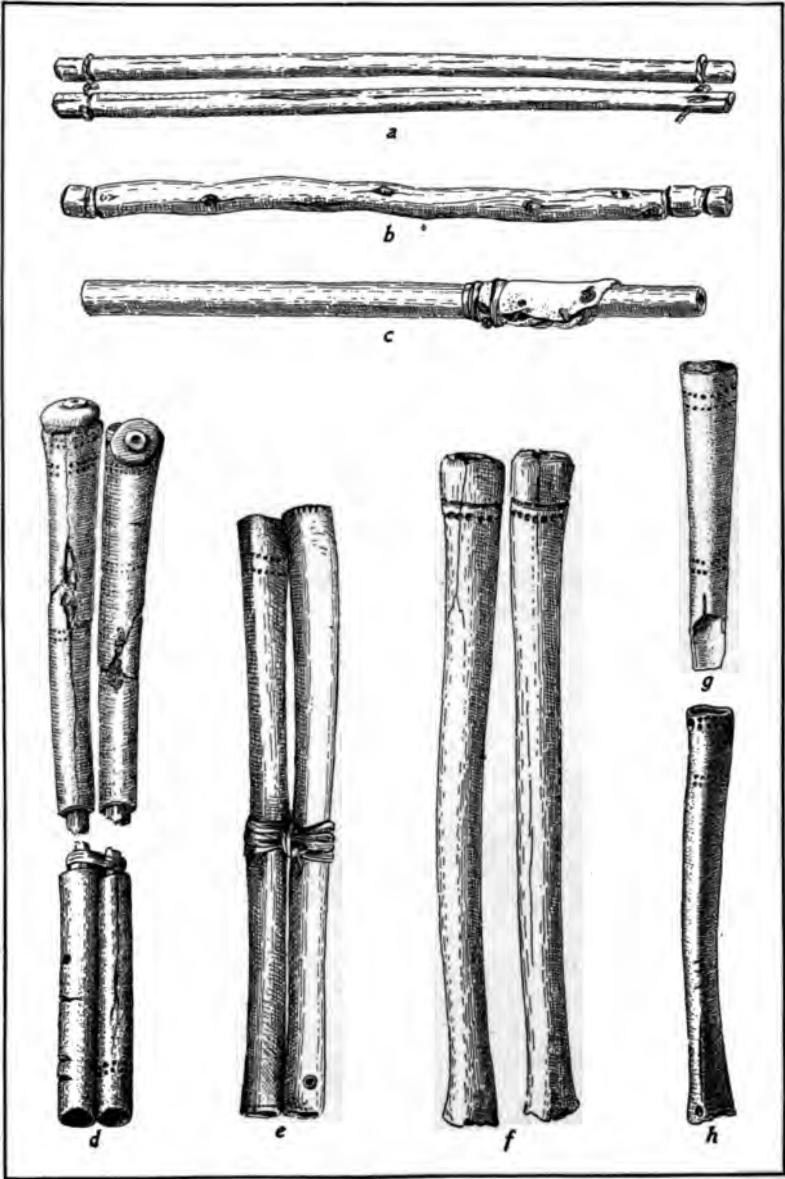
**Pottery.** No specimens of true pottery, either vessel or sherd, have yet been found by us under circumstances indicating that it was a Basket-maker product. All but one of the several jars discovered came from the surface sand overlying the Basket-maker deposits; they are of common cliff-house ware, and were undoubtedly cached in the caves at a comparatively late date. The exception is a pot found in Sunflower Cave in 1915, lying below a cliff-house floor. This was figured in our previous report and referred to as possibly of Basket-maker origin.<sup>1</sup> It is of plain black ware, uncorrugated; in shape it is almost spherical. No further evidence that the Basket-makers produced vessels of this type has since come to light, and we are inclined to consider it early Puebloan.

The only specimen that even remotely resembles pottery was found in Cave 6. It is a fragment from the rim of a shallow dish-like receptacle nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick, made of unburned clay heavily tempered with shreds of cedar bark. It was molded in a shallow basket, the print of which is plainly visible in the outer surface of the sherd (plate 25, a). The inner side is smoothed off, but has an irregular, wavy surface as if it had been done by the fingers. We do not know whether this specimen is merely a fragment of a clay lining put in a basket to render it watertight or fireproof,<sup>2</sup> or whether it really represents an early attempt at pottery making.

**Bone Objects.** Objects of this material described under other heads are: beads, flaker, decorated tubes, rattle handles, plain tubes, and whistles. This practically completes the list of specimens made of bone, the only others being a few awls (plate 42, e-h), and a pair of unworked cannon bones of the deer, found

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, plate 59, a, and p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Cushing (1886, p. 484) describes a Havasupai roasting basket lined with clay. The present object may have been made for a like purpose, but it was certainly never so used, as bits of the cedar-bark tempering which protrude from the inner surface are not even scorched.



a, b, c, Objects made from short sections of sticks; d, e, f, Paired bone tubes; g, h, Bone tubes. All from White Dog Cave except f, which is from Sunflower Cave. (About 1/2.)



carefully wrapped up in a bunch of shredded cedar bark at the feet of mummy 1, Cist 24, White Dog Cave. These were probably selected and laid aside to be fashioned later into awls. No bone scrapers occur.

**Dressed Skin.** The skins of animals were much used: some as rawhide, some dried, and others dressed with or without the hair. Specimens of the latter were very finely dressed, being as soft and pliable as the best buckskin prepared by modern Indians. Deer and mountain-sheep skin robes have already been mentioned. The pelts of these animals were also extensively employed for minor purposes, as in cradle edge-bindings and back-lashings, in fur-string, and for all kinds of strong thongs. The skins of prairie-dogs, being light and soft-furred were always used as covers for infants' umbilical pads.

Bags of all sorts were made of dressed skin, from tiny pouches to hold a few little trinkets, up to large sacks for the storage of corn. Some have the hair on, others do not; but all are very carefully made, the seams neatly stitched with sinew or fine cord and turned inside. The most characteristic bags were produced by sewing together the trimmed skins of two or more prairie-dogs in such a way that the neck of the sack was formed by the heads of the animals, its mouth by their mouths.<sup>1</sup> In some cases as many as seven or eight hides were used.

**Sinew.** The many references in this report to the use of sinew bindings and seizings give sufficient evidence of its value to the Basket-makers. It was employed whenever a firm flat ligature was desired, as well as for thread in cases requiring extra fine and strong sewing. The kinds of sinew are, of course, not identifiable, but the bunch of it in its raw state shown in figure 15, d, appears to have been taken from some large animal.

**Feathers.** Feathers were used for the following purposes: in hair ornaments; in pendants; as edgings in fur cloth; for the winging of atlatl darts; and in the make-up of a variety of objects of unknown use which we have classed together as probably ceremonial.

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, figure 86.



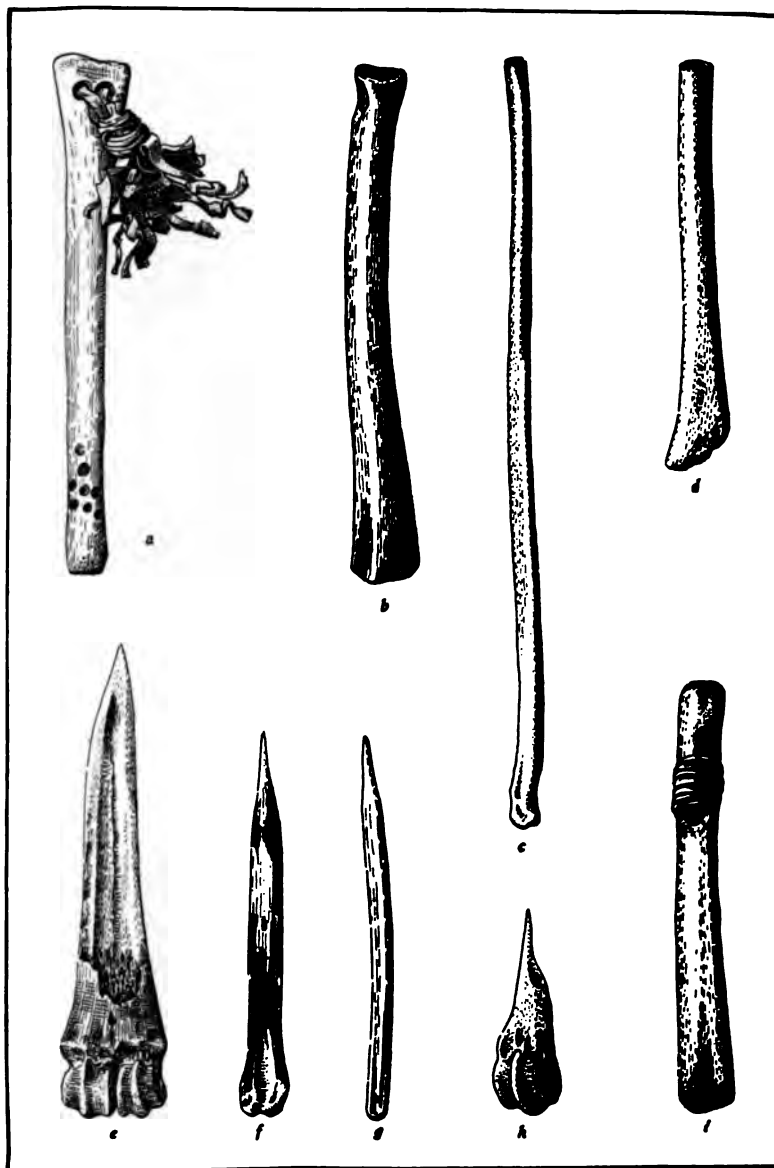
## CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

In this section we have grouped all specimens to which we cannot assign a definite utilitarian purpose. The nature of many of them leaves little doubt as to their ceremonial or fetishistic use; as to others the case is less clear.

**Ceremonial Whip.** To one end of a thin, peeled greasewood stick about 20 inches in length there is bound a flat, three-strand braid of shredded yucca leaves, 8 inches long; to the end of this is tied a small bunch of the twigs of the plant called "Brigham tea"; the twigs are 10 inches long, so that the total length of the specimen is a little over a yard. It has the look of a scourge or whip, but its real use is, of course, unknown.

**Problematical Objects.** In Cist 27, White Dog Cave, were found a number of broken sticks tied together with string. On undoing the bundle it was found that the sticks were fragments of two singular contrivances, the use of which we cannot even guess (plate 36, d, e). One is complete, the upper part of the second is missing. They are slim cottonwood sticks about 7 feet long, their lower ends pointed, and the first foot or so of their shafts soiled and scarred as if they had been repeatedly thrust into gravelly earth. The arrangement of strings at the upper end of the complete specimen is better explained by the drawing than by description. It will be seen that there are two cords running downward from the tip. These are so arranged as to form two adjustable loops along the shaft, the knotted ends of the strings serving to keep these loops from being pulled out by whatever object they were designed to hold.

The object shown in c, is a hardwood branch 27½ inches long. The bark has been carefully peeled and the butt end smoothed by rubbing. For a distance of about 4 inches from the butt the twigs have been cut off close to the main stem; thence to the tip they are also cut off, but their bases have been left long enough to give the object a knobby appearance. The ends of a majority of these protruding twig-stubs are merely ground down to a flat surface; but three, two of which show in the drawing, have neat, shallow, cup-shaped depressions worked in them. The lower four inches of the stick, from which, it will be remembered, the projecting twig-stubs were removed, is discolored and stained as if by having been



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, Handle for deer-hoof rattle; b, c, d, Bone tubes; e-h, Bone awls; i, Bone whistle. (4.)



thrust into damp earth or clay. A little above the middle are two sets of sinew bindings; under the upper one of these are remains of the quills of many small feathers arranged in two groups, one on either side of the shaft. We can offer no suggestion as to the use of this specimen.

**Ceremonial Wand.** The unique ceremonial object shown in plate 39, b, was found with mummy 2, Cist 24, White Dog Cave; it was wrapped in a bag made of prairie-dog skins, and lay between the right arm and side of the mummy under the fur-string robe which enveloped the body. Details that are not obvious in the drawing are as follows: the handle of wood has a length of  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches; the upper end is carved to represent the head of a bird; the eyes are formed by two small disk beads of shell stuck on with pitch. Adhering to the head about the eyes are tufts of the fine reddish hair of some animal. At the crown of the head there is a slight depression filled with hard gum or pitch in which are a few hairs like those at the side of the head. These may be the remains of a crest, or the result of accident. The appearance of the spot gives the impression that some object about the size of the disk beads which form the eyes, had at one time been fastened here. At the lower end of the handle its under side is embellished for a space of slightly over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches with cross hatching of fine incised lines. All parts of the handle are nicely finished, and show, particularly at the lower end, a polish due to use. Attached to it by a thong loop are five pendent strings or streamers of thick soft-dressed skin; part of one of these is broken off, the remaining four are each 10 inches in length. These streamers are gathered together at the upper end and secured to the loop by wrappings of sinew. Bound to the upper end of each streamer by sinew seizings are tails of small birds and animals, and feathers. One streamer has five blue feathers, five small brown feathers, and one white and brown feather; the next, one long downy feather, one large dark-colored feather trimmed off at the end and several small brown feathers. The third has the quill ends of two large dark-colored feathers; these are cut down to a length of 3 inches, and placed parallel to each other with the lower ends fastened together by several tight turns of fine sinew; over these are laid a number of small bright yellow feathers; a strand of human hair 3 inches long completes the group. The fourth streamer has

fastened to it six feathers from the tail of some small woodpecker, and two prairie-dog tails. The fifth bears several blue feathers, one trimmed black-and-white feather, the tail of a small animal, the fur of which is about the color of mink, and a very pretty little abalone shell pendant.

The specimen just described, like a number of objects recovered from Cist<sup>2</sup> 24, is in a nearly perfect state of preservation. Wrapped up with it was the small deer tail shown in c, the head of a sap-sucker (*Splegrapicus varius muchalis*)<sup>1</sup> a, and what appears to be the end of a bag made of badger skin dressed with the hair on. The bird head is stuffed with fiber or grass, and the tail feathers of the bird, tied together in a bundle, are thrust into the skin of the neck. A Pomo doctor's outfit in the Museum collection contains a number of bird heads stuffed with grass which remind one at once of this specimen.

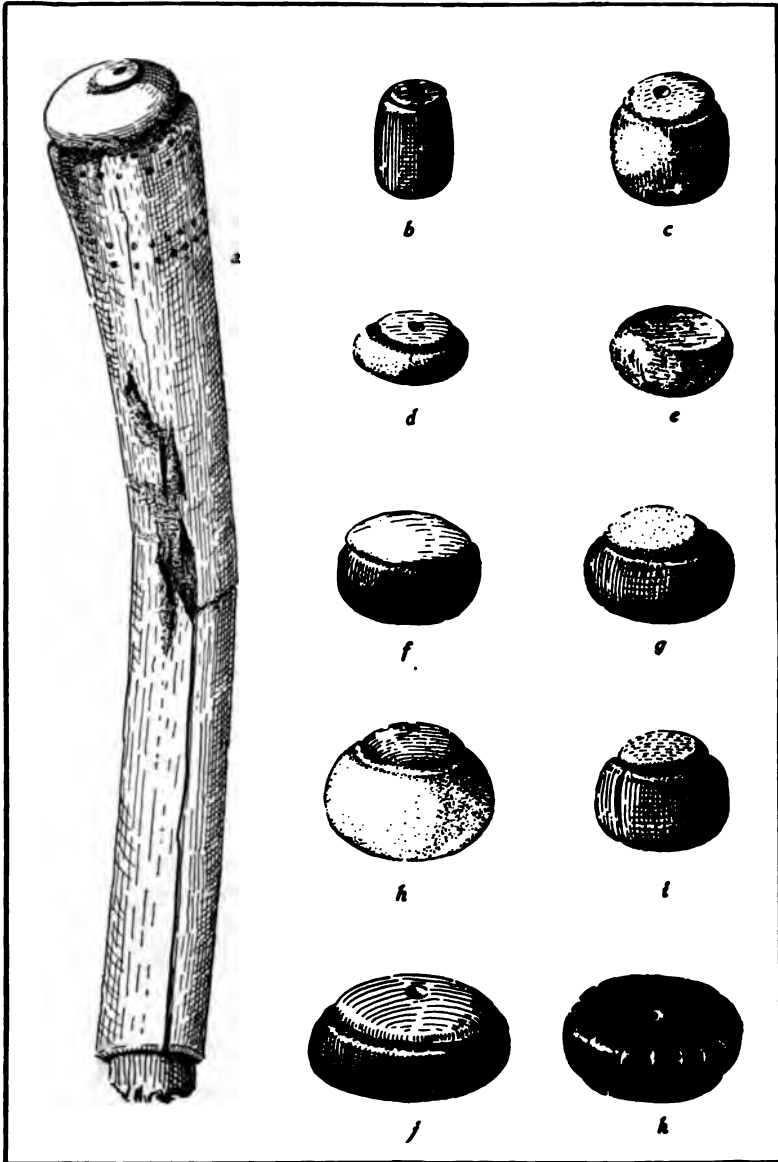
**Ceremonial Bundle.** In plate 7, b, can be seen what is doubtless a ceremonial bundle, one end resting in the lap of the mummy, the other projecting above the left knee, this being the position in which it was found.

In the center of the bundle lay a wand-like stick,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, which is shown in b, plate 40. One end has a blunt point, is slightly polished for an inch or more, and is stained a dark red color; the opposite end is rounded and shows traces of fire. To one side of the blunt end and projecting beyond is tied a brush-like arrangement of coarse fiber also stained dark red. The same string which binds the fiber to the stick secures to it a long feather of which there remains very little but the shaft. Other articles tied about the stick and figured in the plate, are as follows:

The curious object, shown in d, more nearly resembles a miniature sandal than anything else, being of the same weave as a certain type of Basket-maker sandal. The strings attached to it are not, however, arranged like sandal tie-strings. There is a dressed skin thong, colored red, woven into one end; this may be an unfinished toe-fringe. The specimen is 4 inches long, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. The material is fiber string, except the dark line through the center which is of human hair string.

The blade-like object of tough, close-grained wood shown in f, is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch thick.

<sup>1</sup> Identified by Mr. O. Bangs of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University.



WHITE DOG CAVE

a, One of a pair of bone tubes showing compound die cemented to upper end;  
b-k, Compound dice. (Enlarged 1/5.)



Both the pointed and the rounded ends are blackened as a result of shaping or hardening by fire. The edges of the blunt end are rounded for something over a hand's breadth; for the remaining distance to the beginning of the point both edges are sharp. One edge is rather keener than the other and shows a surface smoothed by wear.

The foreshaft and point of a throwing spear c, from the bundle is the largest in our collection, measuring over 7 inches in length. The point of red jasper,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, 1 inch wide at base, is set in a notch cut in the end of the shaft and secured by a sinew binding which is still in perfect condition, as is the shaft itself except for traces of decay at the tapering end. This specimen, though our largest, is not as long as the foreshafts in the Lang collection from San Juan County, Utah, now in the Deseret Museum, which, according to the table given by Pepper,<sup>1</sup> are  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches to  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches in length.

The tips of the long feather shown in e, is 7 inches in length; the quill at its upper end for a distance of 2 inches is seized with fine flat sinew as shown in the drawing. Another feather, of which only the quill remains, measured  $15\frac{1}{4}$  inches in length.

Wrapped about the bundle were the remains of a feather head-dress not unlike the feather crowns used by various California tribes in their ceremonies. The method of tying the feathers is shown in the illustration, a; the same knot is also used by the Wailaki and Shasta Indians, specimens of which are in the Museum collection.

**Ceremonial Bone Objects.** In plate 41, e, will be seen what appears to be merely a pair of bone tubes, but which is in reality a nearly complete example of a very puzzling type to which belong all the other bone specimens illustrated in the plate. To make clear the relationship of these objects a detailed description is necessary.

The two halves of this contrivance are tied tightly together with a strip of yucca leaf. The right-hand unit of the pair is a hollow bone,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, highly polished as if by long use; its upper end is solidly plugged with a dark pitchy substance, the edge of the orifice is cut by six small V-shaped notches; the lower end shows signs of having once been similarly plugged, but is now open; just above the orifice there are two small round holes, drilled directly

<sup>1</sup> Pepper, 1905, p. 129.

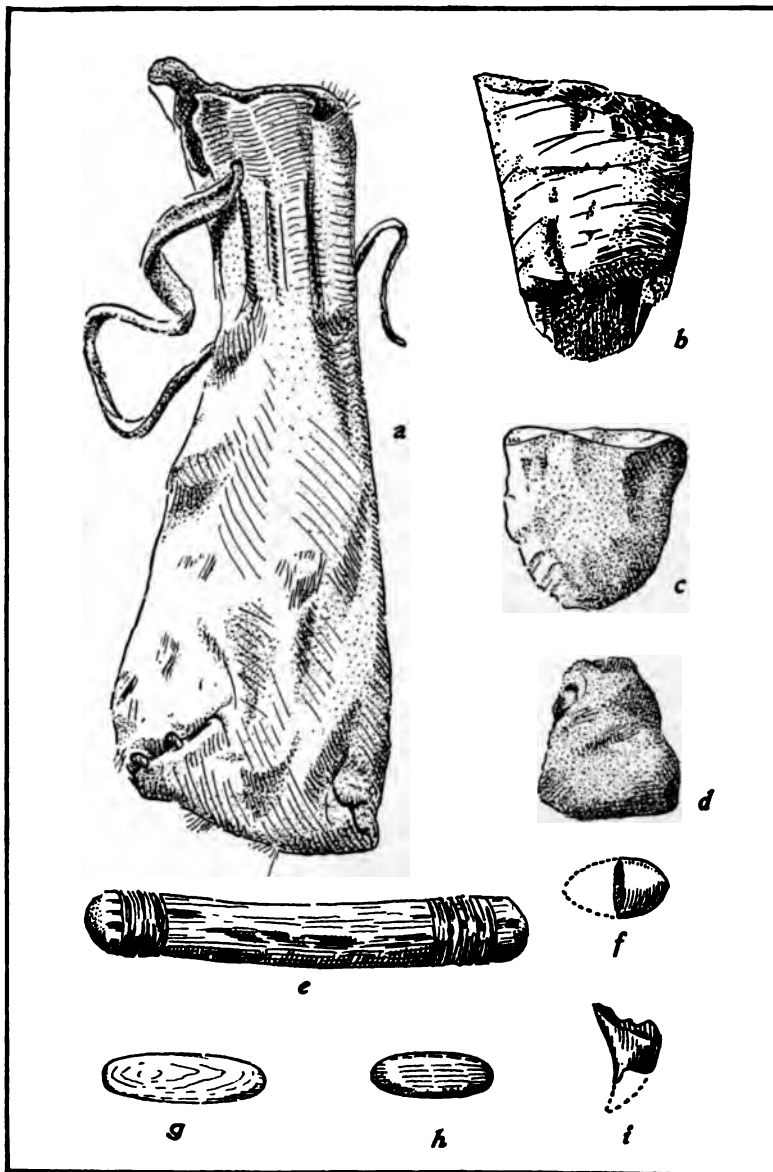


opposite each other (only one shows in the drawing). The left-hand unit is made up of two bones of equal length fastened to each other by being pushed together over a round stick which fits very tightly in their hollow interiors; the joint is further secured by a sinew cord laced back and forth through series of little holes drilled close to the edge of each bone (three of these holes may be made out in the drawing, the rest are hidden by the main yucca leaf binding). Just below the upper end of this compound bone are two horizontal lines of small round pits, or incised dots; these only run half way around and do not appear on the back. The end of the lower piece is pierced on one side by a small hole, and just above the orifice there is scratched a single encircling line. Neither end of the left-hand unit gives any indication of having been plugged as were both orifices of the right-hand bone.

The fragments of the specimen shown in d, are assembled in what were doubtless their original positions. They form a pair very similar to the one just described, but both halves are compound, each being made up of two pieces once held together by an interior stick or dowel. Parts of a main binding that once fastened the two halves to each other are still preserved. The lower part of the left-hand unit has on one side three deep horizontal notches and a single small round hole; the upper piece has three double lines of incised dots which, as in the preceding specimen, only run half way around. The right-hand unit has two similar double lines of dots, one near the bottom, one just below the top. The upper end of each unit is plugged with pitch, in which are set the curious compound objects shown in the drawing. They are flattened spheres of red stone with small, white, perforated discs glued to their tops. The right-hand sphere has been somewhat warped from its original flat position across the end of the bone.

The pair of tubes shown in f, were found together in Sunflower Cave and illustrated in our first report (plate 86, f); they are reproduced here because they are surely of the same nature as the White Dog Cave specimens. They fit snugly when laid side by side and show, indeed, signs of rubbing along the points of contact; hence they once were undoubtedly bound together. Near the upper end of each one, and running only half way around,<sup>1</sup> is an

<sup>1</sup> In our first description we mistakenly stated that the dots encircled the bones (Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 189).



CAVE 6

a-d, Skin pouch and objects found with it in woven bag; e-i, Articles from within pouch. (About 4/5.)



incised line and a row of dots. If pitch was ever used to plug up these bones, it has entirely disappeared.

Two other bone objects (g and h) are fragments which obviously formed parts of pairs identical with the above. They are of the same general shape and size, and have similar rows of small dots only partially encircling them. The upper one, g, is the best preserved of several fragments of a broken specimen; found loose in the same cist with it were four compound "buttons", very like the ones glued to the ends of the pair shown in d.

To sum up: these objects were pairs of bones tied together at the middle; the component parts of each pair might be a single bone, or might be made of two bones fastened end to end. All are decorated with lines of dots, and many, perhaps all, had at one place or another small drilled holes. Some at least were provided with compound "buttons" glued to their ends. The fact that the incised dots never completely encircle the bones, and that the undotted surface of each bone is always the flatter side, seems to indicate that these assemblages were held or worn against something in such a position that one side was not visible. We have only one hint as to a possible use; lying close against the central ligature of the pair figured in d, and apparently engaged by it (the specimen is badly rotted) was a cord hung with nearly a hundred deer-hoofs. The latter may have formed a rattle, and if so, the double bones might perhaps have been some sort of handle for it.

Included here because they were found in the same cists with some of the pairs just described, are two specimens that seem to have served as handles for what we suppose to have been ceremonial wands.<sup>1</sup> The first (plate 42, a) came from the same cist that held the broken paired bones above described. It is a hollow bone, 5½ inches long, the lower end carefully finished, smoothed, and decorated with eight circular cup-like depressions filled flush with black gum. At the upper end it is perforated by two holes through which runs a narrow thong holding a number of other thongs; the ends of such of the latter as are not broken off are knotted about the remains of the butts of small feathers; the ends of the others are simply knotted. The second specimen, b, from the same cist as e and h, plate 41, is a plain tube with a single hole at one end; its similarity to the above handle is obvious.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the bird-headed wooden handle with feathered streamers, plate 39.

*Bone Whistle.* The specimen illustrated in plate 42, i, was found with the handle last mentioned, one of the complete pairs of bones, and one fragmentary one. Its length is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The lower end is tightly closed with gum, the upper is unsealed. The single rather large opening is partly covered by wrappings of sinew; these seem to have held a bit of reed or other substance, now almost rotted away.

*Bone Tubes.* The tubes shown in c and d, are both simple lengths of hollow bones with carefully cut ends. They are figured here because we are unable to assign any definite utilitarian function to them.

*Compound "Dice."* The extremely well-made little objects shown on plate 43, are all from White Dog Cave. Each consists of two parts: a spherical or cylindrical body with rounded bottom and flat top; and a cap, which is a thin disc (often a reused bead with the perforation plugged with pitch) firmly cemented to the flat top of the body. The variety of materials used in their manufacture will be brought out in the descriptions which follow.

The upper and lower sides of the largest example we have is shown in j, k; it measures  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in diameter. The body, of highly polished lignite, is perforated vertically, but the hole is carefully plugged; about the lower edge there runs a series of little cuts. The cap is a fine grained red slate disc-bead, the perforation filled with pitch. This specimen, the only one in the lot which was found singly, came from Cist 52.

One of a set of four from Cist 22, is shown in h. It has a translucent quartz body and a cap of red slate. The other three (not figured) are of lignite; one has an unperforated white bone cap, the caps of the remaining two are missing, but dried cement on the flat tops of the bodies proves that they were once present.

A set of seven was found in a small buckskin pouch in Cist 24. One of these, i, has a dark brown wooden base and a white bone cap; a second, f, has a lignite base with an unusually large white limestone cap; the one shown in g, has a lignite base and a light brown stone cap; b, has a long cylindrical base of lignite and a cap of hard light green stone (not turquoise); the fifth (not figured), a lignite base, and light brown stone cap. The sixth, d, and seventh are of a very peculiar construction which was not suspected until one of them accidentally split in halves. It proved to have been made

by rolling up a tiny pellet of gray clay mixed with grains of crushed azurite and malachite. Around this pellet was added a thin layer of the same mixture, then another and another like the coats of an onion, until the requisite size and shape of the base were attained. The whole was then daubed with pure gray clay, so that the blue and green particles, so thickly sown through the whole interior, do not show on the surface. The cap of the one figured is a flat green stone, that of the split specimen is of red slate; both are about the same size.

A second set of seven, also contained in a buckskin bag, was taken from Cist 24. These are not figured. Two are of lignite with unperforated brown stone caps; four are of the peculiar azurite-malachite-clay composition, the caps of two are missing. Of the two in place one is a perforated brown stone disc, the other an unperforated disc of green stone. The seventh is beautifully shaped from hematite, it lacks the cap, but, as in all such cases, distinct traces of the cement that once held it in place remain.

Two of another set of seven found loose in Cist 27 are also illustrated in plate 43. The one shown in c, is a hard, light green stone with a cap of white bone; e, is of serpentine and lacks the cap. Of the remaining five, one is sandstone of thin cylindrical form; like e, the cap is missing; the other three have green stone bases with bone, pink stone, and red stone caps respectively.

The purpose of these pretty and beautifully made little things is unknown. Two of them were found glued to the ends of bones (plates 41, d, and 43, a), and the set of four above described came from a disturbed cist (6) which contained fragments of similar paired bones. We at first thought that all such "buttons" were meant for a like use, but on careful examination we could find no trace of pitch or other adhesive matter clinging to any of them; furthermore their bottoms are always excellently finished and show, indeed, more polish than do the sides, whereas objects primarily designed to be glued or cemented to other objects, are generally roughened on those parts which were destined to receive the adhesive substance. This, and the fact that we have three separate sets of exactly seven each, has inclined us to believe that they were some form of dice and that their employment as an embellishment for the tips of the peculiar paired bones may have been a secondary one.

## MEDICINE POUCHES OF SKIN

Under this heading are included a number of skin bags of various shapes and sizes which were found with burials. They contained assortments of miscellaneous material, much of it of no apparent practical value.<sup>1</sup> As to whether or not the identification of these sacks as medicine pouches is correct, the reader may judge for himself.

**Bag and Contents.** The container figured on plate 38, a, is made from prairie-dog skins with the hair on, cut and fitted to form a triangular sack 11 inches long, 10 inches across the base, and 3½ inches across the mouth. The skins are arranged so that the heads



FIGURE 16

Skin bag containing beads and feathers, White Dog Cave. (4.)

form the mouth of the bag. They are sewn together with a running stitch, the seam inside, the hair side out. Within were a cake of paint, b, and a very small skin bag, c, wrapped with string and holding powdered paint of a brilliant green color. The cake was made of the same paint, apparently moistened and molded into its present shape with the fingers.

**Bag with Colored Minerals.** This is a little skin container in which were found about twenty small unworked fragments of azurite and malachite.

**Dice Bags.** These were both taken from Cist 24, White Dog Cave. They are little buckskin bags; each contained seven of the peculiar compound "dice" described above.

**Sack with Beads and Feathers.** This specimen is illustrated in figure 16. It is a bag of what appears to be badger skin with the hair on, which is somewhat rotted and has split down the side. In

<sup>1</sup> Similar assortments were found with Sayodnecchee burials. Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 30.

it are about a teacup full of small cylindrical black seed beads; a few discoidal bone beads; and six large flat stone beads, two of which are of alabaster. There are also eleven large hawk feathers and a section 7 inches long broken from the stalk of a plant with a pithy stem.

**Pouch and Small Articles.** This heterogeneous assemblage (plate 44) was found in the woven bag shown in plate 30, d, taken from Cave 6. Some of the objects were loose in the woven bag, the remainder were contained in the little skin pouch, a, of the former plate. The latter is made from a piece of thin animal hide, soft dressed with the hair on, folded to form a small, narrow sack 5 inches long, and sewn with fiber string. After having been sewn it was turned to bring the seam inside. A buckskin tie-string is attached to the top. Only traces of the fur remain.

The objects found loose in the woven bag are: a fragment of a fossilized mammalian tooth, b; a piece of hard yellow ochre showing rubbing facets, and grooves such as might have been made by coloring a cord, and in spots, a curious gloss, c; a small lump of organic substance resembling dried fruit, d; and half of a squash seed, f.

In the little skin pouch were: a part of the horny claw cover of an animal, presumably dog or wolf, i; an oval bone die, g, similar to those figured in our first report,<sup>1</sup> except that both sides are convex, instead of one being convex and one flat; a wooden die of bi-convex shape with one surface coated with pitch as in the 1915 examples just referred to, h. The remaining specimen from the pouch is a section  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long cut from a grease-wood stick, e. The ends are rounded and wrapped with sinew, and a groove runs the whole length of the under side, the entire object having been painted a dull red.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

**Summary of Material Culture.** Of the dwellings of the Basket-makers we know next to nothing. Certain crudely-built stone structures in Goat Cave (plate 2, a, b) may be Basket-maker, but the evidence is not conclusive. In Cave 14 were found cists made of large slabs and closed over with conical wood and adobe roofs;

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 189 and plate 86, g.



these were built above ground and against the cliff-wall (plate 9, e, f). There is little doubt in our minds that they are Basket-maker products, and they have a distinctly house-like appearance; but their very small size argues for their use as storage places rather than as domiciles. We believe at present, therefore, that the Basket-makers lived mostly in perishable structures built in the open, and only resorted to the caves for temporary shelter in severe weather.

Although they apparently did not live regularly in the caves, they took full advantage of them for the storage of their crops and for the burial of their dead. For both purposes they used cists. These occur in several well-defined varieties (see plate 9). Where the cave floor was of solid hard-pan they excavated plain, jar-shaped cavities in it; some of these have little tunnels or "flues" leading to smaller, shallower holes set about their mouths. When the floor of the cave was of material so loose as to render the above forms unpractical, they scooped out holes, larger or smaller according to their requirements, and lined them with large, flat, stone slabs to hold back the sand. These are the commonest types, and served, apparently, either for storage or burial. Semi-subterranean (Cave 2, 1915), or above-ground cists (Cave 14) with slab foundations and adobe superstructures complete the list; we have so far not found burials in them.

Burial customs were very uniform; the bodies were flexed, wrapped in fur-string blankets and twined-woven bags, and deposited, with numerous mortuary offerings, in the cists. Interments were almost never single; in most cases two to four individuals were buried together.

The Basket-makers grew corn of a single, apparently primitive, variety; squashes also were raised, but the most careful search has so far failed to reveal any evidence of bean culture. The turkey was probably not domesticated. The people covered themselves with robes of fur cloth and dressed hides; men wore a breech-cloth and "gee-string"; the women a short string skirt. The usual footgear was the square-toed sandal, a type which differs from all others in the Southwest in shape, in the presence of a toe-fringe, and in the fact that the soles of the better specimens are provided with a looped "pile" reinforcement covering their entire length.

Children and the adults of both sexes were well supplied with necklaces of stone and shell beads, as well as with pendants of stone and abalone shell; turquoise, apparently, was unknown. Hair-dressing in the case of males was elaborate. The back hair was gathered into a short chubby knot to which was fastened a thin braided scalp-lock falling from the crown of the head; there was often a wide "part" and a tonsure from which the hair was clipped close. Women seem to have worn the hair short; their heads may have provided the great quantity of human hair that was used for string.

Cradles were of two types: the rigid, with wooden frame, twig or reed backing, and padded edge; and the flexible, made of grass or cedar bark. Young babies were always provided with stuffed pads, bound to the navel to prevent rupture.

Basketry was very abundant indeed, but was exclusively of the coiled variety, with two-rod-and-bundle foundation, and with wooden sewing splints. The weave is coarse, but even and very firm; decoration is in black or black-and-red; the designs have a sort of family resemblance to those of the modern tribes of central and northern California. The principal forms are trays, bowls and large panniers. No wickerwork, twined or checker-work baskets were found.

Of textile fabrics, these people turned out very limited amounts of apocynum string cloth, plain over-and-under weave. It was undoubtedly woven on some form of loom, but the small size of the individual pieces produced and the crude nature of the selvages give the impression that the art of loom weaving was still in its infancy. This theory is strengthened by the fact that the designs were either painted on the fabric or made by rubbing color onto the wefts as they were being woven, rather than produced, as in more perfected systems, by the use of separate wefts dyed before insertion. The most elaborate textiles are the hand-twined bags, usually made of apocynum string, and decorated by painting or by rubbing color on the wefts in process. The abundance of such bags is very striking. Although an enormous quantity of finely spun string was employed for the textiles and for a variety of other purposes (such as in rabbit-nets, string aprons, fur cloth, etc.), we have never found any trace of the use of a spindle, either plain or whorled. Fur cloth was much used, true feather-cloth never.

Skin was well dressed and entered into many industries, but most strikingly so in the making of all sorts of small to medium sized bags and pouches, the most characteristic of which are sacks formed of two to seven or eight prairie-dog hides sewed together in such a way that the heads of the animals arranged side by side formed the necks of the bags.

The Basket-makers had few superiors in the careful working of wood; their weapons and implements show as fine shapes and as perfect finish as can be achieved with stone tools. The most typical objects are the atlatl and dart (used, apparently, to the entire exclusion of the bow and arrow); the grooved club; and the crooked shafted, plain-gripped digging stick.

Artifacts of stone are very poorly represented in the collection. There are no specimens of the following types, all common in the cliff-houses and pueblos: axes, both grooved and grooveless, hammer stones, polishing stones, "sandal lasts," chipped scrapers, arrowheads, or long drills. As these lacking forms are all strictly utilitarian in function, their absence may be due to our material being almost exclusively from graves and temporary cave-shelters, rather than from long inhabited dwelling places. It would not surprise us, however, to find that the grooved axe was unknown to the Basket-makers, as that implement among the northern Cliff-dwellers is always of a rude, unspecialized type and therefore presumably of late introduction. The grooved axe is, indeed, entirely absent from the areas to the west and northwest of the Pueblo district.

Of such stone objects as do occur, the most characteristic are the heavy discoidal and sub-spherical beads, the short squat pipes and the large, triangular, tanged dart-points. The chipping of the latter, and of certain large flint knife-blades, is very skillfully done.

Bone tools, like those of stone, are not common in our collection; there are a few simple awls, a few beads, some whistles, and some pairs of decorated tubes which we have classed as ceremonial. There are no bone scrapers. The rarity of awls, among the remains of a people who produced as much coiled basketry as did the Basket-makers, is very peculiar; it is probably due to the fact that we have not yet succeeded in finding long-occupied dwelling places.

While feathers played an unimportant part in the making of robes, having been used only for fringes and ornamental borders, they were much employed in the making of all sorts of ceremonial paraphernalia, as well as for the winging of atlatl darts. Bundles of large feathers, destined probably for the latter purpose, were found in several caves.

True pottery, as far as we know, was not made. The only specimens of burned clay that we have are two small pipes found in 1914-1915. In the present report is described a fragment of an unfired dish with basket marked exterior; this may represent a very primitive form of pottery. In which case again we feel the lack of material from village sites, as it is possible that pottery really did exist but that it never, for some reason, found its way into the graves.

As to pictographs, we only know that the painting of large square-shouldered human figures on the walls of caves was a typical, and apparently an exclusive Basket-maker practice. We have never been able to identify any pecked pictographs as of Basket-maker origin.

**Conclusions.** Before entering into any discussion of the place of the Basket-makers in the general scheme of Southwestern archaeology, it must first be demonstrated that their culture is really a distinct one. If this cannot be done, if the so-called Basket-maker remains from Grand Gulch and the Kayenta region are to be considered as only a specialized local phase of the widespread Pueblo-Cliff-dweller civilization, then they naturally cease to have any chronological or morphological interest. The authors, however, feel sure that such is not the case; a summary of the evidence follows.

The cliff-houses and pueblos of this region are stone-built dwellings of coursed masonry, laid up with adobe mortar; the rooms are rectangular. Corn of several varieties was cultivated, as well as beans and cotton; the turkey was domesticated. Of the minor arts, the most important was pottery making. Equally characteristic are: twilled yucca leaf sandals, twilled rush matting, and twilled ring-baskets, cotton loom cloth, turkey-feather string, and the bow and arrow. These objects, together with pottery, make up nine-tenths of any collection from the cliff-houses. Turning to the graves, we find that Cliff-dweller skulls were always artificially

flattened at the back, and that the bodies, accompanied by generous offerings of pottery, were interred in individual graves, usually in the open.

The Basket-makers, on the other hand, certainly built no houses of coursed masonry; they may, in fact, have possessed no more permanent dwellings than do the Navajo of today. Their corn was of a single, rather primitive, variety; they were ignorant, apparently, of beans and cotton, nor did they domesticate the turkey. They made no pottery worthy of the name (or if they did, it never found its way into the graves), and all the other characteristic Cliff-dweller specimens mentioned above are conspicuous by their absence. They are replaced, however, by such equally characteristic Basket-maker products as the square-toed sandal, the twined-woven bag, and the atlatl. The heads of the Basket-makers were never artificially deformed. The graves, instead of being in the open, were cists excavated in the hard-pan or the sandy fill of caves, and from two or three to ten or more bodies were placed in each cist. Mortuary offerings were numerous and varied, but the one invariable gift to the dead was coiled basketry.

In the above summaries only the leading traits of the two cultures are catalogued. A more detailed comparison in tabular form has been published elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> but enough is here presented to show the essential differences between them, particularly when it is considered that all finds of each class have always run true to form: pottery, for example, and deformed skulls have never appeared in Basket-maker graves; the rubbish of cliff-houses has never given evidence of the manufacture of, for instance, twined-woven bags or the atlatl.

We may now take up the question of age. Here again we are on firm ground. The Basket-makers definitely antedated the Pueblo-Cliff-dweller people. This was stated long ago by the Wetherills and McLloyd and Graham,<sup>2</sup> and was proved to us by the superposition of Cliff-dweller remains upon Basket-maker burials in Sunflower Cave. Even without this clear stratigraphic evidence, the case was reasonably certain, for in several of the other sites investigated we found cliff-house pots or sherds in surface-sand overlying Basket-maker burials but never in the graves themselves. Furthermore, during the 1915 work in Sunflower Cave there was

<sup>1</sup> Kidder-Guernsey, 1919, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Pepper, 1902.

taken from the cliff-house rubbish a square-toed Basket-maker sandal.<sup>1</sup>

We have proved, to our own satisfaction at least, that the Basket-makers were a people culturally distinct from the Cliff-dwellers; and also that they antedated the latter. At this point definite knowledge ceases; and to the very important questions of the origin of the Basket-maker culture, and of its relation to that of the Cliff-dwellers, we can supply only conjectural answers.

As to origin, it may be said that several traits, such as corn growing and the use of the atlatl, point toward Mexico. The peculiar curved, grooved hand-club, and the method of hair-dressing were both features of the somewhat Mexicanized Maya culture of late prehistoric and early historic times in Yucatan. Furthermore, the only archaeological finds which remind one of the Basket-makers have come from the Coahuila caves in northern Mexico, and from the Tularosa caves in southern New Mexico. The latter sites lie roughly half way between the Kayenta region and Coahuila. Just how much weight should be attached to these bits of evidence we do not know, but it seems to us certain that germs of the culture worked northward from the Mexican highlands in very early times.

Although the question of their origin is obscure, we know at least that the Basket-makers were living in the lower San Juan country prior to the opening of the Pueblo-Cliff-dweller period. As to the relations of the cultures two hypotheses suggest themselves: first, that the Basket-makers were a distinct people who were crowded out of the region by the arrival of their more highly developed successors; second, that they were the direct ancestors of the latter.

If the first hypothesis be correct we need not postulate any great time interval between the two cultures; as one came in, the other was destroyed or moved away. If, on the other hand, we believe that the one developed from the other, we must be prepared to allow a very considerable time for the transition, for there are many radical differences between the cultures; and we have so far

<sup>1</sup> This illustrates an important principle of archaeological evidence, viz.: Given two cultures, A and B, in the same area; if A objects are found in B sites, but B objects never in A sites, A may be safely considered older than B. The sporadic finding of Basket-maker products in cliff-houses may be expected in the future, particularly as it is probable that the frequent spoliation of Basket-maker burials was the work of the Cliff-dwellers.

sought in vain for any trait running from the one to the other through an unbroken logical and surely demonstrable evolution. While there are missing links in every such chain, it is possible that in this case some of them may yet be supplied by the hitherto little-known "pre-pueblo" or "slab-house" sites that archaeologists are beginning to uncover in various parts of the Southwest. All such sites hitherto examined have, however, been found in the open and so have yielded no specimens of a perishable nature; hence they have provided us with no evidence as to basketry, sandals, food products or wood-working, the very phases of material culture with which we are most familiar in the case of the Basket-makers and which we therefore most need for comparative and developmental studies. A rigorous search should accordingly be made for "pre-pueblo" habitations and graves in locations where they may be expected to be found protected from moisture. If such are discovered, it should be an easy matter, in view of our accurate knowledge of both the Basket-makers and the developed Cliff-dwellers, to determine definitely whether or not the "pre-pueblo" people were culturally intermediate between them.

To return to the first hypothesis, namely, that the Basket-makers were crowded out of the region by the Cliff-dwellers, and settled somewhere along its edges. We have examined collections from many modern southwestern tribes who possess cultures of about the same grade as that of the Basket-makers, in the hope that we might find some evidence of their descent from the ancient people. Nothing definite could, however, be established, although similarities in basketry, rabbit-nets, and hair ornaments were noticed in the Paiute collections; and, among the Mohave material, in the form and weave of twined bags and in the practice of plugging with wood the quills of feathers. Too much significance, however, must not be placed upon similarities such as the above, for the remarkable state of preservation of the Basket-maker material makes it appear so much like a collection from an existing tribe that it is particularly easy to fall into the way of drawing technological comparisons between it and modern articles, losing sight of the fact that the Basket-maker products are really of great antiquity and that the Paiute, Mohave, and other collections are things of yesterday. Where similarities occur, therefore, their significance as showing direct connection is open to question; the

long time interval has permitted the working of too many as yet unassayable factors of culture-growth and transmission.

It may seem to the reader that we have been unduly cautious in our failure to draw any definite conclusions. The work, however, is just beginning, and it is our desire to do no more than record for other students the evidence so far accumulated, and to present the few speculations as to its meaning which we have allowed ourselves to indulge in.





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**PAPERS**  
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**THE**  
**TURNER GROUP OF EARTHWORKS**  
**HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO**

**BY**  
**CHARLES C. WILLOUGHBY**

**WITH NOTES ON THE SKELETAL REMAINS BY**  
**EARNEST A. HOOTON**

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***TWENTY-SEVEN PLATES AND FORTY-SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS***  
***IN THE TEXT***

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**TO THE MEMORY OF  
FREDERICK WARD PUTNAM  
1839-1915**

**PIONEER OF SYSTEMATIC MOUND EXPLORATION  
IN OHIO, UNDER WHOSE DIRECTION THE WORK  
DESCRIBED IN THIS PAPER WAS CONDUCTED**





## NOTE

IN 1882, Mr. Michael Turner, on whose estate the group of earthworks described in the following paper was situated, gave the Peabody Museum of Harvard University the exclusive right of exploration. Previous to this date, the larger of the two tumuli within the elevated circle was known locally as the Whittlesey mound, in honor of the archaeologist who briefly described a portion of these remains in a paper published in 1850. Professor Putnam made arrangements with Dr. Charles L. Metz of Madisonville, to carry on the exploration, which was begun in May, 1882, and was continued as funds and time would permit, until the autumn of 1891. Little was done subsequent to this date. Mr. Volk explored several graves in 1905, and final work on mound 15 was completed in 1908. In the third volume of the Reports of the Peabody Museum, Professor Putnam has given brief notices of the investigations as they progressed, and has also called attention to some of the more important discoveries.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
March 1, 1922



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## THE TURNER GROUP OF EARTHWORKS HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO

### THE WORKS IN GENERAL

**Neighboring Groups.** The Turner Group of Earthworks is situated in Anderson Township, Hamilton County, Ohio, upon the left bank of the Little Miami River, about eight miles from its junction with the Ohio River. The valley of the Little Miami is one of the richest archaeological fields in the state. Mounds and other earthworks dot its surface. Within a comparatively short distance from the Turner Group are numerous mounds and small enclosures, which apparently have no direct connection with this group.

Some two or three miles to the northeast are the extensive Milford Works, comprising parallel embankments and enclosures of varying forms, together with a number of mounds. A mile or two to the north, across the Little Miami River, lie the Camden Works, consisting of a square and circular enclosure with connecting embankments. Several mounds belong to this group. The Milford and Camden Works were surveyed many years ago by General Lytle of Cincinnati. The plans were reproduced by Squier and Davis, who describe them briefly.<sup>1</sup> A few less important detached works, in the form of circles, parallelograms, and parallel embankments, lie not far distant.

Superficially, there is little resemblance between the Turner, Milford, and Camden Works. It is probable, however, that the purpose served was the same. In each of these neighboring groups, a lesser enclosure of circular form is connected with a greater enclosure by parallel embankments. In two instances, the lesser enclosure is situated upon an elevated terrace as though for additional security. It is probable that the larger enclosure contained the habitations and certain ceremonial buildings. The

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. I, plate xxxiv, Nos. 1 and 2a.

smaller enclosure may have been for defensive purposes, or perhaps was the site of the council house or principal public structure.

**General Description of the Turner Group.** The first account of these works is by T. C. Day in an article entitled *The Antiquities of the Miami Valley*, published in the Monthly Chronicle for November, 1839. This description refers principally to the elevated circle and graded way, and is quoted by Dr. Metz in his *Prehistoric Monuments of the Little Miami Valley*:<sup>1</sup>

It is situated on a ridge of land that juts out from the third bottom of the Little Miami. . . . Its probable height is 40 feet, and its length about a quarter of a mile before it expands out and forms the third alluvial bottom. About 150 yards from the extreme point of this ridge, the ancient workmen have cut a ditch directly through it. It is 30 feet in depth, its length, a semi-circular curve, is 500 feet, and its width at the top is 80 feet, having a level base of 40 feet.

At the time of its formation, it was probably cut to the base of the ridge, but the washing of the rains has filled it up to its present height. Forty feet from the western [northern] side of the ditch is placed the low circular wall of the fort, which describes in its circumference an area of about 4 acres. The wall is probably 3 feet in mean height, and is composed of the usual brick clay, occasionally intermixed with small flat river stones. It keeps at an exact distance from the top of the ditch, but approaches nearer to the edge of the ridge. The form of the fort is a perfect circle, and is 200 yards in diameter. Its western [northern] side is defended with a ditch, cut through the ridge in the same manner as the one on the eastern [southern] side. Its width and depth are the same, but its length is greater by 200 feet, as the ridge is that much wider than where the other is cut through. The wall of the fort keeps exactly the same distance from the top of this ditch as of the other, viz., 40 feet. Its curve is exactly the opposite of that of the other, so as to form two segments of a circle. At the southeastern side of the fort there is an opening in the wall 36 yards wide; and opposite this opening is one of the most marked features of this wonderful monument. A causeway extends out from the ridge about 300 feet in length, and 100 feet in width, with a gradual descent to the alluvial bottom at its base.

The material of its construction is evidently a portion of the earth excavated from the ditches. Its easy ascent and breadth would induce the belief that it was formed to facilitate the entrance of some ponderous vehicle or machines into the fort. To defend this entrance they raised a mound of earth 7 feet high, 40 wide, and 75 long. It is placed about 100 feet from the mouth of the causeway, and is so situated that its garrison could sweep it to its base. The whole area of the fort, the wall, and causeway are covered with large forest trees, but there is not a tree growing in either of the ditches, and there are but a few low underbrush on their side.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History*, Vol. I, No.3, 1878.

The next account is by Charles Whittlesey and was published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1850. It includes a description of the elevated circle, the graded way, a portion of the great enclosure, and some of the mounds. At that time the elevated circle and graded way were covered with a mixed growth of hard wood. This is said to have been removed in 1856. The lumber was cut from portions of the great enclosure about 1816, and the ground first plowed by Benjamin Marriott in 1825.<sup>1</sup> At the time of Whittlesey's brief survey, the mounds and embankments of the great enclosure had probably been reduced somewhat by cultivation, but the elevated circle and graded way had not been plowed. The following account by Whittlesey, together with his plan (figure 1), is reproduced through the courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution:<sup>2</sup>

Among the curious structures of the mound-builders, there are none more difficult to explain than this. On a detached ridge, composed of limestone gravel, covered with a clay loam, is a low wall, averaging 2 feet high, and 15 feet broad, nearly in the form of a circle; although its north and south diameter is about 25 feet the longer. The average diameter of the circle is 470 feet. The flat ridge on which figure A is situated, is about 25 feet higher than the adjacent plain, which is from 25 to 35 feet above the Little Miami River. Outside of the circular figure, there is a space from 20 to 30 feet wide, on the natural surface of the ground. On the two opposite sides of the circle, where it occupies the height of the ridge, is an external ditch, or excavation, enclosing about half the figure. It is from 70 to 85 feet broad at the top, and from 12 to 18 feet deep. The bottom of this trench is not smooth, and is from 7 to 10 feet higher than the adjacent plain. Its sides are as steep as the gravel and earth will lie. On the east, in the direction c, g, is an embankment or grade, extending by a gradual slope, from the enclosure A to the plain. It is 168 feet wide at the neck, where it joins A, and has, at the edges, raised side-walls, like those made for pavements in cities, with a drain or gutter inside. The space between the side-ways is rounded like a turnpike, as represented in the section d, e. Its length is 600 feet, and the side-ways are connected with a low and now almost obliterated wall, turning outwards each way at i, i. Some distance to the northeast is another traceable fragment, f, f; and this may, with i, i, have been portions of a large ellipse, now destroyed by time and cultivation.

The earth from the outside ditches of A was used to form the embankment c, g, through which a rivulet has cut its way near the eastern extremity. The small circle at c represents a mound 8 feet high, a little out of the center of

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Putnam, Manuscript Notes.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Whittlesey, *Descriptions of Ancient Works in Ohio*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. III, No. 7, pp. 9 and 10.



the work. The group of mounds, m, m, m, are from 2 to 14 feet in height. B is a circle, with a slight inside ditch, and a broad opening for an entrance.

The section, a, b, gives the position of the ditch, n, the bank, o, and the space of 30 feet between them, called a berme.

There are some examples of graded ways among the ancient works of Ohio, but none resembling this. The grade at Marietta leads from a strong work

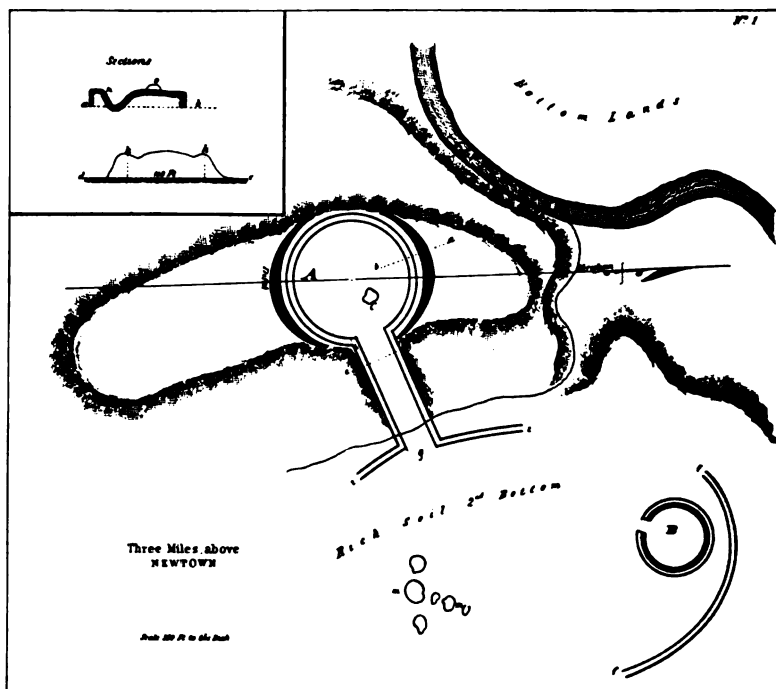


FIGURE 1

Whittlesey's plan of the Turner Group, 1850.

down to the Muskingum River, and had an evident purpose, that of access to water. It is principally an excavation and not an embankment. There is also a grade, partly in excavation and partly in bank, from a portion of the Newark Works in Licking County, leading to a branch of Licking or Pataskala River.

The great excavated road at Piketown, likewise descended to water. But here, a grade that might with as little labor have been constructed in a direct line to the Miami River, is made in the opposite direction, away from water. I should judge that the rivulet was not a permanent stream, and therefore

could not furnish a constant supply of water. Besides, the graded way instead of terminating at this rivulet, crosses it, and probably by an ancient culvert or sluice, allowed the water to pass under the road.

Without taking such measurements as would be sufficient to estimate the contents of the ditch in cubic yards, it appeared to be about equal to the embankment in capacity. The section a, b, gives its form, and the position of the low interior wall.

It is not improbable that there may have been outworks connected with this remarkable group that were not seen, or which have been destroyed by the plough.

The plan of the group shown in plate 1, is adapted from the survey by D. S. and J. A. Hosbrook of Cincinnati, made for the Peabody Museum in 1887. Cultivation for thirty-seven years since Whittlesey's plan was prepared has probably still further reduced the mounds and embankments.

The principal earthworks consist of a great oval enclosure situated on the second terrace of the Little Miami River, about 1000 feet from the river's edge. This enclosure is about 1500 feet long (nearly a third of a mile), and approximately 950 feet wide. At the northeastern end of the oval is an opening or gateway. At the southwestern end is a second opening which connects with a graded way about 600 feet long, leading to an elevated circle upon a portion of the first or upper terrace, which had been detached from the main part of the elevation by two deep trenches, one upon either side. This elevated circle is about 30 feet above the level of the great enclosure.

Within these two connected enclosures are two small earth circles with inner trenches, and fourteen mounds, occupying the positions illustrated in the plan and model, plate 1 and figure 2.

Eight hundred feet south from the elevated circle is the entrance to the long enclosure with low parallel embankments and rounded ends. This is nearly one-half mile in length and about 250 feet in width. This is probably analogous to the chunkey yard of the Creeks, where games were played and prisoners exhibited.

To the west of the elevated circle are four mounds upon the second terrace, regularly arranged in relation to the circle. To the north of the great enclosure and upon the third terrace at the river's edge is what is left of a stone-covered mound which has been partially carried away by river floods. Upon portions of the first terrace to the southward are several other mounds, not shown in

the plan, which probably bear no direct relation to the group under consideration.

**The Embankment of the Great Enclosure.** The embankment forming the great enclosure could be traced practically throughout its entire length. Beginning at the foot of the graded way, about one-half of the northwestern section was well defined except in one place, the average height being about 2 feet and the width approximately 20 feet. Beyond this, for a space of about 500 feet, the embankment was just perceptible; the remaining portion, ex-



FIGURE 2

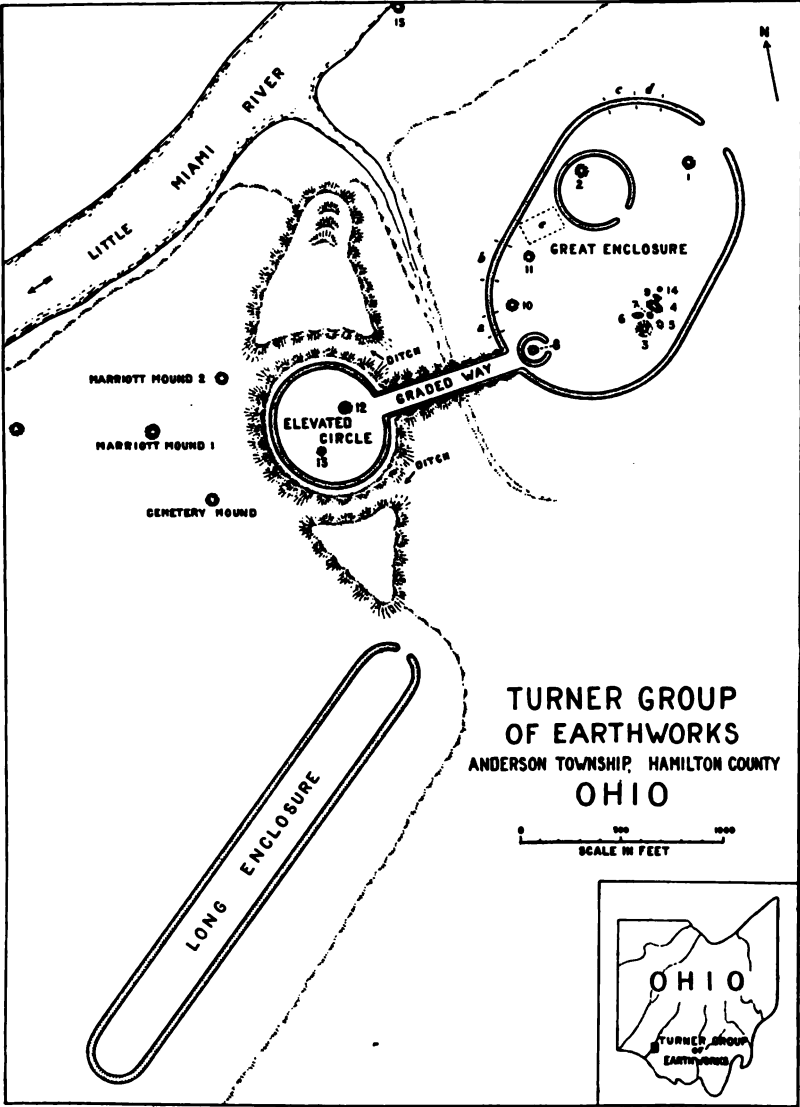
Model of the Turner Group, looking northwest.

tending to the northeastern gateway, was about 1 foot high and 25 feet wide.

The southeastern half of the embankment was nearly obliterated except near the western end, where it rose to a height of about three feet, but its outline could be traced for practically its entire length by the dark color of the soil.

Like numerous other similar embankments in southern Ohio there seems to have been no accompanying trench upon either side. The embankment was low, and while it may have been somewhat reduced by cultivation, it probably never was much higher than when first noted by Whittlesey. Hoping to throw some light upon its origin, it was decided to carry trenches through it at certain points.

**Trench A.** Just north of the southwestern opening at the foot of the graded way, a portion of the embankment was removed, in 1889, by digging a trench 100 feet long and 50 feet wide, at a,



Plan of the Turner Group of Earthworks from the survey by D. S. and J. A. Hosbrook, made for the Peabody Museum in 1887.



plate 1. Mr. M. A. Saville had charge of this work for the Museum. The trench was carried into the hard-pan, which lay at an average depth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet below the surface. Its sides extended somewhat beyond the edges of the embankment.

Within this excavation were found thirty-seven post-holes, several small ash-beds and pits, six altars, and a large hearth of flat limestones. Their distribution is shown in figure 3.

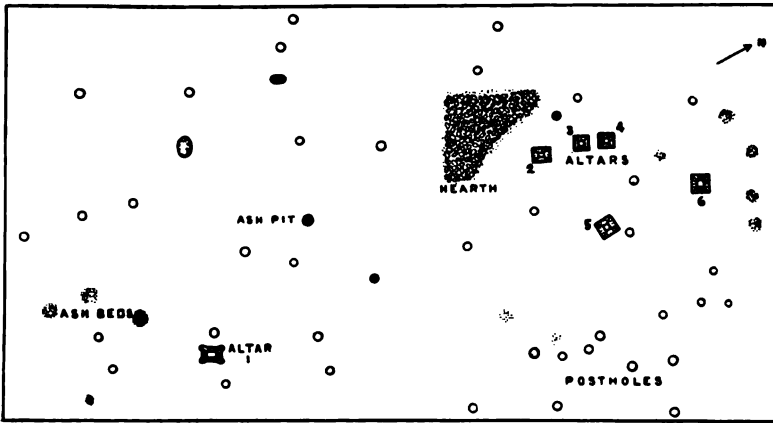


FIGURE 3

Plan of Trench a, embankment of the Great Enclosure.

The post-holes were 3 to 12 inches in diameter. The following table shows the number of each size measured:

Number of post-holes . . . . .	1	1	0	4	6	4	6	4	0	7
Diameter of post-holes in inches	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

With a few exceptions, these were not found until a depth of nearly 30 inches was reached. They extended from 10 inches to 3 feet beneath this level and into the hard-pan, the majority being 18 to 24 inches deep. Nearly all were filled with dark earth mixed with ashes and charcoal.

Several small ash-beds of various sizes were encountered, 9 to 30 inches below the surface, most of them lying at a depth of about 30 inches. Some of them may have been post-holes filled with ashes.

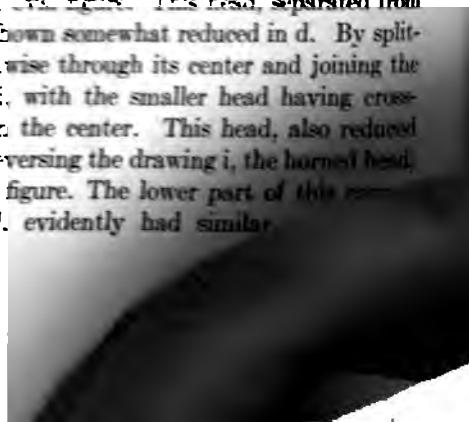
## THE SITE OF THE LATE PREHISTORIC

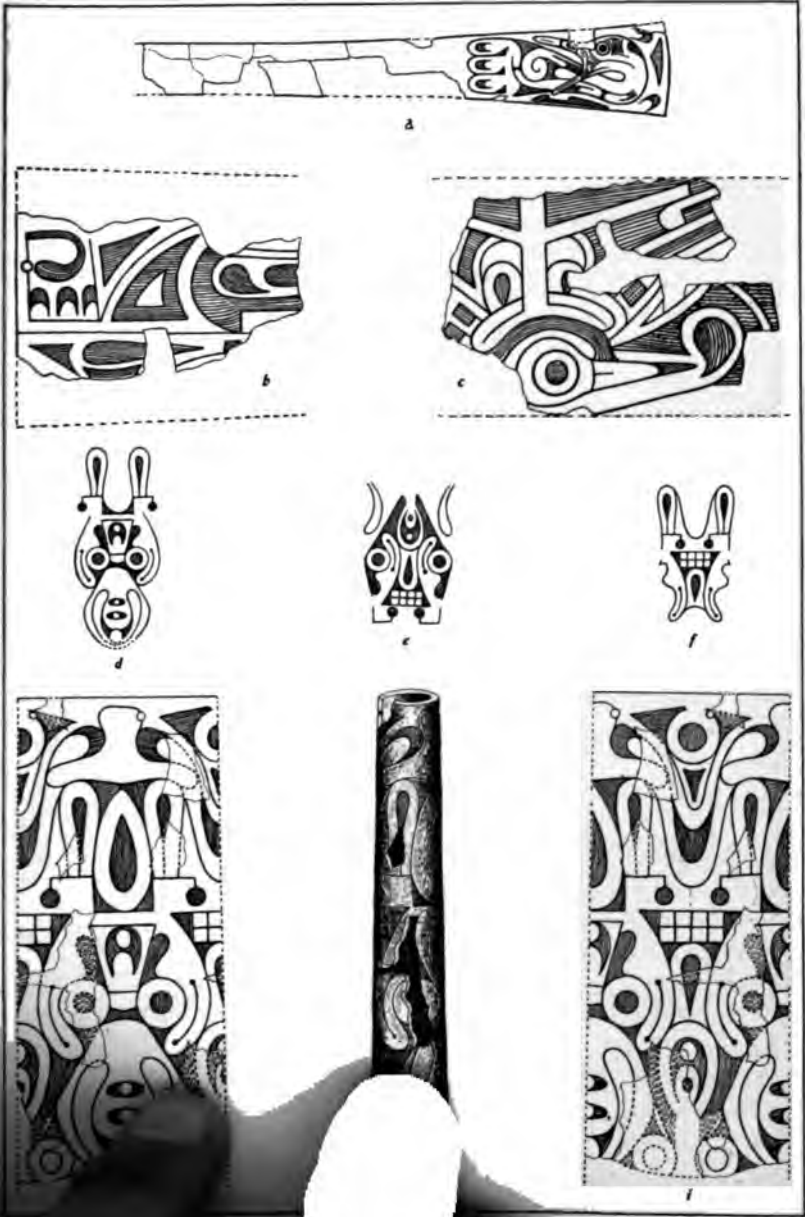
The site was discovered in 1911, and was found with many of the same objects as the site of the late prehistoric. The site was found with many of the same objects as the site of the late prehistoric.

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ent of the Great Enclosure:  
ragments of human femur;  
Animal heads, somewhat  
versed. (About 2/3.)





The designs upon fragments of another carved bone, probably a portion of human femur are shown developed in b and c. Unfortunately, only a small part of this specimen could be restored, and not enough of the design remains to be intelligible. Like most of these curious carvings, the complete design represents a conventionalized animal form, probably a bird. Two other examples of this class of work from the central altar of mound 3 are shown on pages 57 and 58. Interesting specimens from other mound groups are figured elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the carvings are upon human bones. One of the specimens from the Hopewell Group, Ross County, shows the figure of an ocelot incised upon one of the long bones of a large bird. Other examples are cut in antler and shell. Fragments of wooden bowls from the Hopewell Group show the same type of decoration. A stone pipe bowl from the Liberty Group, representing a human head, has the face ornamented with this form of decoration, indicating its use in face and body painting. This highly specialized style of ornamentation was doubtless applied to many other common objects.

This peculiar art development was no doubt as characteristic of the great earthwork area as that of the Northwest Coast tribes is of the region which they inhabit. It is probably true that in no section of America north of Mexico had decorative art reached a higher plane than in southern Ohio.

Altar 2 was intact but contained no artifacts. Altars 3, 4, and 6 had been broken or disturbed by the plow.

Altar 5 was in good condition and is shown in plate 9, a. This is now in the Cincinnati Museum. Its cavity was filled with ashes, charcoal, and burnt bone. Among the ashes were found a perforated fossil tooth of a shark, seventeen shell beads of various forms and sizes, four pearl beads, a broken point, and fragments of bone and antler implements.

It seems probable that a building of some kind occupied the space uncovered by this trench, possibly one of a series of earth-covered structures originally forming the enclosure.

We are apt to associate earth-covered buildings with the Arikara, Pawnee, Mandan, or other western and northern tribes, forgetting

<sup>1</sup> C. C. Willoughby, *The Art of the Great Earthwork Builders of Ohio*, Holmes Anniversary Volume, Washington, 1916.

that in early historic times it was the custom among many of the southern and central Indians to cover the walls (and in some instances the roof also) of their variously shaped buildings with clay or earth. The Caddo, Taensa, Natchez, Choctaw, and Biloxi are among the tribes who followed this custom.

It was suggested by Lewis H. Morgan<sup>1</sup> many years ago that long earth-covered communal houses may have occupied some of the embankments of the great earthwork enclosures of southern Ohio.

The excavation of portions of this low embankment seems to

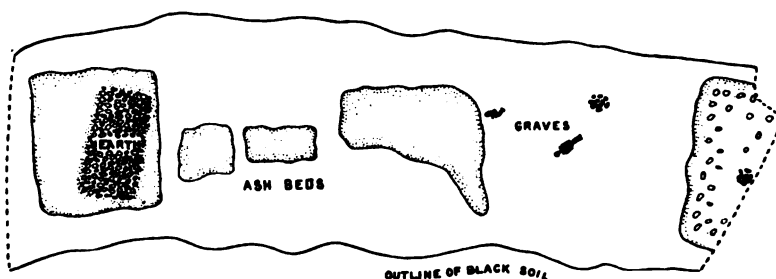


FIGURE 4

Plan of Trench c, embankment of the Great Enclosure.

indicate that possibly in this instance the enclosure may originally have been formed of oblong earth-covered buildings, erected upon the natural surface of the ground. It is possible that they may have been arranged in clan groups, something after the manner of the great tribal circles of some of the Plains Indians. As the buildings decayed, the earth covering and other debris would be added to the dark earth and ashes surrounding and covering the hearths, some of which were found undisturbed during the excavations. This is offered as a suggestion only, and may be worth considering in future explorations of similar earthworks.

*Trench B.* To the north of trench a, the embankment apparently had been reduced in height for a space of about 150 feet. This part was not explored. To the northeast of this leveled portion, a second trench, plate 1, b, the same width of the first, was dug

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. IV, pp. 207-214.

for a distance of 200 feet. Nothing of special interest was encountered in or beneath the embankment at this point. One small altar containing no artifacts was unearthed near its southwestern end, and seventeen post-holes, irregularly arranged, two or three ash-pits or ash-beds, and the remains of a child, were found at intervals.

*Trench C.* In 1890 the exploration of the embankment at c, plate 1, was continued under the charge of Mr. Saville. Several ash-beds, an undisturbed hearth of flat limestones, and four shallow graves were unearthed. The positions of these are shown in the

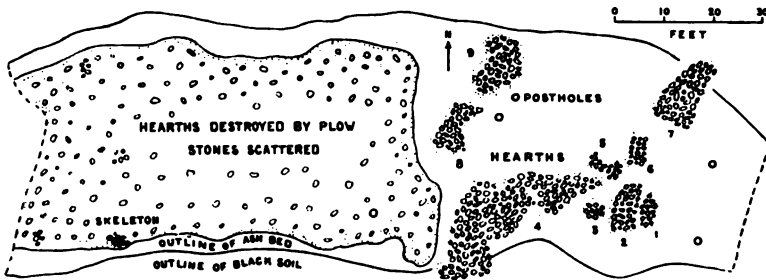


FIGURE 5

Plan of Trench d, embankment of the Great Enclosure.

plan, figure 4. The composition of the embankment at this point was similar to that shown by trench d.

*Trench D.* During the same season, Mr. Ernest Volk also explored 150 feet of the embankment at the point just east of trench c. The results are indicated in figure 5.

Several hearths were found in the eastern half of the excavation. These consisted of one to three layers of limestones which had in most cases been placed on a thin layer of surface soil overlying a natural stratum of clay. Mixed with the hearth stones and covering their surface were ashes, charcoal, and black soil. Many of the stones were partially, and a few wholly, calcined by the heat. The deepest of these hearths was only 14 inches beneath the surface, but none of them had been disturbed by plowing. The hearths in the western half of the trench, however, were nearer the surface, and the stones had been scattered by the plow throughout this area. Mixed with the ashes and black soil in both sec-

tions were potsherds, flint chips, fragments of mica, broken bone, and flint implements, broken and burnt bones of various animals, and also a fragment of a terra-cotta figure similar to those from the altar of mound 4.

Six post-holes were found, symmetrically arranged. The positions of these are shown by the small circles in the plan. They

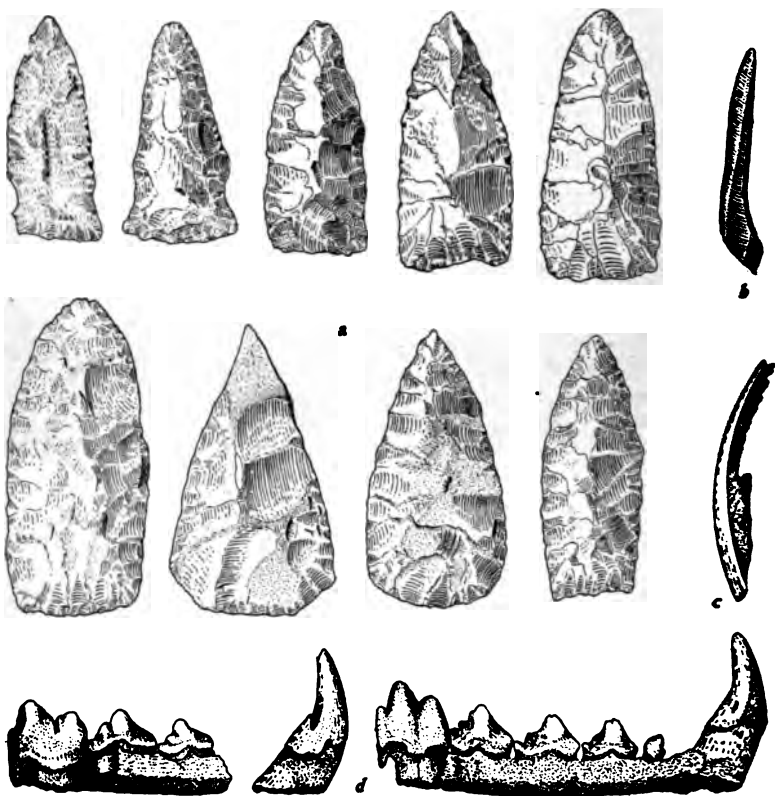


FIGURE 6

Objects found with skeleton in Trench d: a, Chipped knives; b, Flaked knife; c, Beaver tooth chisel; d, Cut jaw of wolf. (About 1/2.)

were about 3 feet in depth. The smallest was 7 inches, and the largest was 12 inches in diameter. They may have formed a part of the supporting timbers of a large structure. Near the southern edge of the black soil, in the western part of the trench, portions of

a skeleton were found which had apparently been disturbed by cultivation. Only a few fragments of the skull were unearthed, and these showed contact with fire. With the bones were nine undisturbed flint knives lying together, figure 6, a. Seven were leaf-shaped, and two had shallow side notches. Five of these flint knives were in a row, points to the north. Above these were four others, with points to the south. There were found also with the bones, a flaked knife, b; the cut lower jaw of a gray wolf, d; and a beaver tooth chisel, c.

At the time of the exploration of mound 1, a trench was carried into the embankment just north of its eastern opening. A hearth



FIGURE 7

Elevated Circle and Graded Way, looking nearly west. Mound 12 is shown in the distance to the right of the center.

or stratum of burnt limestones, 6 to 10 inches deep, and about 30 feet wide, formed its base at this point. Dr. Metz writes as follows regarding its composition in the vicinity of this excavation:

The northeastern section of the embankment for a distance of 300 feet was composed of ashes, charcoal, burnt limestone, and earth, in which were innumerable fragments of chipped points, implements, pottery, and burnt bone, also many perfect implements, beads, etc. This part of the embankment was a great place to make surface finds, and many specimens were gathered by collectors.

**The Elevated Circle.** This is situated on what was originally an oblong elevation or table-land, formed by a detached portion of the first river terrace, about 2-5 of a mile long and 550 feet broad near its center. The central portion of this terrace (see plate 1, and figures 2 and 7) had been made into a circular elevation by

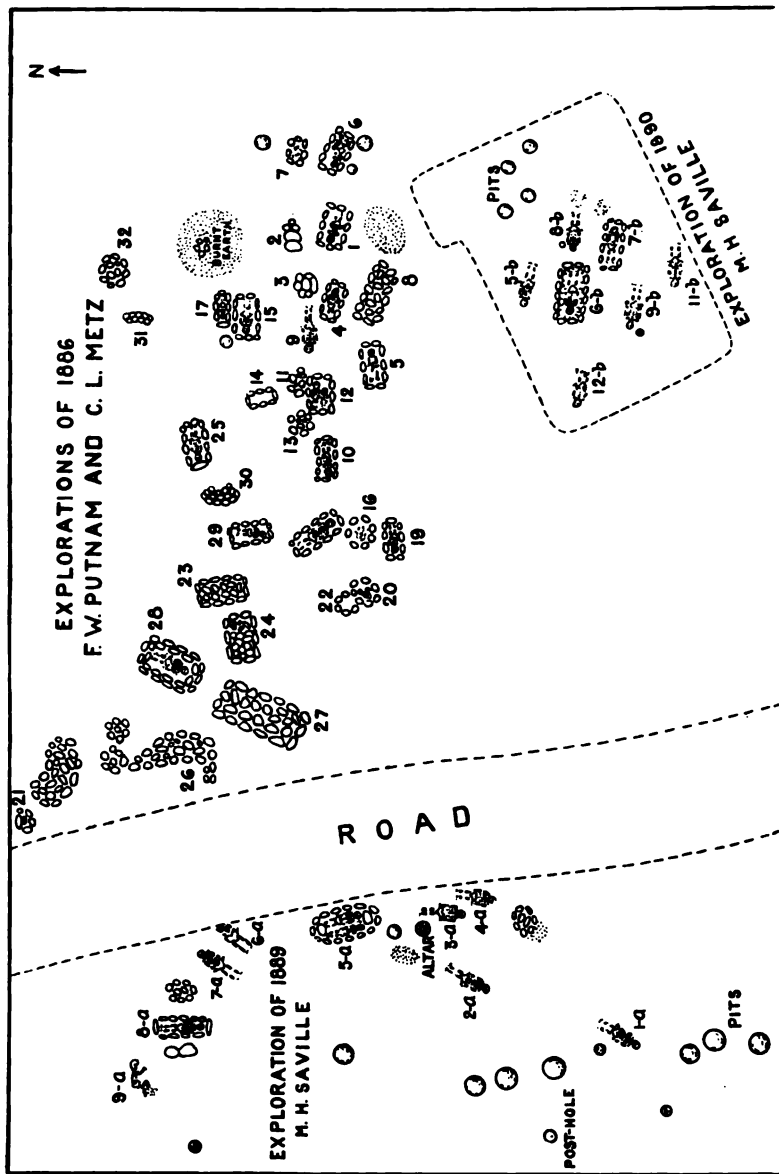
cutting two deep ditches in the form of segments of circles through the hill. According to Whittlesey's measurements, these trenches were 70 to 85 feet broad at the top, and 12 to 18 feet deep. The top of the elevation was 25 to 30 feet above the field of the great enclosure. The greater portion of the earth taken from these great trenches had undoubtedly been used to form the graded way, which connected the elevated circle with the great enclosure. Probably a part of it was also used in the construction of the circular embankment upon the elevation.

The embankment forming the elevated circle was, in Whittlesey's day, about 15 feet across and two feet high. The enclosure formed by this embankment was approximately 482 feet in diameter, north and south, and 485 feet, east and west, and contained two mounds. The space between the circle and the edge of the embankment upon which it was built was about 25 feet wide, with a gradual slope outward.

#### BURIAL PLACES WITHIN THE GREAT ENCLOSURE

**General Description.** Upon the northwestern side of the great enclosure at the point marked e, plate 1, is a low ridge, which was about a foot in height above the general level of the field. This ridge had been plowed since 1825. Here Dr. Metz had noticed, in various places, small areas covered with flat river stones, which had been disturbed by plowing. This, in connection with the fact that skeletons had been unearthed when the road leading across the ridge to the river was made, led to the conclusion that it was the site of an ancient cemetery. Explorations were begun by Professor Putnam on September 22, 1886, with the help of two men, and the work was carried on till October 2. During this time graves 1 to 25 were explored. The work was continued in October by Dr. Metz, who opened seven additional graves (26 to 32). The plans and cross-sections are from sketches by these two explorers. In 1889 and 1890, other portions of this burial place were excavated by Mr. Saville, who was then a student with Professor Putnam.

The interments of the uncremated bodies were usually in comparatively shallow graves, many of which were carefully constructed and outlined with flat limestones set upright. In some instances, a wall was laid at the head and foot (see plates 4 and 5).



Burial Place within the Great Enclosure. Its position is shown by the area e, plate 1.





The bottoms of a few of the more carefully made graves were paved with flat stones, and upon this paving the body was extended, usually upon its back. Comparatively few artifacts were found with the skeletons. These, however, were usually of such a nature as to show conclusively that the burials were contemporary with the people who built these mounds and enclosures. The graves were usually filled with earth, and covered with one or more layers of limestones, which in some instances extended beyond the limits of the grave. Other graves were filled with stones. Still others were without the side and end stones. These, however, were usually, but not always, partially or wholly covered with a layer of stones near the surface.

The graves or cineraria containing cremated human remains were usually small excavations outlined, like the larger graves, with flat limestones set upright. They were circular, or in the form of a parallelogram. Occasionally, the ashes and burnt bones of a cremated body were interred in the grave with the ordinary burial. Sometimes elaborate stone cists were constructed for these remains, as in grave 27 (plates 3, and 4, h). Like the large graves, these cineraria were often protected by a layer of stones, at or near the surface. Some of the layers covered much more space than was occupied by the grave itself. At times, the cremated remains were placed in a comparatively shallow excavation, and covered with earth, no stones being used in connection with the burial.

A few burnt spaces and beds of ashes were found in the cemetery where bodies may have been burned, but it seems more probable that most of the cremating took place on the site of one of the large mounds, where evidences of long continued and intense fires were abundant. Only a few artifacts were found with the cremated burials.

**Graves Excavated by F. W. Putnam, 1886.** *Grave 1.*<sup>1</sup> This contained the skeleton of an adult extended upon its back, head to the west (see plates 3, and 4, e). The grave was outlined with upright limestones. Just north of the skull was a large shell vessel; shell beads were at the neck; a spool-shaped ear-ornament of copper rested in each hand; and near the left tibia were found a

<sup>1</sup> A few of the more important of these graves are described by Professor Putnam in the Peabody Museum Reports, Vol. III, pp. 556-562.

bead, a copper pin, a flint flake, and two pieces of shell. Within the grave, and near the right hand of the skeleton, rested a pile of burnt human bones, about a foot in diameter.

*Grave 2.* This small grave contained burnt human bones, and was outlined with eleven flat stones. The inside measurements were: length, 22 inches; width, 11 inches; depth, 10 inches (plate 4, d). The grave was covered with two large flat stones, and

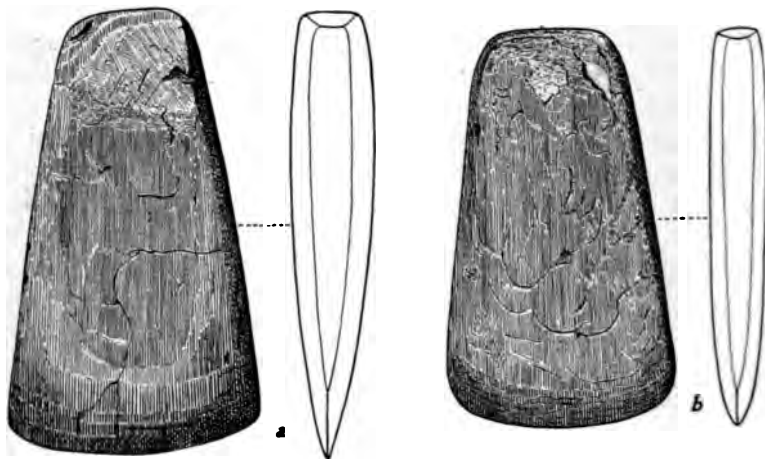


FIGURE 8

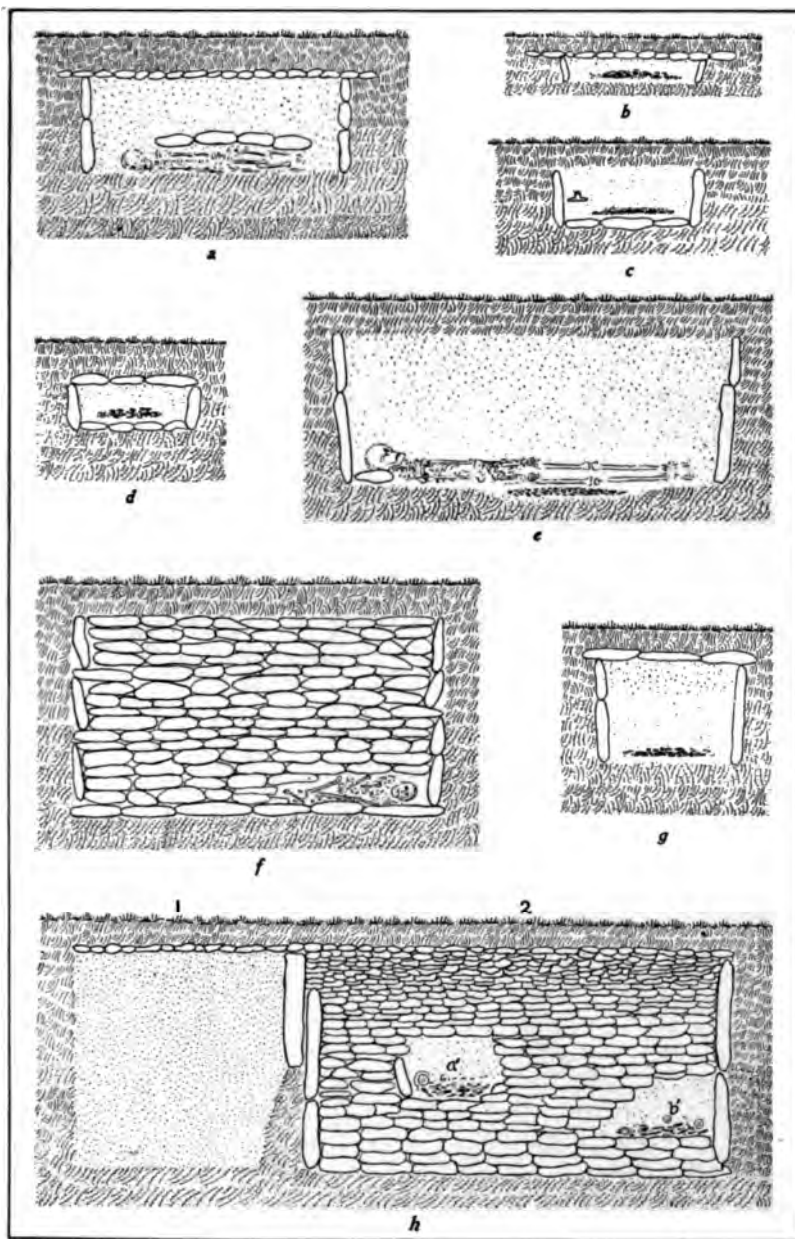
Ceremonial axe blades of cannel coal from Burial Place e, of the Great Enclosure: a, From Grave 12; b, From Grave 8. (1/2.)

several small ones. Two beads and an ornament, all of shell, were found with the bones.

*Grave 3.* Although covered with stones, and having the general appearance of a grave, this may have been used for another purpose. It was about 4 feet in diameter, and had been dug in the gravel to about the same depth. It was filled with black soil, charcoal, and ashes. It had much the appearance of a cache-pit. No human remains were found in it.

*Grave 4.* A small grave with stones surrounding it. It contained the extended skeleton of a child, head to the east.

*Grave 5.* This was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, 33 inches wide, and 20 inches deep, and was outlined with the usual upright stones. Four large flat stones, upon which the body had been placed, nearly covered



Cross-sections of graves containing skeletons or cremated human remains, Burial Place in the Great Enclosure: a, Grave 29; b, Grave 32; c, Grave 7; d, Grave 2; e, Grave 1; f, Grave 24; g, Grave 21; h, Grave 27.



the bottom of the grave. The body was extended, head to the east. With the bones of each hand lay a spool-shaped ear-ornament of copper. At the side of the grave near the left shoulder were two pairs of similar ornaments, and a bone point. At its foot near the southern corner lay a conical stone object, bear teeth ornaments, and a piece of galena. Two of the teeth were inlaid with pearls. Under the large floor-stone near the foot of the grave were several flint flaked knives, and a small copper blade (figure 44, b). Beneath the second floor-stone lay the two discs of a spool-shaped ear-ornament, and a portion of a copper-covered bead. Under the third floor-stone were a copper bead, and a band of thin copper. These objects are shown in plate 6, a.

*Grave 6.* This was neatly walled, and covered with twenty-one small stones. It contained two skeletons, which are shown in plate 5, b. One extended on its back, skull to the west, and arms lying at full length; left hand over hip, and the right a few inches away from side of hip. The legs had been pushed to one side to make room for the second body, the skull of which was just below the hips of the first. The legs of the second body were somewhat drawn up, extending by the side and partly under the legs of the first. The bodies were both adults, the extended one probably a female, and the other a male. They evidently were interred at the same time.

*Grave 7.* This is shown beyond grave 6, in plate 5, b. It is surrounded by eleven stones set on edge. Dimensions, 30 by 16 inches. Its bottom was partly covered by seven small stones. It contained burnt human bones, and a much disintegrated tobacco pipe. A cross-section of this grave appears in plate 4, c.

*Grave 8.* This proved to be a pile of gravel,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet long by 4 feet wide, carefully covered with many stones, 6 to 12 inches in diameter. The surface soil had been cleared away all about the gravel, leaving it in the form of a grave mound, but there were no edge stones. No skeleton was discovered beneath the gravel. To the east of this grave, at a distance of 3 feet, was the edge of a fireplace, 6 feet in diameter, where the clay overlying the gravel had been burned to a depth of 3 or 4 inches.

*Grave 9.* Adult skeleton, head to the west. The grave was not outlined with stones. Bits of mica were near the right side.

*Grave 10.* Considerable gravel, and about thirty stones were over this grave, which contained the skeleton of an adult at a depth of 16 inches from the surface. The skull, which is shown in plate 25, occupied the southwestern corner, and rested upon its left side. A small axe blade of cannel coal (figure 8, b) lay near the right arm in such a position as to indicate that its handle had rested in the hand of the deceased. Within the grave, to the south of the leg bones, was a small circle of upright stones, containing burnt human bones, probably the remains of a cremated body.

*Grave 11.* A stone-covered grave that had been disturbed by the plow. No bones were found.

*Grave 12.* This was close to grave 11. It contained two skeletons. The one at the south side was extended, head to the east. The bones of the second skeleton were in a pile. Beside the skull lay a shell ornament, while among the bones a short distance from the skull lay an axe blade of cannel coal (figure 8, a). This bunched skeleton was evidently a secondary burial.

*Grave 13.* A small grave carefully made, outlined with side stones, and covered with twenty-six small stones; probably for cremated human remains. No bones were found in it.

*Grave 14.* Of small size, 4 feet long and 1 foot wide. No human remains found.

*Grave 15.* The end walls of this grave were carefully constructed, but the sides were made by simply placing a row of stones in the clay. The bottom of the grave was not paved, the body being placed upon the natural gravel bed, with its head to the west. The foot bones and skull touched the opposite ends of the grave. A flaked knife lay near the left shoulder. At the neck were two shell beads. A copper band rested upon the breast bone, and a copper ear-ornament lay with the bones of each hand. A number of flaked knives were also found. These specimens are shown at the left in plate 7, a.

*Grave 16.* This was nearly circular in form, about 4 feet in diameter, and was outlined with twenty-one stones. Resting on the stones at the bottom of the grave were cremated human remains.

*Grave 17.* Just north of grave 15, their side walls adjoining. The body had been buried in clay. Small stones covered top of grave.



Burial Place in the Great Enclosure: a, Grave 6-b, with Grave 9-b in background; b, Grave 6, with Grave 7 in the background containing cremated remains; c, Grave 8-b.





*Grave 18.* This had been dug in gravel to the depth of 3 feet, and had over it a pile of gravel 8 inches high, surrounded by small stones set on edge. The skeleton lay with its head to the south-east. Near the right shoulder rested a large shell vessel. Two perforated bear teeth, an ear-ornament of copper, and a small plate of hammered copper were at the neck; an ear-ornament of the usual form had been placed in either hand (plate 6, c). The skull from this grave is shown in plate 26.

*Grave 19.* Surrounded and covered with stones. Gravel pile over it. Contained skeleton of child.

*Grave 20.* A small circular grave outlined with upright stones. It contained the skeleton of a child in a flexed position, lying on its left side, facing north. With the remains were a small copper blade, the bone of a turkey, a flaked knife, an axe blade, and four small concretions of curious form, two of which are cup-shaped. These are shown in the group at the right, plate 7, a.

*Grave 21.* Small, about 2 by 3 feet, and 2 feet in depth. Outlined and covered with stones. It contained burnt human bones, and fragments of a thin copper ornament (plate 4, g).

*Grave 22.* This had been partially destroyed by the plow. It was the small stone-covered grave of a child.

*Grave 23.* An area 7 feet long and 4 feet wide, covered with flat stones. This had been dug to a depth of 4 feet, and filled with loose gravel and mixed earth. No human remains were found.

*Grave 24.* This proved to be nearly a duplicate in size of grave 23. Unlike the latter, however, its bottom was paved with forty-nine flat river stones, 6 to 12 inches in diameter. In the eastern half of the grave, fragments of a skeleton were found resting on the pavement, the skull against the northern bank. Two flint knives and a few potsherds were taken from the grave. Over the bones was a pile of about three hundred river stones, 6 to 18 inches in diameter, completely filling the grave (plate 4, f). Mixed with the stones was loose black earth, evidently the result of infiltration.

*Grave 25.* Outlined with flat limestones. Skeleton extended on back with head to the west. Several flint flakes rested on the right scapula, which was much decayed.

*Cache-pits and Post-holes.* To the northeast of grave 21, a stone-covered pit was located, which had been dug to the depth of 3 feet in disturbed earth to the hard gravel. No human bones were

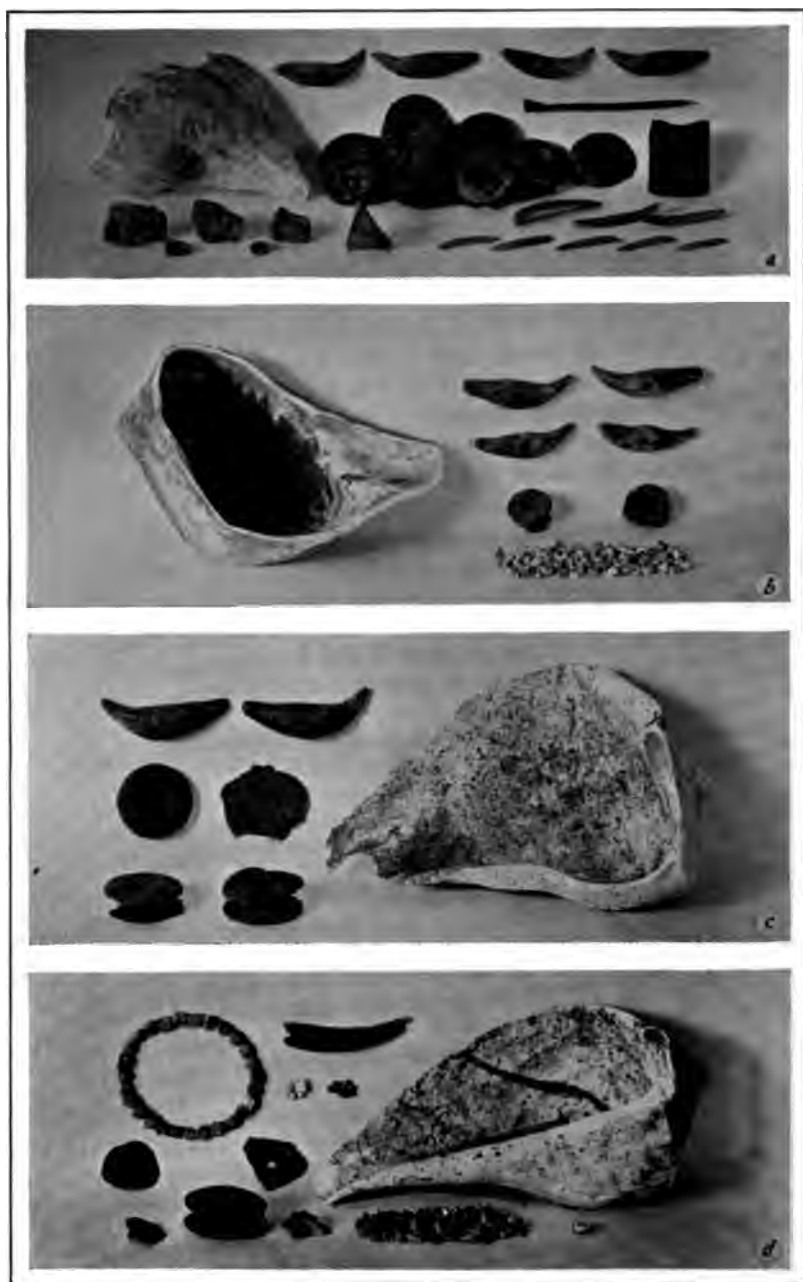
found, only a few potsherds and bones of animals. In addition to the above, Professor Putnam found a small number of post-holes, burnt areas, and what appear to be cache-pits, which are located upon the plan.

Grave 25, explored October 2, was the last one opened by Professor Putnam, in this cemetery. The work was continued during a portion of the month by Dr. Metz, who explored graves 26 to 32. These were in the northern portion of this cemetery. The following account is from the notes of Dr. Metz.

**Graves Excavated by C. L. Metz, 1886.** *Grave 26.* An irregular area covered with flat stones,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length, and 5 feet in width at its widest point. Beneath the stones a pit 9 feet long and 4 feet wide, had been dug to a depth of 3 feet. This contained black soil, sand, and gravel. On the bottom near its center lay a piece of mica; near its northern end a post-hole, 10 inches in diameter and 19 inches deep, had been sunk beneath the level of the floor. No human remains were found.

*Grave 27.* This was a stone-covered space, 12 feet long and 6 feet wide. On removing the stones, two pits were discovered (see longitudinal-section, plate 4, h). Pit 1 was 4 feet wide, and had been dug to the same depth. It contained dark earth, a few animal remains, and burnt stones. Pit 2 was filled with stones, as shown in the drawing. A little north of the center, pit 2, was a cist (a'), 18 inches long and 12 inches high, containing fragments of human bones; and against a portion of the temporal bone rested one-half of a copper ear-ornament. Shell beads were also found with the bones. At the southern end of the pit, and near its bottom, a second cist (b') was discovered, containing cremated human bones and the remains of a pair of copper ear-ornaments. There were no indications that the burning of the bodies had been carried on in the pit. The cremating had evidently taken place elsewhere, and the ashes and partially burnt bones placed in the tomb made to receive them.

*Grave 28.* This had been dug to a depth of little more than 3 feet, and measured 6 feet long by 4 feet wide. The stone-covered area over the grave was 10 feet long by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide. These stones were covered to a depth of 9 inches by surface soil. The grave contained the extended skeleton of an adult, head to the south-west. No artifacts were found with it.



Artifacts found with human remains: a, From Grave 5; b, With Skeleton d, Mound 12; c, From Grave 18; d, From place of cremation (10), Mound 3. (1/5.)



*Grave 29.* Sides and ends lined with upright stones. Adult skeleton, placed face downward, legs flexed on thighs. Bones badly broken by four large stones which lay over the skeleton. The stones covering the grave extended 6 to 8 inches beyond the edge of the excavation (plate 4, a).

*Grave 30.* A crescent-shaped arc of stones, 5 feet long and 1 to 2 feet wide, under which was a pit 2 feet deep and 8 inches wide, containing black soil and ashes, a fragment of unio shell, and a few animal bones. No human remains, recognized as such, were found.

*Grave 31.* A space 3 feet long and 12 inches wide, covered with the usual flat stones. Beneath this was a pit, 2 feet long, 8 inches wide, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep. At its bottom was about a foot of white ashes containing a few fragments of animal bones; above the ashes was a stratum of gravel, the remainder of the pit being filled with black soil.

*Grave 32.* An oval stone-covered area, 4 feet long and 3 feet wide, under which was a grave in the form of a parallelogram, 30 inches long, 24 inches broad, and 6 inches deep. This was outlined with flat limestones. It contained burnt human bones covered with a layer of sand and ashes, in which were found a long implement of bone, and several awls and needles of the same material (plate 4, b).

**Graves Excavated by M. H. Saville, 1889-90.** In connection with other work for the Museum at this group of mounds, in 1889, Mr. Saville explored the small area of this burial place lying to the west of the roadway (see plate 3).

*Grave 1-a.* The principal burial in this grave lay 2 feet beneath the surface, head to the southwest. A large busycon shell vessel rested near the left side of the skull, and near the left shoulder were several flaked knives. On the upper part of the breast lay a copper band, 3 inches long and 2 inches wide, with the sides bent over. This was similar to the bent copper bands from graves 5 and 15, although somewhat larger. The bones of a second skeleton were scattered over the lower half of the first. Its pelvis was in three pieces; its skull lay near its feet bones, while the lower jaw rested a foot from it. The earth covering the upper portion of the first skeleton had been burned; and about a foot above the head and shoulders, and the same distance below the surface, was a

bed of burnt human bones, 12 inches in diameter, and an inch thick. A layer of flat limestones covered this cremated burial.

*Grave 2-a.* Beneath a layer of burnt earth mixed with ashes, 14 inches from the surface, was a much decayed skeleton, head to the southwest. No artifacts were found with it.

*Grave 3-a.* Covering this interment was a layer of limestones. The body had been placed with the head to the south. It lay 15 inches from the surface. Near the left side of the pelvis were the remains of a large shell vessel. Near the west side of this grave was a small circular altar-like structure of burnt clay, 21 inches across, with a basin 12 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep, containing mixed soil and charcoal. This altar was nearly 4 feet below the surface.

*Grave 4-a.* This contained the skeleton of a child. It lay with head to the south, and near the top of the skull was a fragmentary pottery vessel.

*Grave 5-a.* One foot beneath the surface, a layer of limestones was uncovered. On removing these stones, a grave extending 9 feet north and south was found. It was outlined with flat stones set upright, and was 4 feet 8 inches wide at the center, and 3 feet wide at the ends. Just within the upright lining stones, at either end, lay a large limestone slab. This carefully constructed grave contained two adult skeletons, extended heads to the south. The skull of the skeleton to the west had been destroyed by the digging of a hole for a fence post. Some of the fragments which remained were impregnated with copper salts, showing that some article of copper, small pieces of which were found, had been deposited in contact with it. The skeleton in the eastern portion of the grave was lying partly upon its left side. In each hand rested a spool-shaped ear-ornament of copper. At the feet of each body a busycon shell vessel had been placed. Between the adult skeletons and near the right shoulder of the first, were the remains of a child, a shell vessel, and several small pieces of copper. Between the lower limbs of the adult skeletons were a considerable quantity of human remains, two pieces of galena, and a thick piece of mica, which had also been subjected to the action of fire.

*Grave 6-a.* This contained only a part of the skeleton, the skull and bones of the upper part of body having been washed out of the embankment formed by the roadway.

*Grave 7-a.* An extended burial, head to the north. Bones much decayed. No artifacts.

*Grave 8-a.* A much decayed skeleton, 2 feet from the surface, head a little west of south. Large limestones were at the head and foot of the grave which was covered with a stone layer. Twelve inches west from the edge of the grave were two large stone slabs beneath which, at a depth of 2 feet, was a mass of burnt human bones, 4 inches in depth, occupying a space 3 feet long and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide.

*Grave 9-a.* This contained a flexed skeleton, lying upon its left side, head to the east. Near the feet and leg bones was a bed of cremated human remains, 2 feet from the surface.

*Cache-pits and Other Remains.* A few feet southeast of grave 2-a, and 6 inches below the surface, a bed of flat limestones, 4 feet long and 2 feet wide, was found. At its western end, and 10 inches from the surface, was a mass of burnt bone, presumably human, in small fragments.

A short distance to the west of grave 3-a, and the circular altar, was a hearth or burnt space, 3 feet long by 2 feet wide. To the east of grave 8-a was a stone-covered pit containing large masses of burnt clay and charcoal.

A few cache-pits and post-holes occurred, mostly to the southwest of these burials. The pits were usually 4 to 6 feet deep, and 30 to 40 inches in diameter. They contained charcoal, ashes, burnt clay, potsherds, and animal bones. The post-holes were usually about 10 inches in diameter, and 18 to 24 inches deep.

Work was continued in this cemetery by Mr. Saville in 1890 in the southeastern portion, within the area enclosed by broken lines.

*Grave 5-b.* This burial was less than a foot from the surface, and was extended upon the back. Near the right shoulder was a sandstone pipe of unusual form, figure 11, b. Near the left elbow was a small pile of stones, and near the right foot, a flaked knife. If stones originally covered the grave, they were probably disturbed by the plow, and removed.

*Grave 6-b.* This contained a single extended skeleton, upon a pavement of flat stones (plate 5, a). The tops of the well-made walls at the head and foot were 12 inches from the surface, and the sides of the grave were outlined with flat stones set upright. In the right hand of the skeleton rested a piece of galena, and the



worked lower jaw of a bear. In the left hand, two small pieces of galena had been placed. The stones forming the foot of the grave lay over a filled pit of unusual extent. This was about 3 feet in diameter, and had been excavated to a depth of 10 feet. It was filled with burnt clay and charcoal, mixed with a few animal bones and flaked stones. Small piles of stones, five or six in a pile, were found at various depths.

*Grave 7-b.* The body was extended, head to the southeast, and lay about 12 inches beneath the surface. The grave was not paved, but was outlined with the usual flat stones set on edge. Near the left tibia, fourteen unperforated canine teeth of the bear were lying in a pile, together with a piece of much decayed worked antler, evidently the handle of the flint knife found near it. There was also a small rudely chipped knife, probably unfinished.

*Grave 8-b.* This was without the outline of upright stones, and contained the skeleton of a child, 2 feet 9 inches beneath the surface. Near the skull rested a large busycon shell food vessel, within which was a large unio shell spoon. A similar spoon and one valve of a unio shell, unworked, lay near the vessel. This burial is shown in plate 5, c.

*Grave 9-b.* A few feet to the south of grave 6-b, excavations revealed a layer of stones a few inches beneath the surface. This is shown in the background in a, plate 5. Upon removing this layer, other stones were found, and nearly a cart-load was taken out. Three inches under the lower layer of stones, and 3 feet 9 inches from the surface, was the extended skeleton of an adult male. Three inches from the right side of the skull lay a pottery vessel, crushed by the weight of the stones above. Within it was a unio shell spoon. Against the pot rested a large busycon shell vessel, and against this was a sheet of mica. Among the bones of the right hand were two ear-ornaments of copper, and in the left hand two similar but less well-preserved ornaments. On the left side, between the arm bones and ribs, were scattered nineteen small shell beads, and six bone awls or pins with points toward the shoulder. Resting on the awls were a flaked knife of chalcedony, and a copper pin (plate 7, c).

*Grave 10-b.* This was small, and contained cremated human remains and a copper pin or awl. About 3 feet to the southwest was another similar interment, without artifacts.



a, Artifacts from Graves 15 (left) and 20; b, From Grave 16, Mound 1; c, From Grave 9-b; d, Cremated human bones, place of cremation, Mound 3. (1/6.)



*Grave 11-b.* The skeleton was extended 21 inches beneath the surface, head to the west. The grave was neither outlined nor covered with stones. A small quantity of mica lay near the left femur. The bones were much decayed.

*Grave 12-b.* The most westerly of the graves in this group. The skeleton lay 3 feet beneath the surface under a few limestones. Some of the bones were disarranged. Both bones of each lower leg were broken squarely across at about a third of their length below the knee. The extremities of the right leg lay nearly at right angles across the right femur just below its center, while those of the left extended diagonally downward from near the center of the left femur. The foot bones occupied their normal position in relation to the lower portions of each tibia and fibula. The skull was twisted from its natural position, its right side resting upon the upper portion of the right humerus. Near the skull lay a busycon

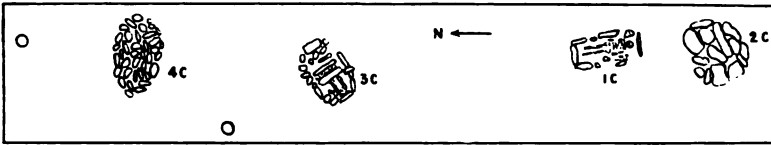


FIGURE 9  
Graves north of Mound 14.

shell vessel, and an antler needle 16 inches long and  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch in diameter.

*Cache-pits.* Five pits occupied the positions shown in the plan. Most of these were 4 to 6 feet deep, and about 30 inches in diameter at the top. From the surface downward, the contents of pit 1 were as follows: 6 inches of black soil; 33 inches of clay; 9 inches of gravel; and 27 inches of charcoal, burnt clay, and pieces of bone and chert. The contents of the other pits were similar.

**Graves Excavated by Ernest Volk, 1905.** To the northeast of the group of seven altar-mounds in the southeastern part of the great enclosure, a few graves were explored by Mr. Volk for the Museum in 1905. These were similar to the burials in the north-western portion of the enclosure already described. The top-soil to the northeast of the altar-mounds was 12 inches deep. Beneath this, and covering the graves, was a 6-inch layer of sand and gravel.

The pebbles in the gravel were very small, and the layer was apparently not a natural deposit. This stratum spread out northward from the base of mound 14 for about 50 feet.

*Grave 1-c.* This was found just beneath the layer of sand and gravel. It was outlined with a few flat stones set upright (figure 9, 1c). The burial was of an adult, lying upon its back, head to the

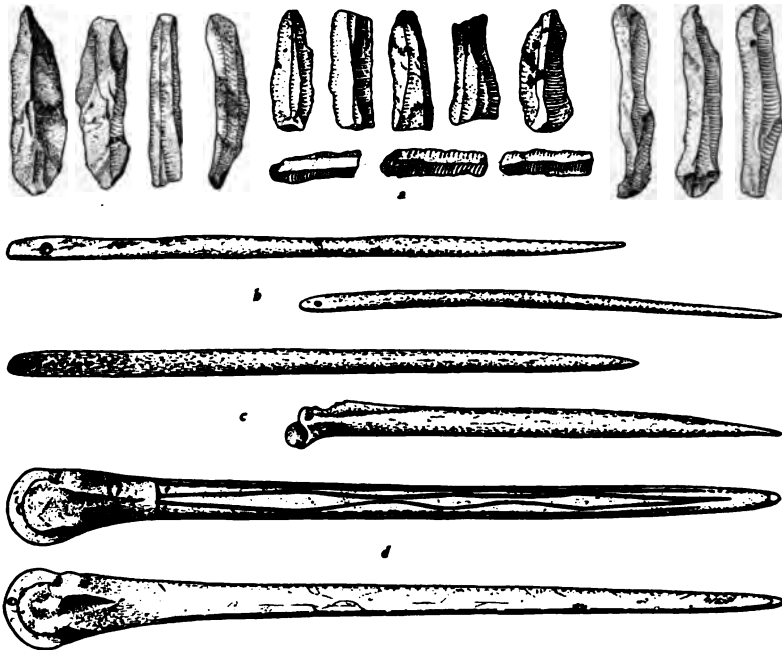


FIGURE 10

Objects from Grave 1-c, near Mound 14: Flaked knives, bone needles and bodkins. (1/2.)

south, at a depth of 2 feet. Near the neck were a number of discoidal shell beads, and at the wrists the remains of bracelets of similar beads and small perforated shells. Near the left shoulder were fifteen flaked knives in a heap, which had probably been deposited in a bag or similar receptacle. Not far from these were two needles and two perforators of bone, and a pile of perforated *marginella* shells. Just beyond were two large bone bodkins, one of which was decorated, lying with their heads together, the points in opposite directions. Both were perforated for suspension

(figure 10). Near the left tibia were fragments of what was probably a shell spoon. Upon the right side of the skeleton, about half-way between the shoulder and elbow, and at a distance of one foot, was a small heap of burnt bones of an adult. To one side and beneath one of the stones outlining the grave were numerous unburnt bones of children.

*Grave 2-c.* A short distance to the south of grave 1-c was found a circular layer of eleven stones, just below the reach of the plow.

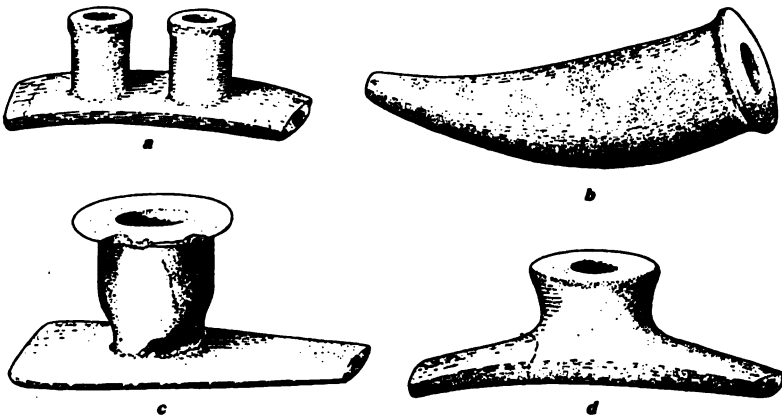


FIGURE 11

Tobacco pipes: a, From grave beneath the base of Mound 1; b, Grave 5-b, Burial Place e, Great Enclosure; c, Grave in embankment of Elevated Circle; d, Grave 2-c, north of Mound 14. (1/3.)

The diameter of the circle was a little less than 5 feet. The following description is from Mr. Volk's report:

Took the top slab off and found under it several pieces of crania of children. On the northeast, among the slabs and touching them were fragments of bones of infants. On the east, between the small stones below the large slab were also fragments of small human crania. One half of the skull of a child lay bowl up, and another alongside of this, bowl down. Other parts of children's bones were lying among the stones. Under the portion of skull which lay bowl down, I found a fragment of tibia, two fragments of rib, and a piece of breast bone, and near the skull fragment, a portion of a jaw with teeth.

On removing the slab from the northwest side of the circle, I found charcoal and ashes. Under the west slab was a small pit, 18 inches in diameter, and 8 inches in depth, which was filled with burnt and calcined human bones, apparently of an adult or adults, and also a sandstone pipe [figure 11, d], and a shell bead. Just south of the pit were more fragments of the bones of infants. None of the infant bones from this grave were burned.

*Grave 3-c.* A double grave outlined with limestones set on edge, and covered with flat stones of various sizes. The grave was divided by an oblong stone of symmetrical shape placed across its center. In the eastern half were portions of the skull and humerus of an adult, and upon either side of the skull lay a busycon shell vessel, and the remains of two unio shells, evidently used for spoons.

The western half of the grave contained a few pieces of human bones. Upon removing the long slab dividing the grave, fragments of the bones of children and adults mixed with earth were discovered.

A short distance to the north of this grave, a stone-covered space (4, c) was found,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and 3 feet wide. No burials

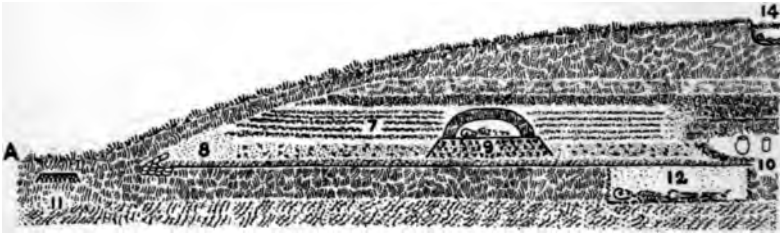


FIGURE 12. — Cross-section of Mound 1: 1, Clay; 2, Yellow clay; 3, Mottled clay, sand ashes and black earth; 8, White ashes; 9, Altar with enclosed skeleton; 10, Fireplace with

were encountered beneath the stones. This seems to be analogous to the stone-covered pits, containing no skeleton, found in the cemetery in the northwestern part of the enclosure, which, if not actually graves, must be closely related to them.

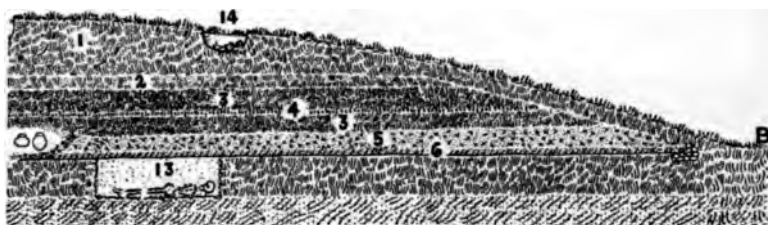
Mr. Volk found also one or two additional burials and stone-covered spaces while excavating in the great enclosure, near the roadway to the west of the earth circle surrounding mound 2.

### THE MOUNDS AND THEIR CONTENTS

**Mound 1.** This stood near the northeastern entrance to the main enclosure. It was 56 feet in diameter, measuring from the outer edge of the low stone wall which outlined its base, and a little less than 5 feet in elevation. The wall was about 2 feet in width, and a foot in height. The general construction of the earthwork is shown in the cross-section, figure 12. Only one

original burial was found above the concrete layer which formed the base of the mound. All others, with the exception of intrusive interments, occurred just below this layer.

The term concrete is used throughout this paper to designate a layer, usually about 2 to 4 inches thick, composed principally of gravel, coarse sand, and ashes, cemented into a compact mass. In some instances, traces of what appears to be iron are seen; but the principal cementing material is probably lime, produced by the accidental reduction of limestones in the great fires. The lime thus produced, mixed naturally with the wood ashes, probably formed the cementing ingredient. In one of the limestone hearths of trench d, in the great embankment, Mr. Volk found



and ashes; 4, Dark earth; 5, Brown burnt clay; 6, Concrete; 7, Alternate layers of pottery vessels; 11, Small altar; 12, 13, Graves beneath concrete layer; 14, Intrusive burials.

many of the stones partly, and a few wholly, reduced to lime by the intense heat.

The work of exploration was begun in 1882, when Professor Putnam and Dr. Metz cut five trenches from its periphery through to the center, where a fireplace, 7 feet in diameter, was found containing four pottery vessels (figure 13). Mixed with the ashes were charcoal, flint flakes, charred corn and corn-cobs. The pottery vessels are illustrated in plates 22, g, h, i, and 23. At the bottom of the trench in the southwestern portion of the mound, a single layer of round flat river stones was found, 18 inches wide, extending 4 feet to the northwest (number 15 of figure 13). The stones were carefully placed, and overlapped each other like roof tiles. Beneath the stones was a layer of ashes and burnt earth, the ashes 6 inches and the burnt earth 4 inches deep. Fragments of what Dr. Metz thought to be burnt human bones were found on the burnt earth.



In 1886, the work of exploration was again taken up, and completed. The following is from the notebook of Dr. Metz:

Grave 1 was under the layer of concrete, length 8 feet 4 inches, width 4 feet 8 inches. The grave contained 18 inches of gravel resting on a bed of bluish ashes,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. In these blue ashes were two lines of white ashes, 2 inches wide, and extending the full length of the grave. In these white ashes, small hard concretions, similar to the white substance taken from the flues under mound 3, were found. Beneath the ashes was a layer of fine gravel and sand. At the eastern end of the grave, and below the ashes, a stone about a foot long stood upright. At the opposite end were five similar stones, with their upper ends just protruding through the ashes. A few inches from the first stone lay the head of a well-preserved skeleton of an adult female. At its knees rested a unio shell spoon. To the right was the skeleton of a child. Near its head lay three bone awls, a bundle of bone needles, and several flaked knives of flint. At the left foot was a unio shell filled with a red substance. Several flaked knives, some broken, were also found near the shell.

A little to the west of this double burial, and above the layer of concrete forming the base of the mound, was a mass of clay burned to a red color, having the form of a truncated pyramid (number 9, figures 12 and 13). It was 12 inches high, its base and top measuring 5 feet and 3 feet respectively.

Upon this lay a skeleton in flexed position, face downward. Around the skeleton and covering it was a structure of worked clay, 5 to 7 inches thick. The space between the bones and clay covering was filled with fine soft black earth, from which the bones were easily separated. Fragments of a few bone awls were taken from the grave, one being finely ornamented.

To the southeast of this altar-like structure, and beneath the concrete layer, at a depth of nearly 7 feet from the surface of the mound, another grave was found, containing a single skeleton (number 12). It lay in a horizontal position, head to the northwest, the left arm flexed on the chest, and the right arm flexed back parallel to the trunk.

Still farther to the southeast, at a distance of about 4 feet, and also beneath the concrete layer, lay a skeleton in a horizontal position, head to the southeast (number 13). No artifacts were found in either of these graves.

Twelve inches west from the central stake, and beneath the concrete layer, was a grave containing three skeletons of adults (number 16). The following description is by Dr. Metz:

The grave was 8 feet long and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and extended northwest and southeast. Depth from the surface of the mound 6 feet. The three crania were in a line, and about a foot apart. At the feet of the skeleton at the southern side of the grave, lay a large marine shell vessel, several shell ornaments, and large pearls; at the left knee rested a shell spoon; and gripped in the left hand was a marine shell, cut and perforated, probably a drinking vessel [plate 7, b].

Nothing was found with the skeleton in the middle of the grave. With the third skeleton occupying the northern side of the grave were more than 200

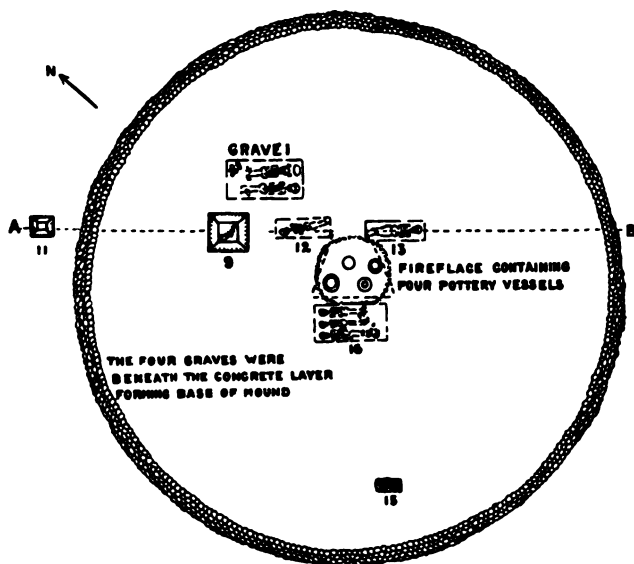


FIGURE 13

Plan of Mound 1: 9, Altar with enclosed skeleton; 11, Small altar; 1, 12, 13, 16, Graves beneath concrete; 15, Stone-covered space.

pearl beads, and a stone pipe with 2 bowls. The latter lay near the right knee, and the former were found by the side of the right tibia. [The pipe is illustrated in figure 11, a.]

Four intrusive burials of later Indians were encountered near the surface. The deepest of these was 22 inches. The positions of two of these are shown in number 14 of the cross-section.

The construction of the mound was peculiar. The strata of the different sections varied considerably, and only three of the layers extended throughout the mound, namely: the concrete layer near

its base; the brown layer just above; and the second stratum from the top, consisting of clay mixed with sand and ashes.

Only four post-holes were noticed. These were beneath the concrete layer, and were in the northwestern section. Certain portions of the mound consisted of refuse material, and through-

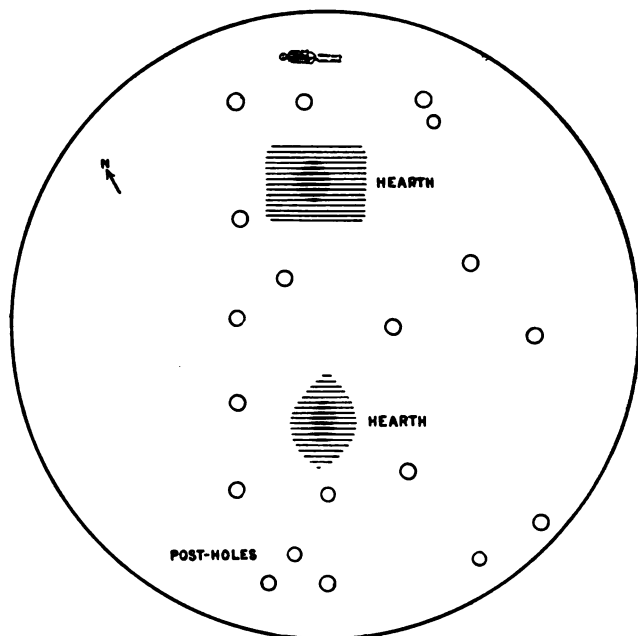


FIGURE 14  
Plan of Mound 2.

out the earthwork were many animal bones, potsherds, broken bone awls, flint chips, bits of mica, and pieces of burnt clay.

Three feet from the outer side of the low outlining wall of stone, and to the northwest of the mound, was a small altar of burnt clay, 8 inches high, 3 feet long, and 2 feet wide (11).

**Mound 2.** This stood in the larger of the two earth circles within the great enclosure. The mound was 30 feet in diameter, and 2 feet high. Excavations revealed two hearths of burnt clay. Their positions and relative size are shown in the ground plan, figure 14. Nineteen post-holes were located and accurately plotted by triangulation, a method unfortunately not followed in the previous

work. (This was one of the last mounds of the group to be explored.) Only one burial was found, the bones being badly broken and decayed.

The earth circle was approximately 300 feet in diameter, with opening to the southeast. It was accompanied by a trench upon its inner side, which had been partially obliterated by cultivation. A section of the embankment was made at its highest point. Its base was composed of three or four layers of flat river stones

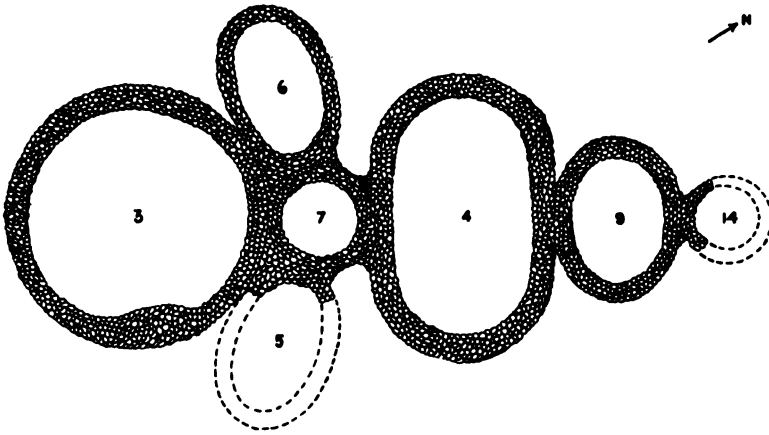


FIGURE 15

Plan of the seven connected altar mounds within the Great Enclosure, showing wall outlining base of each.

placed one above the other; these were covered with a low embankment of gravel.

**Mound 3.** This is the largest of the seven connected mounds in the southeastern portion of the great enclosure. Each mound of this sub-group was outlined by a low wall of stones, as indicated in figure 15, which was made from a sketch by Dr. Metz. In some instances, the outer edge of a layer of stones, wholly or partially covering a mound, joined this wall, as will be seen by referring to the various cross-sections.

Mound 3 measured about 100 feet in diameter at its base, and 14 feet at its greatest height. Its altitude had not been materially reduced by cultivation. This is conclusively shown by the layer of stones which covered it at a nearly uniform depth of 20 to 24 inches beneath its surface, as indicated in the cross-section,

figure 16. Over the central part of the mound, a second layer of stones occupied the position shown in the cross-section.

The greater portion of the material composing the mound consisted of clay, or clay mixed with gravel, stratified as illustrated. Upon removing most of this, a layer of yellow sandy loam (7), 3 to 6 inches thick, with a sprinkling of gray sand, was encountered resting on a thin stratum of yellow clay. This covered the lower part of the mound, about 2 feet above its base. Underneath this layer of yellow clay was a stratum of clay mixed with charcoal, about 2 feet in thickness, which reached to a layer of concrete (8) covering the floor of the structure.

The ground plan is shown in figure 17. A wall of varying width, about 2 feet in height (excepting upon the eastern side), built of

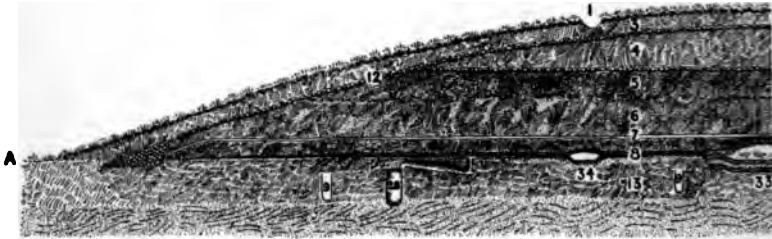


FIGURE 16. Cross-section of Mound 3: 1, Intrusive burial; 2, Intrusive pit of charcoal and ashes; 5, Clay; 6, Clay and gravel, mixed; 7, Yellow clay with tunnel and outer pit; 12, Layer of limestones; 28, Pit with tunnel and flues;

flat river stones, formed the outline of the base. The outer edge of the layer of stones, above referred to as covering the mound, joined this wall, as indicated in the cross-section. Bordering the inner edge of the wall and forming a part of the base of the mound, was a circle several feet in width, composed of loose gravel. The area within this circle consisted of a layer of ashes or clay showing the action of fire in places.

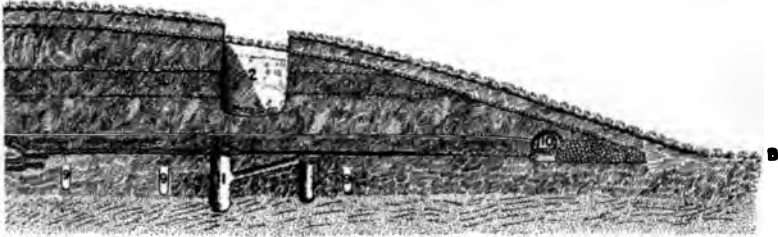
*The Enclosing Wall.* The low wall, from the inner edge of which extended the layer of stones covering the mound about 20 inches below its surface, was built of ordinary flat stones probably brought from the shores of the Little Miami River. Its base was somewhat below the level of the surrounding field.

As shown in the ground plan, the southeastern portion was carried inward until it reached a width of 15 feet. The following description is from Dr. Metz's notes:

The wall, that had on the south side of the mound a uniform height of 2 feet and a width at its base of 4 feet, acquired a width of 15 feet and a height of 3½ feet on its eastern side. The stones of which the wall was composed were much larger than those used on the west and southwest sides of the mound.

Thirteen feet inward from the edge or beginning of the wall, it suddenly arched over, until it reached a height of 3½ feet. This elevation extended 20 feet along the wall, and was 2 feet in width. When the stones were removed from its front side, an oblong oval-shaped recess was discovered (figure 16, 10) filled with irregular layers of ashes, sand, and clay burned red, the lower stratum being of black ashes and charcoal, 2 to 4 inches in thickness and 18 inches in width. In this stratum many fragments of burnt bone were found, and resting on the ashes was a large marine shell with its open side up, and near it lay several fragments of copper ear-ornaments, numerous shell beads, and a carved piece of deer horn representing a species of fish.

The cavity in which these were found was 30 inches high, 2 feet wide, and



containing two skeletons and sixteen skulls; 3, Top soil; 4, Clay with specks thin covering of sand; 8, Concrete; 9, Post-holes; 10, Place of cremation; 11, Pit 33, Central altar; 34, Small altar.

10 feet long. The layer of black ashes extended eastward 10 feet beyond the arched cavity, into and between the layers of stone forming the wall.

The floor of the recess was composed of three layers of large flat river stones, the top layer showing marked evidence of having been exposed to the action of fire. The lowest of the three layers of stone which formed the covering of the recess was much burned, and the middle layer also showed evidence of direct contact with the fire. No flue or chimney was found leading from this recess.

Below the stone floor of the recess was a bed of clay, 2 feet wide, and 15 feet in length. The wall extended but a short distance beyond the recess into the mound.

The objects taken from the ashes and burnt earth which filled the recess consisted of about two quarts of burnt human bones (plate 7, d), probably the cremated remains of a single individual; a large vessel made of the shell of *Fulgur perversa*; an antler effigy of a fish having the tail of a rattlesnake, and an opening beneath,

into which probably fitted the end of a small staff; a pair of copper ear-ornaments of joined discs, one of which was broken; about two hundred shells of *Marginella*, perforated for stringing; twenty-seven large shell beads of uniform size; and a few small shell and

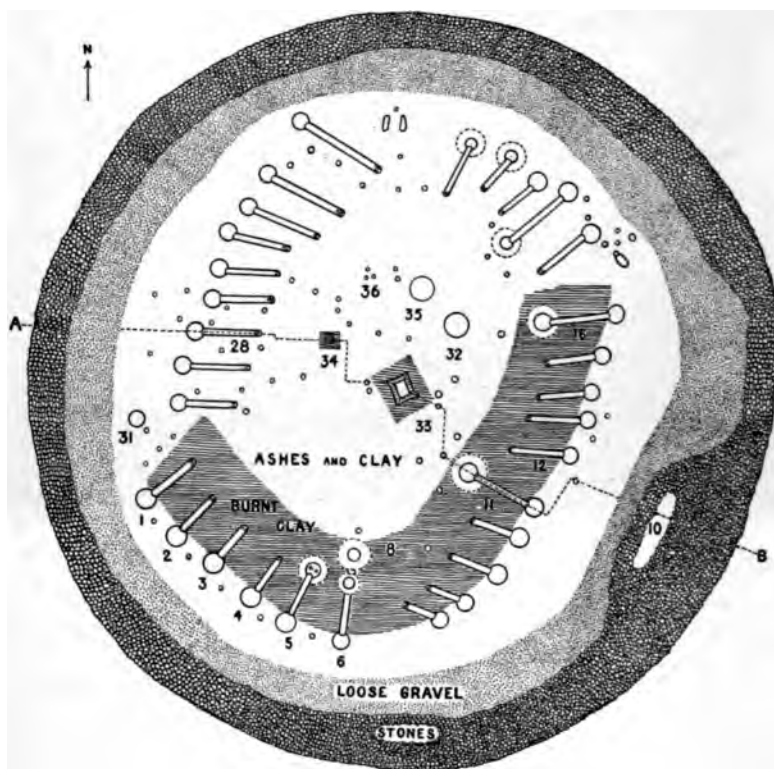


FIGURE 17

Plan of Mound 3: 1-6, 11, 12, 16, 28, Pits with tunnels; 8, Hearth of burnt clay; 10, Place of cremation; 31, Small pit with flue; 32, 35, Cache-pits; 33, Central Altar; 34, Small altar; 36, Post-holes.

pearl beads. These are shown in d, plate 6. None of these shows contact with fire.

It seems certain that this inner extension of the wall was built as a funeral pyre. First a platform of clay was made, about a foot high, upon which were laid three layers of flat stones. Upon these, the wood and other combustible material were placed, and

the body burned. It seems that before the fire had wholly died down, the remains were covered with clay and sand, over which three layers of limestones were placed.

One cannot be sure that this was not a place of general cremation, and that the ashes found were those of the last individual burned. It is very probable, however, that only one body was cremated here, evidently the remains of a person of distinction.

*Pits and Tunnels.* Upon removing the layer of concrete which covered a large part of the floor or base of the mound just above the level shown in the ground plan, six pits (numbers 1 to 6, figure 17) were discovered in a line running northwest from the southern portion of the mound; and beyond them a hearth or layer of burnt clay (8), 2 to 4 inches thick, was encountered. Portions of this layer showed excessive burning. Beneath it was a bed of black ashes. Dr Metz writes:

Just beneath the layer of concrete or burned gravel, a heavy stratum of burnt earth was observed. This was carefully uncovered and proved to be a hearth of semicircular form, conforming lengthwise to the curve of the mound . . . [number 8, figure 17]. The surface was burned to a hard red brick, 3 to 4 inches in depth, beneath which was a layer of black ashes, 3 inches in depth. Near the center of the [western section of the] hearth were two irregular spaces where the burning was evidently very intense and continued, the surface being a bluish gray, very hard and flinty. Immediately around this space the clay was of a very deep red color. Six concave depressions were observed extending partly across the hearth, 8 feet in length, 16 inches wide, and 2 to 3 inches in depth. [Tunnels were afterward found beneath these depressions, which were apparently the result of the settling of the earth above them.]

Rising above the hearth to the north of pits 5 and 6 were three cone-like elevations. These were 9 inches in height, about 30 inches in diameter, and showed but very slight burning. At the apex of one, two round openings, 2 inches in diameter, were observed. On looking into these openings, a pit partially filled with earth was discovered.

An examination of the hearth was made by cutting a trench directly across at the west end [near pit 1], including one of the depressions on the surface. The space between the encircling stone wall and the edge of the hearth was filled with black ashes and loose soil, to a depth of 2 feet. Four inches to the southwest of the depression on the hearth was the inner edge of pit 1, 30 inches in depth and 18 inches in diameter, containing ashes and coarse charcoal, its bottom showing marked evidence of the action of fire, being burned hard and red.

On cutting down the edge of the hearth by the side of pit 1, a singularly-shaped arched opening of a tunnel was revealed beneath the depression in the hearth. This tunnel was 12 inches wide, 11 inches high, and 8 feet, 7 inches in



length. [See longitudinal-section, figure 18, b.] Its floor was covered with pure white ashes, 2 to 3 inches in depth, containing small fragments of bone. On removing the ashes, the floor was found to be of yellow clay, showing no evidence of the action of fire. The bottom or floor of the tunnel was a concave depression, occupying almost the entire width of the tunnel at its mouth, and

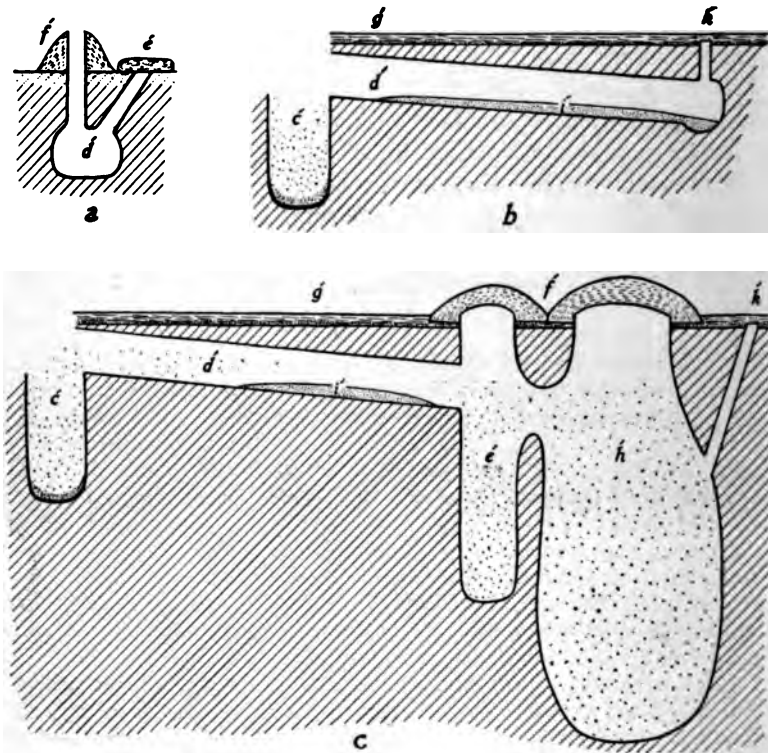
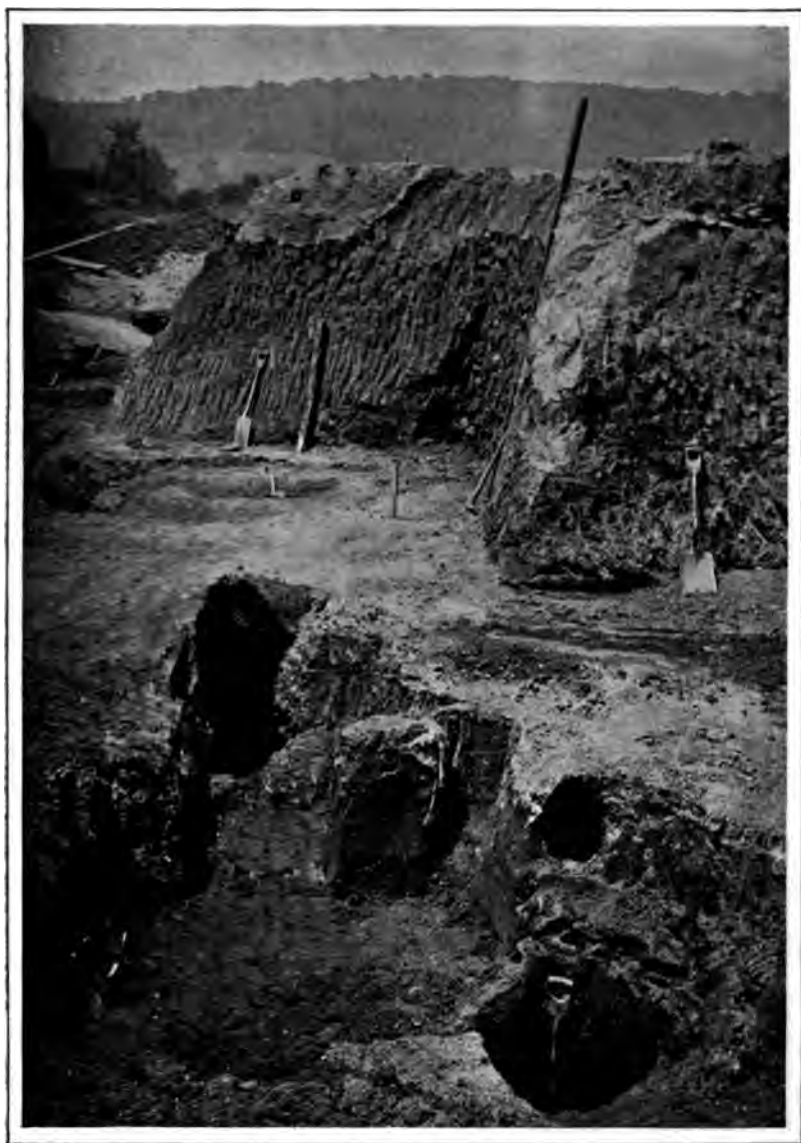


FIGURE 18

Mound 3. Cross-sections of pits and tunnels: a, Small pit (31) and flues; e, Stone covering flue; f', Clay cone; b, Pit and Tunnel 28; c, Pit 6, and connecting tunnel; g', Layer of burnt clay covering thin stratum of black ashes; f', Clay cones covering top of pits; i', Layer of ashes mixed with carbonate and phosphate of lime.

gradually narrowing until it terminated in a circular concave basin 2 or 3 inches deep at the rear end. From this depression or basin, two chimneys passed upward, terminating just under the burnt surface of the hearth. These chimneys were 25 inches in length, with a diameter of 2 inches. On their inner surface we noticed ashes, and the indication that heat and smoke probably at one time passed through them.

The tunnel contained only the ashes that covered the floor, and it sloped



Mound 3 partially explored, showing Central Altar (in middle distance marked by hatchet); the pit in front of Tunnel 12 (with handle of shovel), and cross-section of the tunnel; also outer pit of Tunnel 11 (with shovel and pick), and opening into its inner pit.



downward in the direction of the center of the mound, being 8 inches lower at its inner end.

In making a longitudinal-section of the hearth from northwest to southeast, 5 additional tunnels were found. Numbers 2 and 3 presented exactly the same condition as number 1, and had similar contents. Tunnels 4, 5, and 6 were

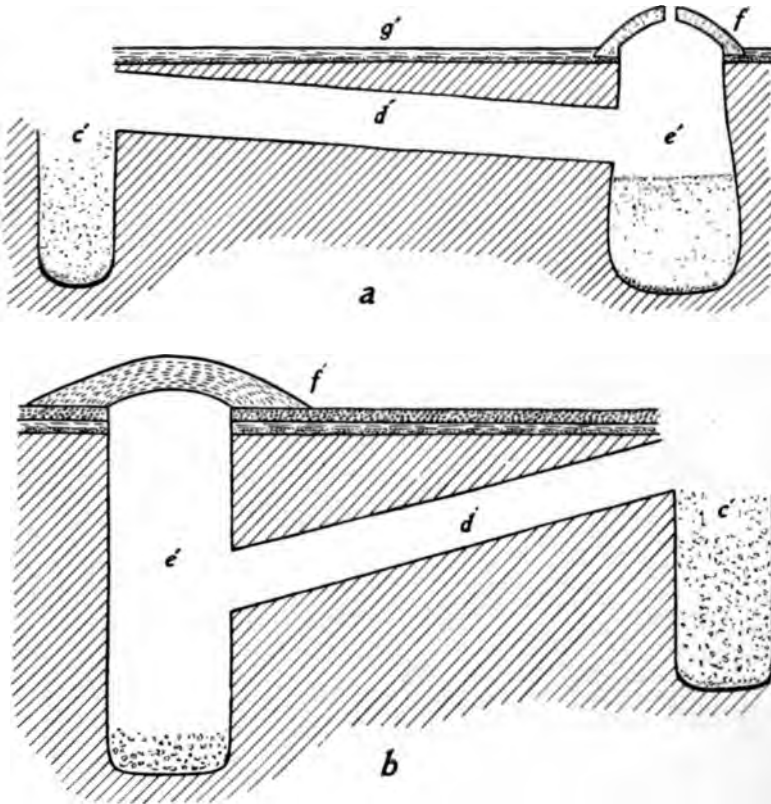


FIGURE 19

Mound 3. Cross-sections of pits and tunnels: a, Pit 5; b, Pit 16; c', Outer pit; d', Tunnel; e, Inner pit; f, Clay cap; g', Burnt clay, covering thin stratum of black ashes.

filled with loose black earth. Number 4 sloped deeper than the others, the flues or chimneys being 8 inches apart, 3 inches in diameter, and 27 inches in length. A small quantity of ashes was found on the floors of these tunnels. Tunnels 5 and 6 each terminated at its northern end, in a pit resembling somewhat the ash-pits of Ferris Woods. They were, however, each covered with a hood of clay showing evidences of having come in contact with fire at their tops.

In front of each of tunnels 2-6, at the southern end, a pit was discovered similar to the one found in front of tunnel 1. The tops of these pits were level with the bottom of the opening of the tunnels.

Tunnel 5 terminated at its northern end in a pit 4½ feet deep, which was filled to a depth of 21 inches with ashes, gravel, several hard lumps of earth and ashes, and a few flakes of mica, the remaining portion being empty [figure 19, a].

Tunnel 6 terminated at its northern end in a double pit [figure 18, c], the first being 6 feet in depth and 14 inches in diameter. This contained ashes, sand, black friable soil, and a fragment of pottery. This pit was connected on its northern side with one deeper and larger, its dimensions being as follows: depth, 9 feet; greatest width, 4 feet. A flue, 2 inches in diameter, and 37 inches in length, extended from its northern side, at a point 3 feet from its top, obliquely to the hearth above. The pit was nearly filled with ashes, sand, charcoal, and several pieces of hard burnt clay.

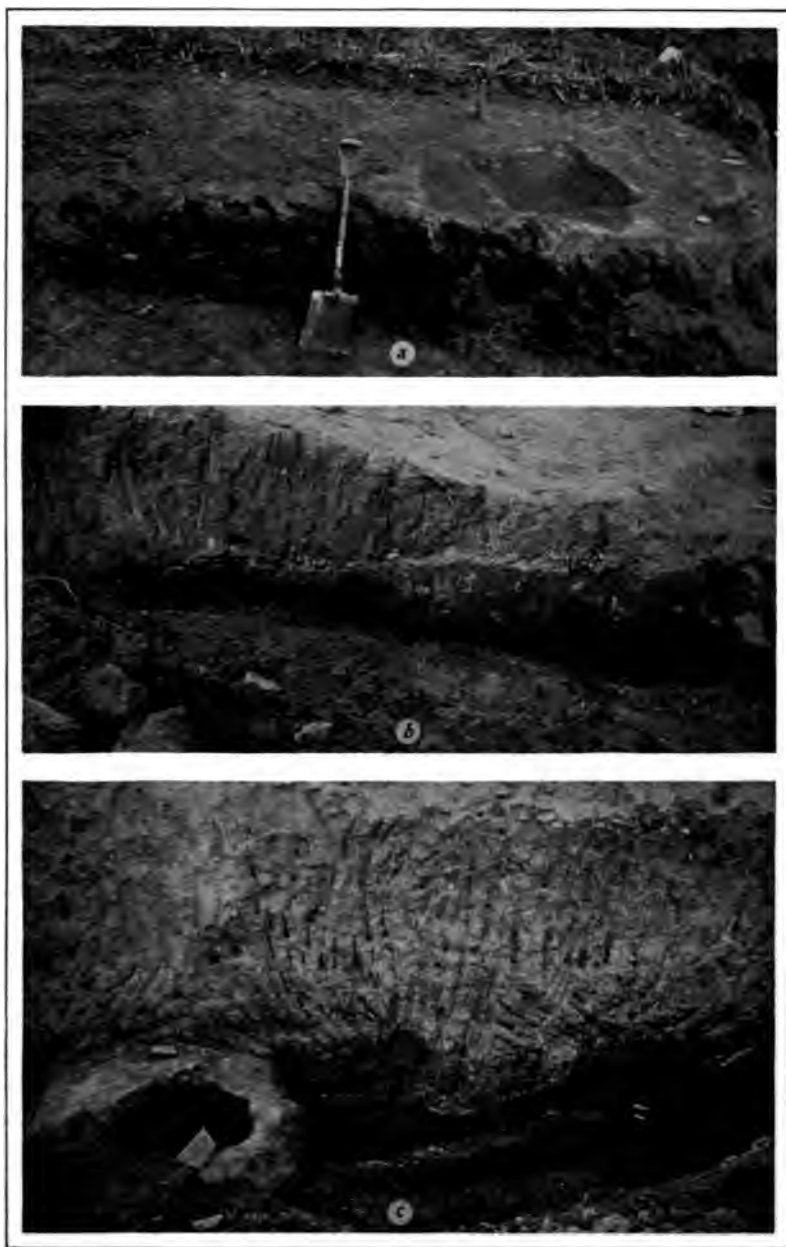
Ten feet northwest from the west end of the hearth, a cone-like elevation was found [number 31, figure 17, and a, figure 18], in the apex of which was a circular opening 4 inches across. This cone was 10 inches in height with a diameter of 13 inches at its base. The opening or flue extended downward 26 inches into a small pit, 11 inches in depth, and 15 inches in diameter. About a foot from the base of the cone, and on the same level, a flat stone was found covering a second flue, 4 inches in diameter, which extended obliquely downward, connecting with the small pit. This flue contained sand, ashes, and black earth.

In the space between the hearth and enclosing wall, and below the black soil and ashes, numerous little pits were found, 5 to 7 feet apart, following the course of the mound. A similar pit was discovered at the outer edge of the hearth between the larger pits in front of the tunnels. These small pits were 2 to 3 feet in depth, and 12 to 16 inches across, and contained fine sand and loose friable black earth. . . . Many small pits look as though great timbers had once been set in them, and that the fine friable brown and black earth was decayed wood.

These smaller pits were probably post-holes, and as the work continued they were found to be distributed over a considerable portion of the area covered by the mound.

Continuing excavations north and east, the area of burnt clay (number 8, figure 17), called by Dr. Metz 'the hearth,' was found to continue in a northeasterly direction, and a number of tunnels and large pits of the same nature as the ones already described were discovered beneath it. Similar pits and tunnels occurred also in the northern and northwestern portion of the base of the mound, their distribution being indicated in the ground plan.

The majority of the tunnels and connected pits were of the type illustrated in figure 18, b, and although there was some variance



a, Altar 5, Trench a, embankment of the Great Enclosure; b, Mound 3, longitudinal-section of Tunnel 28, and one of its flues; c, Mound 3, section of Tunnel 16, its outer pit (with handle of shovel), and opening into large inner pit.



in the length of tunnels, they nearly all terminated in two or three flues extending upward at the end opposite to that at which the pit was situated. The diameters of the flues ranged from 2 to 4 inches. Only one of these flues is shown in the longitudinal-section, b.

While many of the upright flues were round in cross-section, some were nearly triangular, one of the sides being curved. It is very apparent that, in their construction, the clay or earth was pressed around a stick, planted in the proper position, which was afterward withdrawn. Those approaching the triangular form were the result of using for this purpose a section of a small log which had been split into four or more pieces.

According to Dr. Metz:

The clay composing the inner surface of the sides and roof of the tunnels is very dry and friable, and does not show any signs whatever of having come directly in contact with fire. It seems as if the heat had been conducted through the tunnel to the flues at the back of each of them. In the flues no traces of fire can be found, except a very little white ashes adhering on the sides. In the pits directly in front of the tunnels, coarse charcoal and ashes are found in abundance, the bottom of the pits being burned red and hard, also the sides part way up. Was the heat from these pits conducted through the tunnels, and in what manner?

Longitudinal-sections of tunnels 11 and 28 are shown in relation to the upper portion of the mound in figure 16. Plate 8 shows the pit (with handle of shovel) in front of tunnel 12, with cross-section of the tunnel beyond it; also the outer pit of tunnel 11 (near pickax and shovel), with an opening into the large pit at its opposite end. Beyond this, in the middle distance, is the central altar marked by the hatchet.

A longitudinal-section of pits and tunnel 16 is given in figure 19, b, from Professor Putnam's drawing made June 2, 1884; and a photograph is reproduced on plate 9, c, showing a longitudinal-section of a part of the tunnel, the relative position of the smaller outer pit, and the opening made by the explorers into the larger pit, which contained a small quantity of charcoal only. Plate 9, b, gives an excellent longitudinal-section of tunnel 28 and one of the flues, looking north.

Pit 32, to the northeast of the central altar, was not connected with a tunnel. Dr. Metz writes:



On Friday, the 13th instant, we discovered another covered pit, 9 feet 8 inches northeast from the altar stake. This pit was 3 feet in diameter, 7 feet deep below the concrete, and 14 inches above the gravel to the top of the clay hood. This pit seemingly was lined with a row of thirty stakes, placed about 4 inches apart. They were 7 feet long, and apparently had been pressed into the clay of the sides while it was quite soft. The impressions left in the clay lining are 2 to 3 inches wide and about the same depth, and were filled with brown masses resembling decayed wood. This brown substance on being disturbed revealed fragments of wood. In the bottom of the pit a considerable amount of this substance, also ashes and charcoal, were found.

Ten inches from the northeast side of the pit was a flue, 3 feet long, and 2 inches in diameter. No connection between the two could be observed. In making an excavation to ascertain the depth and direction of this, a good section was obtained showing the manner in which the pit was probably constructed. It seems that an excavation had been made in the earth, which was lined with clay to a thickness of 4 to 6 inches, and while yet soft, stakes were pressed into it so as to retain the clay in place. In the bottom of the pit a grinding stone or mortar, about 18 inches long, was found, covered with sand and gravel.

It seems that this pit, and also number 35, must have been used for the storage of property. They had no connection with tunnels, and no indication of contact with fire. The upright hole, 3 feet in length and 2 inches in diameter, found 10 inches from number 32, apparently had no connection with the pit. This pit was covered with a clay cone, 14 inches in height at its center.

In a brief notice of the exploration of this mound by Professor Putnam,<sup>1</sup> he says that at the further (inner) ends of some of the tunnels the walls were covered with a thin glossy incrustation, evidently formed by the condensation of vapors. He also records in his notes that in some instances there was a hard lime-like lining on the bottom and sides of the tunnel. About a half bushel of "ashes" from the different tunnels was sent to the Museum. In the ashes are many irregular white porous masses of various sizes, up to two inches or more in length, which are fragments of the deposit from the floor or sides. Some of these have somewhat the appearance of bone nearly consumed by fire, and were thought by Dr. Metz to be such. A chemical analysis made under the direction of Professor Baxter shows them to be composed principally of carbonate and phosphate of lime.

Of the twenty-three tunnels of the type shown in figure 18, b, there are careful detail drawings of only a few, but there seems to

<sup>1</sup> Reports of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Vol. III, p. 340.

have been little variation in form or dimensions among them. Numbers 2 and 3 presented "exactly the same conditions" as number 1. In number 4, the tunnel had a greater slope, and the flues were three inches in diameter instead of two. Possibly the larger size of the flues in this example was made necessary by the greater slope of the tunnel.

By referring to the ground plan it will be seen that the burnt clay hearth in the southern half of the area covered sixteen of the thirty tunnels. So far as recorded, the upper opening of the flues terminated at the top of a layer of black ashes just below the bottom of this layer of burnt clay. This seems to indicate that the clay layer was deposited and burned, after the use of the tunnels had been discontinued.

The flue leading from the large pit of number 6 (figure 18, c, k') also terminated beneath the burnt clay layer, and the cone-shaped clay caps of numbers 5 and 6 rested upon the ashes beneath the hearth, which also seems to indicate that the latter was of subsequent construction, and may have had no direct connection with the function of the tunnels below. At any rate, it seems improbable, with the outlet of the flues of the tunnels closed with a compact and continuous layer of hard burnt clay, that they would be in working condition.

The earth below the base of the mound is composed of a layer of dark clay of considerable thickness, resting upon a gravel bed. In this clay the tunnels and connecting pits were constructed, some of the larger pits extending through the clay layer into the gravel.

At the time of the use of these pits a building of some kind undoubtedly occupied the site, as is indicated by the many post-holes found throughout the area. Unfortunately the method of locating these holes was not very accurate, and it is possible that some of the less conspicuous ones were not noticed.

A casual glance at the ground plan, figure 17, gives the impression that the tunnels are earth moulds left by fallen and decayed timbers which originally formed the main rafters of a building, and that the pits at the outer end of each originally held a substantial supporting post. A careful examination of the numerous notes, sketches, plans, and photographs, made during the exploration, however, does not substantiate this impression. The curious upright flues at the inner end of each of the tunnels not connected

with an inner pit, the careful junction with the inner pit of each tunnel so connected, and the uniform position of the outer openings of the tunnels above the outer pits, seem to indicate beyond doubt that they were planned and built in the position they now occupy. If the large inner pits of numbers 5, 6, 11, and 16 were for cache purposes, of what use were the tunnels and flues connected with them?

Pits with somewhat similar arrangement of flues as shown in figure 18, c, k', but without tunnels, were found by Mr. Guernsey in a Basket-maker cave during the exploration in Arizona by the Museum, and are figured in the report.<sup>1</sup> These are thought to be for storage, as no signs of fire having been in them were noticed. Dr. Hough figures a large pit, 6 feet deep, also supplied with a flue.<sup>2</sup> This was built by the Hopi Indians for roasting corn.

In a letter to the writer, Dr. Hough gives the following explanation of the use of this flue:

The flue running diagonally from the corn pit among the Hopi Indians is for the purpose of allowing a draft when the pit is first heated. A hole is dug in rather good solid ground, the flue is driven into it, and the pit is filled with firewood, ignited, and kept burning for a considerable while until it is believed to be hot enough. There is very little charcoal in the wood used so that at the bottom of the pit when the fire is out, there is merely a mass of ashes. Cornstalks and shucks are thrown in on this and then a layer of ears of corn, filling the pit, which is closed over with cornstalks and earth, and in many cases a fire is made on top of this. The flue is closed at the same time. The corn remains in this pit generally overnight, when the contents are taken out with great rejoicing. When the pits are opened a tremendous amount of steam rises in the air to the height of about 100 feet.

While it is possible that pits of the type of 5 and 6 may have been used for a purpose similar to the above, it seems doubtful if the tunnels terminating in small upright flues, and not connected with large pits, were used in food preparation.

Further exploration of similar remains will be necessary before definite conclusions can be drawn.

*The Altars.* The central altar, from which the remarkable collection of artifacts was taken, was situated in the middle of this

<sup>1</sup> Guernsey and Kidder, *Basket-maker Caves in Northeastern Arizona*, Papers of Peabody Museum of Am. Arch. and Eth., Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 19, plates 9, d, 14, a.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Hough, *Hopi Indian Collection in U. S. Nat. Mus.*, Proceedings of U. S. Nat. Museum, Vol. 54, fig. 3.



From the Central Altar of Mound 3: Objects wrought from native copper. (1/3.)



area; see number 33, figures 16 and 17; in plate 8, the hatchet in the middle distance lies in the basin of the altar. The basin was nearly rectangular in form, with the corners rounded and projecting somewhat beyond the line of the sides, and measured a little over 5 feet diagonally from corner to corner. It was made by digging a cavity of the proper dimensions in the floor, and lining it with clay. From about the level of the floor, its sides sloped inward 10 inches to its bottom, which was about 7 inches below the level of the field. Its sides and upper edge were burned a brick red to a depth of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and its bottom to a depth of 4 inches. About 10 inches below the floor of the altar was another layer of burnt clay, probably the remains of an earlier altar. The space around the altar also showed the action of fire. A few feet to the northwest, a second and much smaller altar was found (34 of plan and section), its basin being filled with ashes in which were charcoal, fragments of burnt bone, and a few potsherds.

North of the central altar was a refuse pile of ashes mixed with broken animal bones, potsherds, and other waste material. Just above the stones which covered the altar was a layer of concrete, 2 to 4 inches thick, extending over the altar, and covering the greater portion of the floor of the mound. It seems that this concrete layer was spread over the covered contents of the altar and the floor of the original structure, when the use of the structure was discontinued. This layer evidently formed the first stage of the mound proper, as nothing of special interest was found above it excepting the intrusive burials, to be described later.

Dr. Metz gives an account of the discovery of the central altar in the following words:

Nothing of importance occurred until the layer of hard gravel or concrete near the bottom of the mound was reached and gone through, when a layer of loose stone was encountered, beneath which was a stratum of fine clean sand. Projecting from under the sand was the margin of a large sheet of mica. Upon removing a little of the sand, a perforated sheet of copper was seen resting upon the mica. . . . The next morning, Mr. Low and I commenced the investigation of the find, which proved to be an altar containing beads in great quantity, copper ornaments, mica ornaments, etc. Placed over the whole were three large sheets of mica.

The altar was quadrangular in form, the corners conforming to the cardinal points of the compass. Many of the pearl and bone beads and other objects were more or less calcined and mixed with ashes. The larger ornaments were arranged in three distinct heaps, each heap being covered by a large sheet of

mica, while the smaller beads were arranged around and between the heaps, the whole being covered with a layer of clear, clean sand, 4 inches thick, and having upon its upper surface a peculiar pinkish red stain evidently derived from the layer of flat river stones which covered it, and which also showed the stain.

Mr. E. F. Low, who was with Dr. Metz at the time the objects were removed from the altar, in a letter to Professor Putnam, gives a few additional details:

Having removed the earth we discovered a large sheet of mica, and great pains were taken to get it out whole. While excavating above it, the copper object [plate 10, e] was taken out, and the sand was filled with glittering pearl beads which rolled out in great quantities. It was a sight to see Dr. Metz scooping them up in great double handfuls, filling box after box. . . . I noticed that in the center where the coals and ashes were thickest and blackest that many of the teeth and shell beads were calcined, as though they had been deposited before the fire was wholly extinguished, and while the embers were still hot.

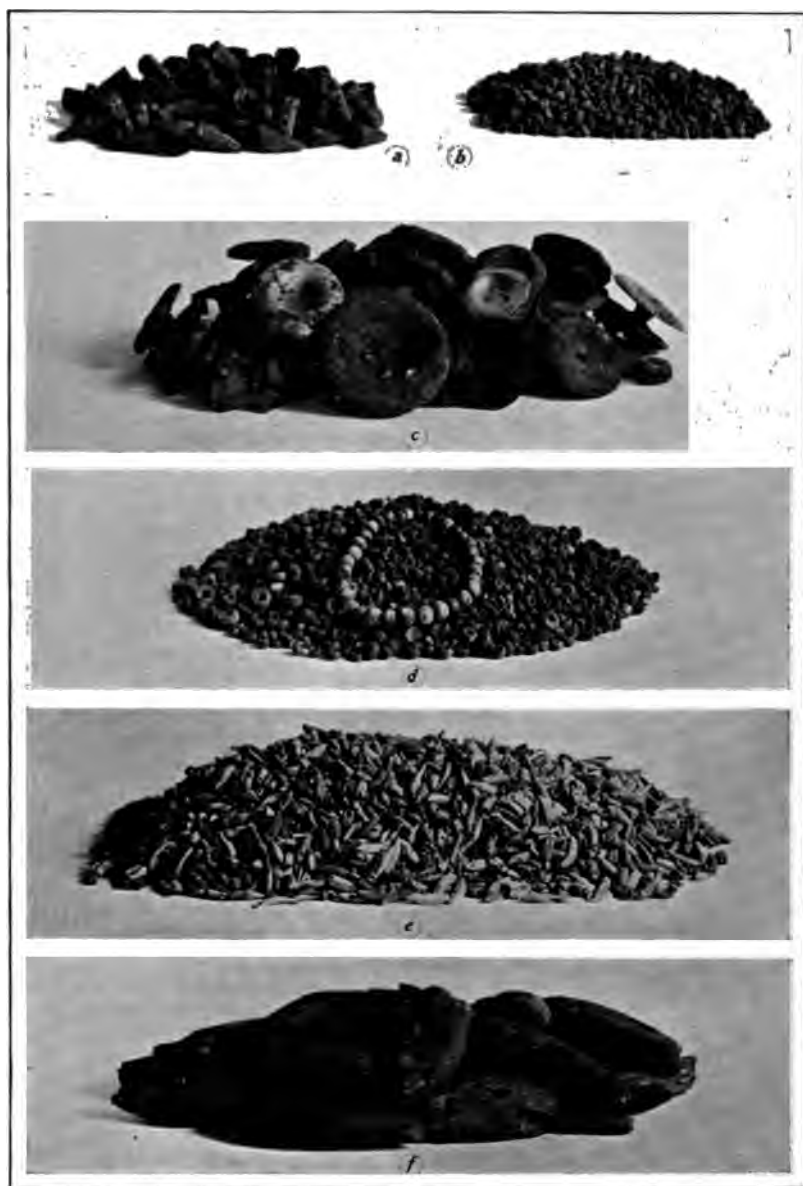
*Contents of the Central Altar.* The following objects were taken from this altar: 35 small nuggets of native copper, some of them hammered; 28 symbols or ornaments wrought from copper; 50 copper spool-shaped ear-ornaments, some covered with thin sheets of meteoric iron or silver; 3 copper bracelets, one of which is covered with thin silver; a copper adze blade; 700 copper beads of various forms; several copper or meteoric iron-covered clay buttons, pierced near the bottom for attachment; copper-covered beads of wood; several small nuggets of meteoric iron, and numerous beads and other ornaments wrought from this metal; small sheets of gold, each hammered from a small nugget; 3 large crystals of mica cut to irregular ovals; about 50 ornaments or ceremonial objects cut from thin mica, some of which are painted; the remains of several large vessels made from busycon shells; about 600 phalanges of small animals; artificial canine teeth of the bear made from shell; 4500 shell beads of various forms, some of them large; 500 marginella shells perforated for suspension; 17,000 embroidery shells (*Leptoxis*) with one side ground away for the passage of cord for fastening them to the fabric or dressed skin; 36,000 pearl beads of all sizes, from less than  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter; 12,000 pearls, unperforated; 36 or more canine teeth of the bear, perforated for attachment; 12 alligator



From the Central Altar of Mound 3: Objects wrought from native copper. (1/3.)







From the Central Altar of Mound 3: a, Pendants of native copper; b, Native copperbeads; c, Ear pendants of native copper, a few being overlaid with native silver; d, Shell beads; e, Canine teeth of small mammals, perforated; f, Canine teeth of the bear, perforated. (1/4.)



teeth; 2000 canine teeth of small mammals, perforated for suspension; 600 unworked phalanges of small mammals; 34 cones or tinklers made from the tips of deer antler; 27 chipped blades, 11 of which are of obsidian; 11 ceremonial spear points or blades made of micaceous schist; 3 terra-cotta ear-ornaments; 2 elaborately incised discs of bone; and a tortoise shell spatula-like object. Most of the above were in a fair state of preservation, although many were discolored by smoke, or partially destroyed by fire. In addition to these there were thousands of fragments of various objects which had been destroyed by fire. The numbers given for pearl beads, embroidery shells, and similar objects, are estimates only, made, for example, by counting the number of specimens in a fraction of a pint, and measuring the total amount of each group. The different groups of the above objects will be described in detail.

*Copper Objects.* The specimen illustrated in plate 10, e, which is probably a conventionalized eye, was apparently the last to be deposited on the altar, as it was found just above the three large crystals of mica placed over the contents of the altar. Like the other specimens upon plates 10 and 11, it is made from a thin sheet, which was prepared by hammering, annealing, and grinding a piece of nearly pure native copper to the proper thickness. It was cut into the desired form, probably with sharp flints, the edges being finished afterward by grinding. The writer's experiments in copper working with primitive tools show that the more elaborate artifacts of copper were probably produced in this manner.<sup>1</sup> Several of the more advanced prehistoric tribes within the limits of the United States had become very skilful workers in this metal.

Most of the pieces illustrated are of nearly pure copper, but some of the larger and coarser objects from the Ohio mounds were probably made of copper containing a certain percentage of arsenic. This is not easily wrought, and has to be repeatedly annealed; but for certain tools, such as drills, adze and axe blades, it is probably superior, for after being hammered it is harder and retains its cutting edge longer than the purer metal. Some varieties, such as algodonite, are wrought with great difficulty. Numerous

<sup>1</sup> C. C. Willoughby, *Primitive Metal Working*, American Anthropologist, n. s., Vol. V, 1903, p. 55.

nuggets of this form of copper were obtained from the deposits in the Hopewell Group of mounds, and a few pieces apparently of this variety were taken from the altar of mound 4 of the group under consideration.

What seems to be a frontal ornament for a head-dress is shown on plate 10, g. Two of these, one of which was doubled together twice before being placed on the altar, were found. The small plate or gorget illustrated in plate 10, a, is a type not uncommon in the graves of the Great Earthwork Builders. They are usually considerably larger, however, than this example. A better specimen accompanied a skeleton at the base of Marriott mound 1, just west of the elevated circle. The objects shown in a, plate 11,



FIGURE 20

Cross-section through copper ear-ornaments. In the common type (at the left), two double discs are held together by a piece of thin copper rolled into a hollow rivet, and are held apart by winding the rivet with twine, e. In the other example, the rivet, c, is held securely by a clay filling, f. Both forms are sometimes covered with an additional exterior plate of fine copper, silver, or meteoric iron. (1/1.)

evidently represent the four horns of the serpent or serpent-monster, as will be apparent upon comparison with those figured in b, plate 19. They were probably attached to the object of which they formed a part by a projection at the base of each, only one of which now remains. Upon the breaking away of the projection in two of the specimens, the horns were evidently attached by means of the perforations.

The two perforated discs with scalloped outer edges (c) are probably eyes of the same serpent effigy, the body of which was doubtless destroyed by fire. Somewhat similar eyes with undulating rays instead of scallops appear upon an exquisitely carved stone head of a fawn (?) illustrated by Squier and Davis (figure 163).

The crescent-shaped object (b) is probably a gorget. A number of these have been taken from mounds and graves of this culture group. Seventeen copper pendants, thirteen of which are illustrated in this plate, were found together.

Three copper bracelets are shown in the upper part of plate 10. One of these (d) was twisted out of shape before being deposited. Each bracelet is hollow, with an opening on the inner side, a cross-section through its wall being C-shaped. The surface of b, has been injured by corrosion, and fragments of carbonized shell, bone, etc., adhere to it. The bracelet illustrated in c, is covered with very thin beaten silver.

The only copper implement from this deposit is the adze blade, f, plate 10. The better preserved of the copper spool-shaped ear-ornaments from this altar are illustrated on plate 12, c. A very small one, probably made for a child, is shown at the extreme right. Many fragments were also recovered. The general method of construction may be seen by referring to figure 20. This form of ornament was very popular among the Indians of this culture group. They were found in many of the graves and mounds, and more than five hundred were taken from one of the altars of the Hopewell Group of mounds in Ross County by Mr. Moorehead. In three or four of those shown in c, of the above plate, the outer discs are covered with thin sheets of silver. A few are covered with sheets of meteoric iron.

Dr. Hildreth found a similar silver-covered ear-ornament with a skeleton in one of the mounds at Marietta in 1819, and mistook it for a part of an European sword belt or buckler. He also found with it a corrugated ornament of silver, of the type shown in figure 21, which he thought to be part of a sword scabbard. These specimens are responsible for the alleged recent origin of some of the mounds of the Marietta Group, as asserted by several well-known archaeologists. The specimens found by Hildreth<sup>1</sup> are now in the Peabody Museum, and are unquestionably of pre-historic Indian origin.

The hollow cone-shaped objects shown in plate 12, a, made by rolling together thin sheets of copper, were probably pendants. Objects of similar shape and size produced by cutting away the interior of the tips of deer antler were also taken from the altar. Smaller pendants of tin of the same nature were used by historic tribes over a wide area, as ornaments for clothing, bags, etc. The

<sup>1</sup> Calib Atwater, *Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio*, Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. I, p. 168. Professor Putnam was the first to call attention to the true nature of these objects; see note, Reports of Peabody Museum of Am. Arch. and Eth., Vol. III, p. 172.

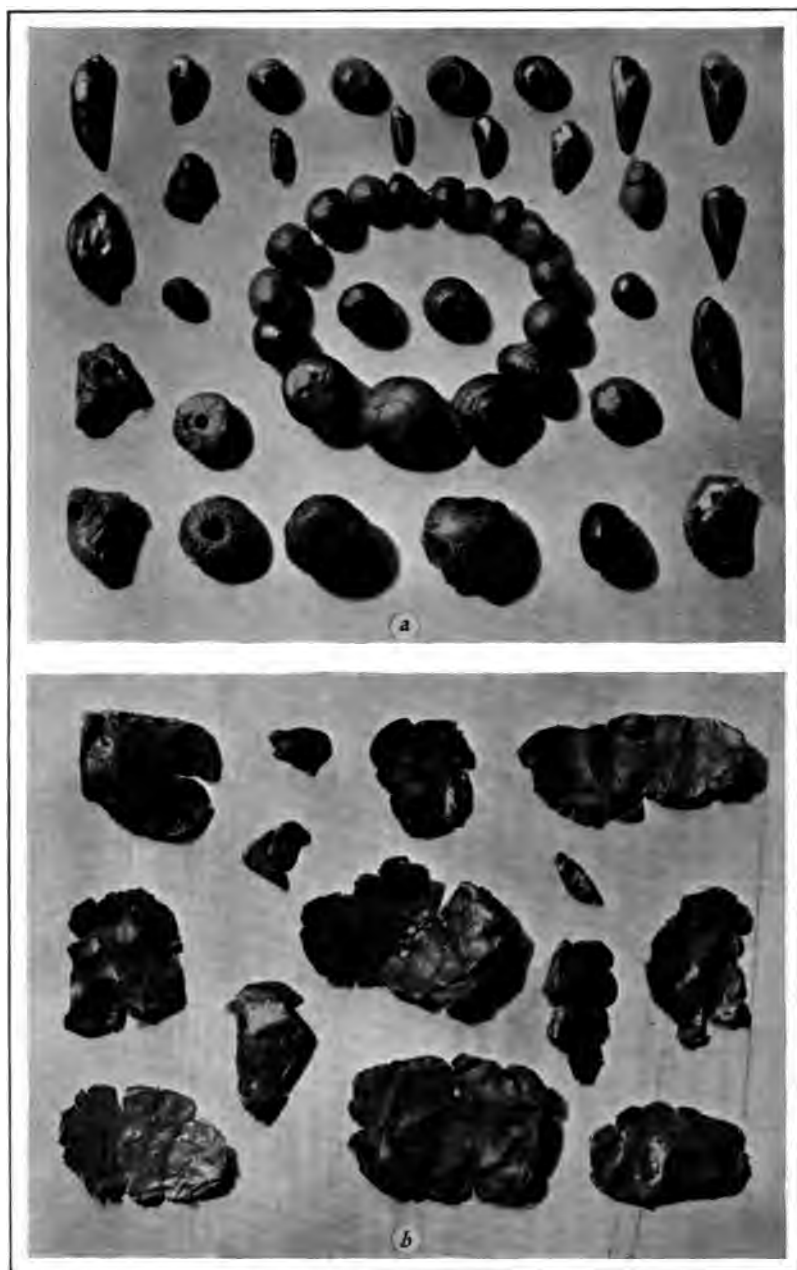
smaller end is attached to a thong, and a bunch of hair, often dyed a brilliant color, usually projects from the larger end.

The majority of the copper beads were of the type and size shown in b, of the above plate. About one hundred and fifty small tubular beads made by rolling up thin sheets, and a dozen large hollow beads of the form illustrated in plate 10, h, were also found. A few copper-covered wooden beads (i) were recovered, together with a number of hemispherical clay buttons, also covered with thin copper (figure 25, a-c). It is generally conceded that most of the copper used by the Great Earthwork Builders of southern Ohio came from the mines on the southern shore of Lake Superior. Several nuggets of copper, a few of them showing signs of having been hammered, were taken from this altar, but they were all small, the largest weighing only two ounces.

*Meteoric Iron Objects.*<sup>1</sup> Very few artifacts of this metal were recovered from the altar of mound 3. There were several small nuggets unworked or slightly hammered, and fragments of what may have been a head-plate of the type occasionally found in the Ohio mounds. These head-plates are usually 2 to 3 inches wide, and 10 to 12 inches long, curved and rounded to fit the crown. There also are pieces of hollow beads similar to those of copper already described, and several copper ear-ornaments of the usual form covered with thin sheets of meteoric iron.

The best preserved object of this metal is made of a thin sheet about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches square, bent into the shape shown in figure 21. One side is corrugated, and the other flat. A number of similar specimens have been taken from the mounds of this culture group, made of silver, copper, and meteoric iron. The one of silver, found by Dr. Hildreth in a mound at Marietta and mistaken for a part of an European sword scabbard, is the most noted of these. There is a well-preserved example in the Museum from central Tennessee, from a mound belonging to this culture. It was accompanied by a copper adze blade, spool-shaped ear-ornaments, and mica plates. This Tennessee specimen had originally surrounded what appears to have been three tubes of cane or reed, fragments of which have been preserved by copper salts. It is

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of the meteoric iron objects from the altars of this mound group see Leonard P. Kinnicutt, *Report on the Meteoric Iron from the Altar Mounds in the Little Miami Valley, Ohio*, Reports of the Peabody Museum of Am. Arch. and Eth., Vol. III, pp. 381-384.



From the Central Altar of Mound 3: a, Pearls, perforated for stringing; b, Native gold, hammered into sheets from small nuggets. (1/1.)





probable that each of the specimens above mentioned served to bind together three similar tubes. These tubes must have been usually about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter; but in one example in the Museum, a silver band from a mound at Grand Rapids, a northern outpost of this culture, the tubes were probably about the size of an ordinary lead pencil. Perhaps the tubes may have been whistles of different notes joined together into a single instrument.

Nearly all of the artifacts of meteoric iron from the mounds are badly oxidized, and more or less broken. This metal, when worked

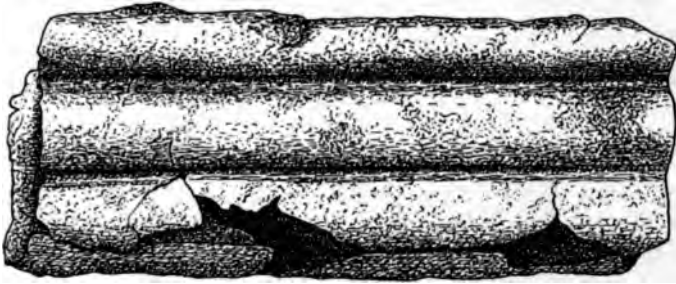


FIGURE 21

From the Central Altar of Mound 3: Meteoric iron band corrugated upon one side. (Nearly full size.)

into ornaments, does not have the lasting quality of copper or silver. Objects made of it, however, were originally very attractive, as the iron, which contains more or less nickel, resembles polished steel when finished. Further notes in connection with this metal will be found on page 65.

*Silver Objects.* No specimens made entirely of silver were recovered from this altar. A few ear-ornaments, a bracelet, and a cone-shaped tinkler, all of copper, were overlaid with thin silver sheets. Two of the former have been referred to (plate 12, c), and the bracelet is shown in plate 10, c. Among the debris of broken and burnt objects were many fragments of this thinly hammered overlay, evidently from various articles which had been destroyed.

No silver nuggets or partially worked pieces were found in any of the Turner Group mounds, but the Museum has two large nuggets of unworked silver, weighing together  $12\frac{1}{4}$  pounds, from

one of the mounds at Grand Rapids. The source of most of the silver from the mounds of the Great Earthwork Builders is probably the copper region of Lake Superior.

*Gold Objects.* Fifteen sheets of gold, each hammered from a small nugget, were taken from this altar. Fourteen of these are illustrated on plate 13, b, and the remaining one is shown adhering to the copper pendant, d, plate 11. This adhesion is the result of corrosion. The gold did not form a part of the pendant. The piece shown in the center of the former illustration is concavo-convex, and is perforated. Its form would indicate that it possibly may have been fastened to one of the discs of an ear-ornament. The remaining pieces, although hammered to thin sheets, do not seem to have been cut or otherwise worked. They were probably prized for their rarity. In this connection it may be well to quote from a letter of Dr. Hildreth to the President of the American Antiquarian Society, dated November 3, 1819,<sup>1</sup> which evidently refers to one of the ear-ornaments so often found in or near the hands of skeletons. This report was traced to its source by Squier and Davis (page 279), and the ornament found to be copper.

I also have been told on good authority that an ornament composed of very pure gold something similar to those found here, was discovered a few years since in Ross County, near Chillicothe, lying in the palm of a skeleton's hand in a small mound. This curiosity I am told is in the [Peal] Museum at Philadelphia.

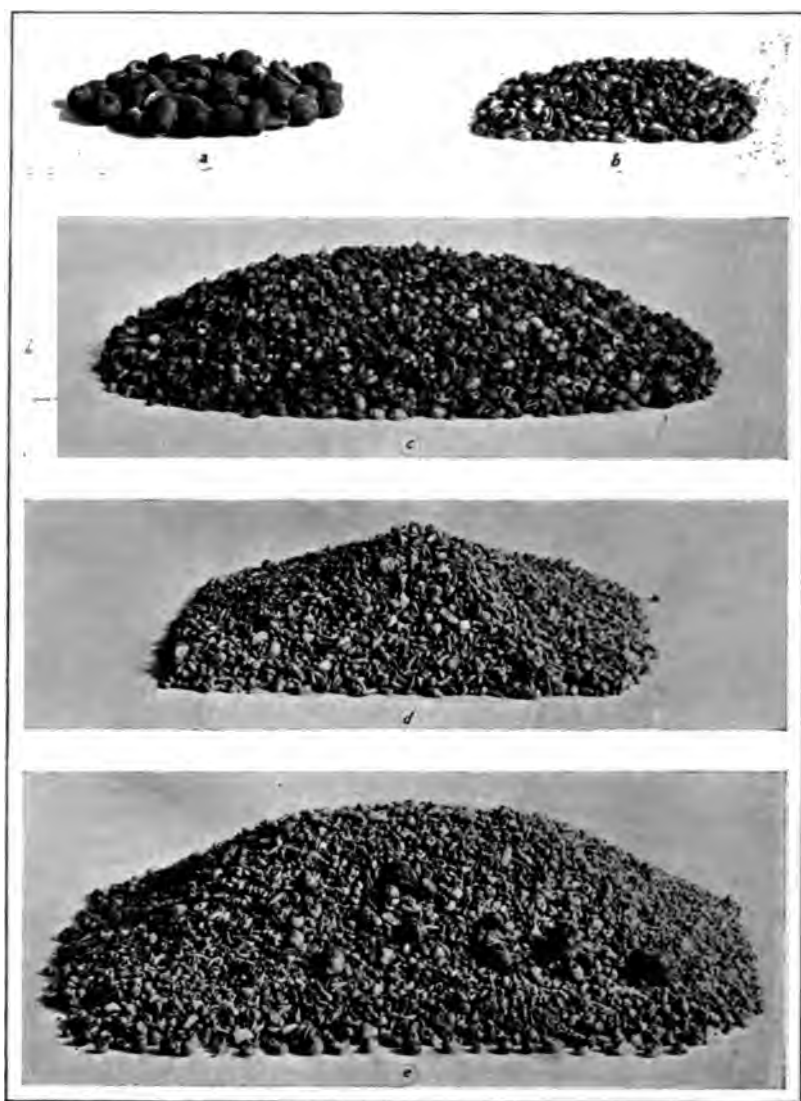
Atwater<sup>2</sup> also says, "gold ornaments are said to have been found in several tumuli, but I have never seen any."

Such objects must have been extremely rare, for the remarkable collection from the Hopewell Group of mounds contained no artifacts of this metal. If gold objects were in use, one would expect to find only small articles, such as clay buttons, wooden beads, or perhaps an occasional ear-ornament, covered with thin sheets hammered from small nuggets.

*Pearls.* On plate 14, d, and e, are shown twenty-three pounds of pearls taken from this altar. These two piles contain approximately thirty-six thousand. In addition to these were several thousand which had been destroyed by the altar fire, and most of those recovered were blackened or discolored by the heat and

<sup>1</sup> Atwater, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 223.



From the Central Altar of Mound 3: a, Massive shell beads; b, Marginella shells perforated for stringing; c, Leptoxis shells ground for embroidery; d, Pearls; e, Pearls perforated for stringing. (About 1/4.)



confined smoke. The pearls shown in the lower pile, e, are perforated, and were used as beads; those in the upper pile, d, are without perforations. A selection of some of the larger beads are illustrated in plate 13, a. It is probable that most, if not all, of the pearls from this altar were derived from various species of the *Unio* which were common in the fresh water streams of the South and West.

Pearls were found with several skeletons in the graves and mounds of this group, and a few were taken from two of the other altars. They were used for necklaces, bracelets, and probably for bead embroidery. They were employed as eyes for various effigies, and were inlaid in bear teeth toggles, stone tobacco pipes, and ornaments of shell. By far the greater number had a single perforation, and the surface was otherwise unworked. Frequently, however, and especially when used as an inlay or button, one side of a large pearl would be ground flat, or nearly so, and the perforations made by drilling two holes diagonally inward from the base until the holes met in the center, as shown in the third pearl from the left in the lower row, plate 13, a. In this way, the attaching cord would not be visible when the pearl was in place.

Two other large deposits of pearls were obtained from the Hopewell Group by Mr. Moorehead, in 1890. Approximately nineteen thousand were taken from altar 1 of the great mound, and about sixteen thousand from an extensive deposit of objects above two skeletons in the same tumulus.

Pearls were highly prized and eagerly sought by the more advanced tribes of the eastern and central portions of the United States. In a Fidalgo of Elvas narrative of De Soto's expedition, he tells us that upon the arrival of the Spaniards at Cutifachiqui, a town on the Savannah River, Georgia:

The Cacica, observing that the Christians valued pearls, told the Governor that, if he should order some sepulchres that were in the town to be searched, he would find many; and if he chose to send to those in the uninhabited towns, he might load all his horses with them. They examined those in the town and found three hundred and fifty pounds weight of pearls, and figures of babies and birds made of them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto, Edward Gaylord Bourne Edition, Vol. I, p. 66.

The "figures of babies and birds" were probably embroidered upon fabric or buckskin.

At Mauilla, a town in southern Alabama, the pearls which had been collected by De Soto from the Indians were destroyed when the village was burned. When the Governor learned that Maldonado was waiting for him at the post of Ochuse, he caused Ortiz to keep the news secret, because the pearls which he wished to send to Cuba, that their fame might raise the desire of coming to Florida, had been lost.<sup>1</sup>

There are many references, by early writers, to the pearls found in possession of the Indians. Strachey writes of having seen

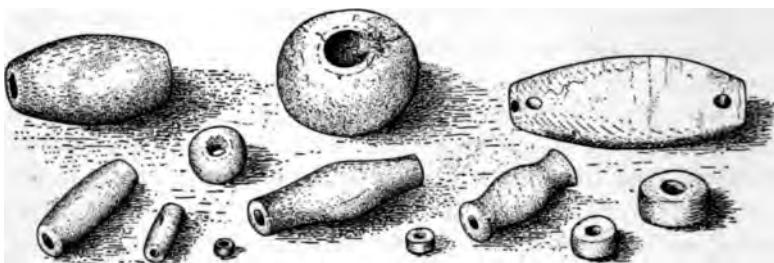


FIGURE 22

From the Central Altar of Mound 3: Shell beads of various forms. (Nearly full size.)

"manie chaynes and braceletts" of pearls worn by the Virginia Indians; and "wee found plentie of them in the sepulchres of their kings though discoloured by burning the oysters in the fier, and deformed by gross boring."<sup>2</sup> Numerous other references might be quoted, but the above are sufficient to show how highly the Indians valued these beautiful objects.

*Shell Beads.* Nearly five thousand shell beads were taken from the altar. They ranged from small discs, about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch in diameter, to those of globular or oval shape, approximately an inch in length, as illustrated in a, plate 14. On plate 12, d, are shown about two thousand of the ordinary form. Nearly an equal number, barrel-shaped, and somewhat larger, were also recovered. The various shapes and sizes of shell beads from this altar are shown in figure 22.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-98.

<sup>2</sup> William Strachey, *A History of Travell into Virginia Britannia*, Hakluyt Society.

A group of marginella shells with the apex ground away for the passage of a cord is illustrated in plate 14, b.

*Embroidery Shells.* Approximately seventeen thousand fresh water shells (*Leptoxis carinata*), about a third of which are illustrated on plate 14, c, were recovered. Each of these is ground upon the side having the aperture, until the wall of the whorl above the aperture is perforated. This allows the thread used in attaching the shell to the fabric to pass through the perforation and out of the aperture; the ground side of the shell is in this way brought snugly against the fabric or buckskin to which it is fastened.

The best example of shell embroidery of this nature known to the writer is the so-called Powhatan mantle entered, about 1685, in the manuscript catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum, in the handwriting of Dr. Plot, and which is illustrated on plate xv of the Tenth Volume of the Bureau of American Ethnology. According to Dr. Taylor's description, thirty-three of the thirty-four figures still remaining on this garment are made with beads ground as above described, although of a different species of shell.

*Canine Teeth.* The canine teeth of various animals were highly prized as ornaments by many Indian tribes, and a large number were obtained from this altar. A group of the best preserved teeth of the bear is illustrated in plate 12, f. These are black with the confined smoke of the altar fire, and many others were destroyed by burning.

Most of these large teeth were perforated by drilling two holes upon one side, at an angle to each other, until they met near the center of the tooth. Through this angular perforation, the cord or thong which fastened the tooth to the garment doubtless passed. They were probably used as ornaments or toggles, and where found in graves were usually in one or more pairs, as will be seen by referring to plate 6. Sometimes they have an additional lateral perforation near the root end, and some are without the diagonal drilling. A few neatly cut bear teeth were also taken from the altar, two of which have holes for a pearl inset. Several artificial bear teeth made of shell, and one or two of bone, were also recovered.

A large number of the canine teeth of small mammals, perforated near the root end, for use as ornaments or for stringing as



necklaces, are shown in e, of the above plate. Among the various animals represented are the dog, fox, raccoon, bay lynx, badger, and opossum.

*Mica Objects.* In addition to the three large crystals of mica which capped this sacrificial deposit, there were many ornaments or ceremonial objects cut from thin sheets of this mineral. The more important of these are illustrated on plate 15. There were two grotesque human heads, one of which is shown in c. These are duplicates of each other, both in outline, and in the incised lines upon the surface which indicate the hair, the eyebrow, the lips, and the circle about the eye. At least a portion of the profile was painted, for traces of red paint still adhere to the neck. There are four or five small perforations along the upper lip, as though something had been sewed to the effigy at his point.

There are five representations of the upper portion of a bear, three of which are shown in the plate. These are excellent examples of the artistic skill of this people. The accuracy of the outline of the head and back is remarkable. In addition to the incised lines which mark the designs, portions of the surface of each of these effigies are painted with a dark red pigment. There were fifteen of the designs figured in b, which represent a conventionalized bird upon or against a long and narrow background. Some of these, while reproducing the same design, are not exact duplicates of each other. Portions of the wing and lower part of the bird are indicated by incised lines, and certain parts are painted red.

In addition to the above are several discs, some of which have a hole in the center. A few of these have concentric circles in incised lines, and traces of what appears to be white pigment. Many pieces of narrow serpentine figures were also recovered, and several hundred fragments of other designs, destroyed beyond the possibility of restoration.

Mica was highly valued by the Great Earthwork Builders. It was probably obtained by them from the Indians of Virginia and North Carolina, where it was quarried in prehistoric times.

*Incised Drawings.* Among the most remarkable specimens from the altars and graves of the Great Earthwork Builders are the incised designs upon bone, some of which have already been described (see plate 2).



From the Central Altar of Mound 3: Effigies, rings, and discs cut from mica, some of which are painted. (1/3.)



Figures 23 and 24 illustrate two of these from the altar under consideration. The discs are cut from the parietal bones of a human skull. Like all work of this class its technical quality is excellent. The lines are clear-cut and uniform, and the work is carried out with great precision.

These discs were broken into many pieces, and partially destroyed by burning, but practically the whole design of each can



FIGURE 23

From the Central Altar of Mound 3: Disc cut from the parietal bone of a human skull, and ornamented with bird forms in incised lines. (2/3.)

be made out, for it is the same in both, although reversed. A composite bird is represented. The main or central portion is doubtless intended for an owl, as it has the usual ear tufts and large legs, each of the latter terminating in four claws, characteristic of this bird. Near the edge of each disc is the well-drawn head and shoulder of a crested bird whose wings, with conventionalized feathers, extend upward and across the upper half of the disc. Upon the opposite side of each is another bird's head, which seems to form a part of the leg or wing of the central figure. Two

large eye-like designs with angular arms are in the upper half of each disc.

A few fragments of other carvings of a similar nature were found among the ashes of the altar. There was also a spatula-like object of tortoise shell about 8 inches long,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide near its broader end, and tapering to  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch at the opposite extremity. The broader end is neatly rounded, and upon one side has been incised

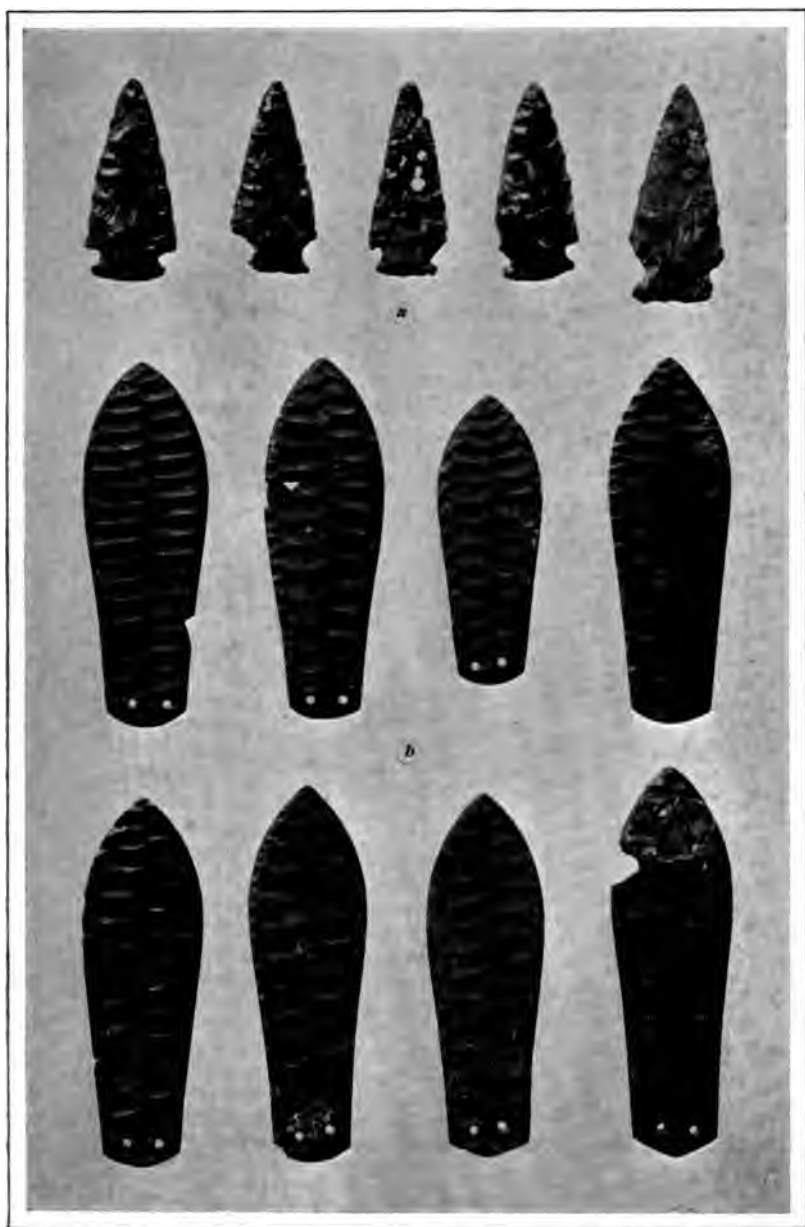


FIGURE 24

From the Central Altar of Mound 3: Disc cut from the parietal bone of a human skull and ornamented with the same design as figure 23, but reversed. (2/3.)

a well-executed scroll. The greater portion of the unit of the design is repeated once. Unfortunately, the surface of the tortoise shell is so disintegrated that the lines of the design cannot be followed with accuracy, and a satisfactory drawing cannot be made.

*Stone Implements.* Comparatively few stone implements were taken from the altar. Six broken flint blades, 5 or 6 inches in length, of ordinary workmanship; about a dozen perfect knife blades of obsidian and flint, five of which are shown on plate 16,



From the Central Altar of Mound 3: a, Knife blades of flint and obsidian; b, Ceremonial blades (?) of micaceous schist. (2/5.)



a; and many fragments of similar blades, broken by the fire, were recovered.

Eleven imitation chipped blades or spear points, made of micaceous schist, were also taken from the altar, eight of which are shown on the above plate. The lower portion of most of these is perforated for attachment. It is possible that they may have been used as pendants, but, in the opinion of the writer, it seems more probable that they are ceremonial spear points. The surface of each appears to be ground in imitation of the facets upon chipped blades.

*Miscellaneous Objects.* Only a few remaining objects from this altar are worthy of special mention. Among them are two large

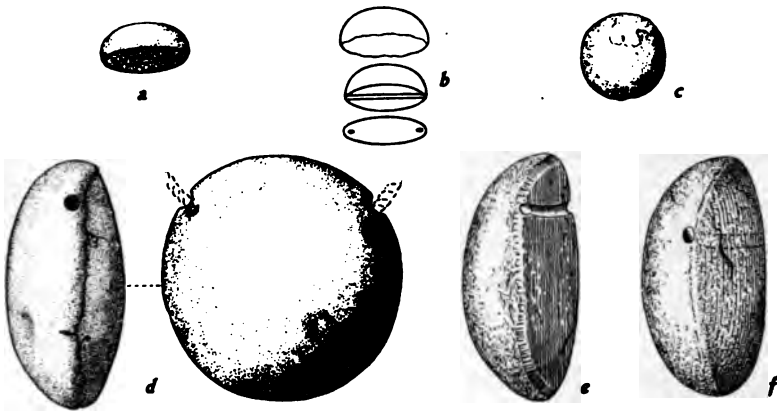


FIGURE 25

a-d, Copper-covered buttons; e, f, Sandstone forms for covering with metal:  
a-c, e, f, Altar of Mound 3; d, Mound 4. (About 1/2.)

hemispherical button-like objects of sandstone, which are illustrated in figure 25, e, f. The metal coverings of both are missing. One of the specimens, f, is perforated near its base for the passage of a cord. This perforation is above its center, evidently for the purpose of allowing the ornament to hang properly when attached to the garment, or when suspended against the body. The second example, e, is grooved at one side of the center for the same purpose. The metal plate which covered its base held the cord in place. A third and complete example is illustrated in d. This was found during the excavation of mound 4. It is covered with thin copper plates, the edges of the outer plate overlapping those of the under



one. Similar examples from the Hopewell Group are covered with sheets of native silver.

There are three terra-cotta rings grooved at the outer edge, which were probably used as ear-ornaments. Two of them are of the same type, but are not mates, one being larger and more crudely made than the other. The better example of the two is illustrated in figure 26, a. Several beautifully formed rings of this type, made from the brown micaceous schist called "gold stone" by Squier and Davis, were taken from an altar of the Hopewell Group, and are now in the Field Museum. The largest of these is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. Similar rings were also found by the above explorers. These stone rings are among the most interesting objects from the mounds. Technically they are perfect; their outlines form true circles, and their surfaces are exactly symmetrical. They could not have been made without some mechanical device based upon the principle of the lathe.<sup>1</sup> The terra-cotta rings, however, are modeled by hand, and afterward baked. Like some of the stone rings, the one illustrated (a) is perforated laterally by eight holes arranged in four pairs. It is not improbable that these perforations were used for attaching feathers or other ornaments placed within or hanging from the central opening. The third terra-cotta ring from this altar is shown in b, the only one of this type recovered.

Several fossils were taken also from the altar, and were probably used as fetishes. They are duplicates of those from the altar of mound 4 which are illustrated in d, plate 17. There were also many fragments of shell vessels, bone and shell rings, and other objects destroyed by breaking or burning.

*Intrusive Pit.* This was on the eastern side of the mound (2, figure 16), and had been dug to the depth of 7 feet. The clay filling was like the upper strata of the mound, but the layers of stone had been removed. A coating of ash-like substance covered the bottom of the pit, and extended 3 feet up its sides. The extended skeletons of a man and a woman lay upon the bottom near its center. Covering their tibiae were ashes containing bits of burnt bone, both human and animal. Near the skeletons was a flat stone upon which rested a rounded sheet of mica about 12 inches across. About the two skeletons were sixteen crania of

<sup>1</sup> Willoughby, *op. cit.*, Holmes Anniversary Volume, plate 12.

men arranged at regular intervals. Two or three other fragments were also recovered, one of which was part of an infant's skull. When found, the settling of the superincumbent mass of clay had broken, and misplaced some of the bones.

The sixteen skulls were unaccompanied by other bones. They were probably family relics, connected with or belonging to the man whose skeleton occupied the center of the grave. Thirteen of them have superficial scratches or cuts on their surface, apparently made with flint knives in the process of removing the flesh. Some of the skulls had been painted red, and red ocher still adheres to the surface of six. It is more common on the forehead, facial

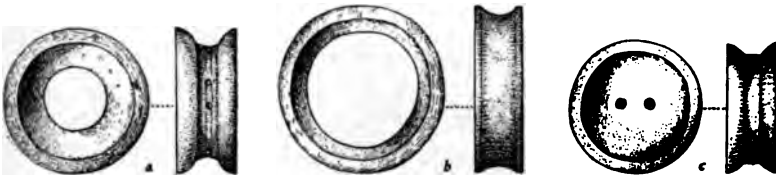


FIGURE 26

Terra-cotta rings, probably ear-ornaments: a, b, Altar of Mound 3; c, Ash-bed, Trench a, embankment of the Great Enclosure. (1/2.)

bones, and jaw, but in one skull it occurs about the base as well, and in this and one other on the temporal fossa. Five of the skulls have one to four perforations, about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, in the vault of the cranium. The sixth example has eleven perforations, and another apparently started. This skull is shown in plate 27 together with one having two perforations.<sup>1</sup> The position of the holes seems to indicate that at least a part of them were intended for the passage of a suspending cord. Others may have been used for the insertion of feathers or other decorations.

During the exploration of Marriott mound 1, to the west of the elevated circle (see page 88), a skull was found occupying a small stone-lined grave, and unaccompanied by other bones. This was perforated near the great foramen, probably for the passage of a suspending cord.

Bones coated with red pigment are reported from Ohio by W. K. Moorehead as follows: from a mound at Omega, Ross County; from a Jackson County mound; from two mounds within the

<sup>1</sup> The above description is from the manuscript notes of Cornelia Studley.

corporate limits of Chillicothe; and from a stone-lined grave in Marion County.<sup>1</sup>

The following account from Romans of bone painting among the Choctaw throws an interesting sidelight upon these remains.<sup>2</sup>

The day [of the burial] being come, the friends and relations assemble near the stage, a fire is made, and the respectable operator, after the body is taken down [from the stage on which it has lain for two to four months], with his nails tears the remaining flesh off the bones and throws it with the entrails into the fire, where it is consumed; then he scrapes the bones and burns the scrapings likewise. The head being painted red with vermillion, is, with the rest of the bones, put into a neatly made chest (which for a chief is also made red) and deposited in the loft of a hut built for that purpose, and called 'bone



FIGURE 27. Cross-section of Mound 4, looking south: 1, Clay just beneath the sand; 4, Yellow earth; 5, Clay and ashes; 6, Burnt clay; 7, Altar 1; 8, Altar

house.' Each town has one of these. After remaining here one year, or thereabouts, if he be a man of any note, they take the chest down, and in an assembly of relations and friends they weep once more over him, refresh the color of the head, paint the box, and then deposit him to lasting oblivion.

**Mound 4.** This was approximately 108 feet long by 66 feet wide, with its greatest elevation about 6 feet above the surrounding plain. A cross-section near its center, figure 27, from a drawing by Dr. Metz, shows the following stratification: beneath the thin top-soil were 2 feet of clay (1) resting upon a 7-inch layer of clay mixed with charcoal (2); then came 26 inches of mottled clay (3); an inch of sand, and 7 inches of yellow earth (4); layers of clay and ashes (5); and layers of burnt clay, probably the remains of hearths (6). Three pits with clay covers (9) are shown similar to those in mound 3, but without the accompanying tunnels. Thirteen pits and one hundred and seven post-holes, not shown in the

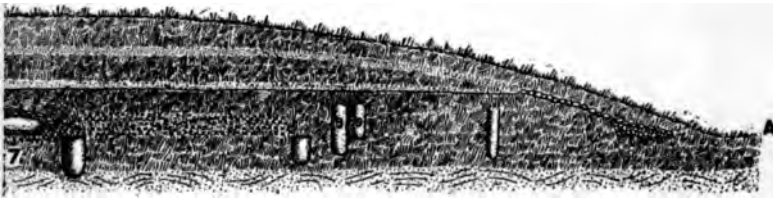
<sup>1</sup> Alés Hrdlička, *The Painting of Human Bones Among the Indians*, Smithsonian Report, 1904, p. 612.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 613.

ground plan, figure 28, are recorded. As it is not possible to plot these with accuracy from the given data they are omitted. Several hearths with cup-shaped depressions were found in the north-western section, and nearly half of the mound area was paved with flat limestones at a point somewhat above the level of the surrounding plain.

At a depth of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet near the center of the mound, altar 1 (number 7 in plan and section) was encountered. This is described by Dr. Metz in the following words:

The altar was almost quadrangular in form, being a little wider in one direction than in the other. At each corner was a rounded projection. These cor-



top-soil; 2, Clay mixed with charcoal; 3, Mottled clay resting on an inch of 2; 9, Pits covered with clay cone covers.

responded to the cardinal points of the compass. It measured about 6 feet diagonally from corner to corner, and the slope of the sides was 10 inches. Near the southwest side of the floor of the altar was a circular basin, 5 inches deep and 15 inches in diameter. In this were found a copper bracelet, several copper beads, and fragments of mica; a layer of pebbles covered the basin. Nearly the entire floor of the altar was covered with a layer of black ashes, 13 inches deep. Over one side of the floor, and extending nearly to its center was a 2-inch stratum of white ashes (bone ashes?). Over this was a 1-inch layer of black ashes. To the extreme left on the floor of the altar lay a large worked piece of cannel coal, its under surface charred. To the right of the bed of white ashes, and directly in the center of the altar lay a nugget of copper weighing 3 pounds and 10 ounces. Close to this were the fragments of the hollow stone effigy wrapped in pieces of mica. Next to this lay another nugget of copper, beside which were numerous fragments of terra-cotta images of the human form. Over these objects lay a large serpent cut from mica. Numerous copper beads were found throughout the black ashes, above which was a layer of gray ashes, 5 inches deep, containing great quantities of animal remains. These were covered with a layer of worked pieces of cannel coal. Covering the coal and the entire altar was a 5-inch layer of pure sand which was in turn covered by a triple layer of flat stones. These were quite large, and were built over as a covering for the contents of the altar.

After the removal of its contents, a cross-section was made through the altar. Its floor was found to be burned very hard to a depth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, beneath which was a 2-inch stratum of pure clay, and below this 4 inches of red burnt earth. Then came a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch layer of black ashes, upon which the altar had been built.

Beneath the northeastern edge of this altar (a) a second altar was found, square in form, the edges measuring approximately 4 feet. Its depth was 4

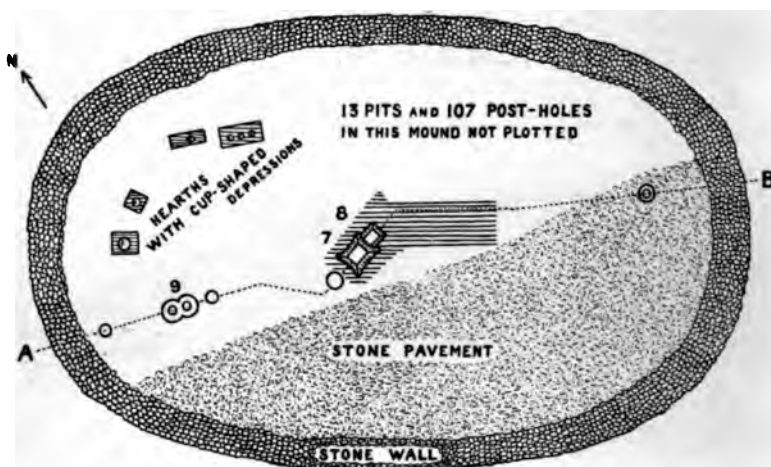


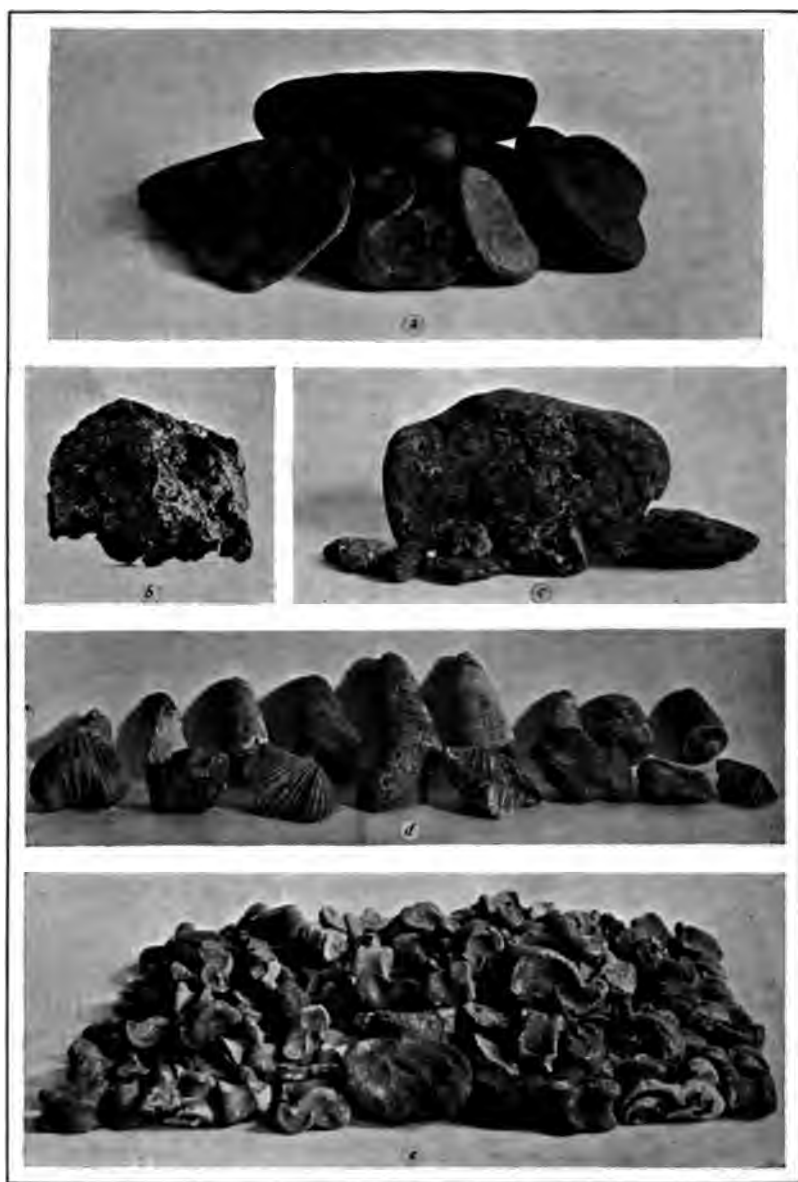
FIGURE 28

Plan of Mound 4: 7, Altar 1, from which many artifacts were taken; 8, Altar 2; 9, Adjoining pits with clay cone covers.

inches, and the inner slope of its side 5 inches. This altar contained only dark ashes.

The relative positions of these altars are shown in figures 27, 28, and 29.

*Contents of Altar 1.* After removing the ashes and other contents to the Museum, assorting the material and repairing the broken objects, the following specimens were listed: 26 pieces of cannel coal, all but one of which had been laid over the other objects in the altar (plate 17, a); 7 nuggets of native copper, the largest weighing  $56\frac{1}{2}$  ounces (c of above plate); a nugget of meteoric iron, weighing  $27\frac{1}{4}$  ounces (b); many fossils of various kinds, probably used as fetishes, some of which are shown in d; 284 astragali of deer and elk (e); 44 hollow cones made of antler tips; stones and concretions of natural forms used as fetishes (plate



From Altar 1, Mound 4: a, Cannel coal; b, Meteoric iron; c, Native copper; d, Fossils; e, Astragali of deer and elk. (1/4.)



18, e); a bracelet, cones, and beads of native copper, and about 200 pearl beads (plate 18, a-d); 2 hollow stone effigies; a representation of the horned serpent cut from mica; and several terracotta figurines. In addition to the above there were many fragments of worked bone, shell, teeth and claws of animals, flint implements, etc. The more important of these specimens will be treated separately.

*Meteoric Iron.* Reference has been made, page 50, to the objects of this metal from the central altar of mound 3. No artifacts of

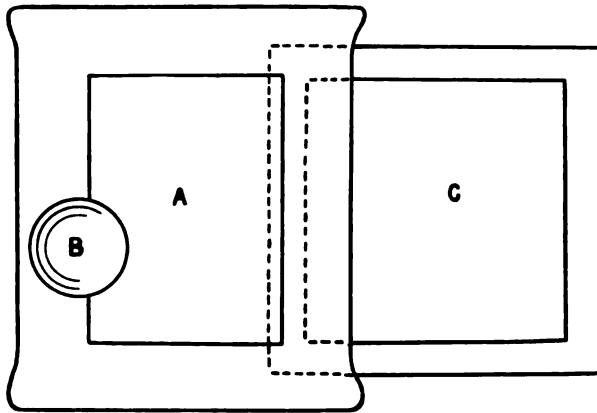


FIGURE 29

Altars of Mound 4: a, Altar 1, with circular basin (b) at one side;  
c, Altar 2, partly beneath Altar 1.

this material, however, were found with the nugget from the altar of mound 4. This mass (plate 17, b) taken with the other objects from the ashes, weighed 767.5 grams. The following is an extract from the published account by Dr. Kinnicutt:<sup>1</sup>

This mass consisted principally of metallic iron and olivine; the crystals of olivine have a diameter of 5 to 10 millimeters, and are enclosed within the iron. The specific gravity was found by Professor Lattimore of Rochester, New York, to be 4.72.

A section of the stone was made and polished, and the general appearance is shown by the following wood cut. The dark portions showing the size and shape of the crystals of olivine, which were of a dark green weighing from 200

<sup>1</sup> Leonard P. Kinnicutt, op. cit., Reports of Peabody Museum of Am. Arch. and Eth., Vol. III, pp. 382-384.



to 800 milligrammes, had a specific gravity of 3.33. An analysis of the olivine gave the following results:

SiO <sub>2</sub> .....	40.02 per cent
FeO .....	14.06 "
MnO .....	0.10 "
MgO .....	45.60 "

The iron which enclosed these crystals had a specific gravity of 7.894, and gave by J. Lawrence Smith's process of analyses:

Insoluble residue .....	00.09
Iron .....	89.00
Nickel .....	10.65
Cobalt .....	00.45
Copper .....	} Traces
Phosphorus .....	

A polished surface under the microscope showed, beside the crystals of olivine, small crystals of bronzite, which substance could also be easily detected by reflected light. Small quantities of schreibersite were also undoubtedly present as shown by the traces of phosphorus found in the analysis of the iron.

The specimen belongs to the class of meteorites known as pallasites, and a section of it resembles more closely a section of the Atakama stone than any other known pallasite.

Meteoric iron artifacts have been found in several of the mounds of the Great Earthwork Builders. From the Hopewell Group were taken beads, head-plates, and other ornaments, an adze blade, a drill, and small chisels in antler handles. It is interesting to note that the above chisels are curved and have the form of the upper incisors of the beaver, which were so widely used as cutting tools by the Indians. It seems that in making the chisels of iron they copied the shape of the most effective tool of this nature which they possessed.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the specimens from the central altar of mound 3, there are in the collection of the Museum, several ear-ornaments, buttons, etc., covered with meteoric iron, and an adze blade of this metal, all from the Liberty Group of mounds in Scioto Valley.

Atwater<sup>2</sup> reports a small sword or large knife completely oxidized, and a plate of iron from the great mound in the center of the circular embankment at Circleville. These were probably

<sup>1</sup> For a drawing of three of these chisels, see Willoughby, op. cit., Holmes Anniversary Volume, plate iv, f.

<sup>2</sup> Calib Atwater, op. cit., p. 178.



From Altar 1, Mound 4: a, Bracelet of copper; b, Beads of copper; c, Pearl beads; d, Copper cones; e, Stones of natural form used as fetishes. (1/3.)



of meteoric iron. Very naturally these early archaeologists regarded this iron as of European provenience, and as both the specimens were much disintegrated, their original forms or uses were not recognized. The "knife" was accompanied by an antler handle, probably of the same general type as the antler handles of the meteoric iron chisels above referred to, portions of which still adhere to the implements. These meteoric iron chisels are now in the Field Museum of Chicago. Hildreth's and Atwater's misinterpretation of the finds at Marietta, and undoubtedly also of the ones at Circleville, have misled archaeologists for many years as to the antiquity of the mounds of the Great Earthwork Builders. This is also true of certain well-known writers who have done so much to belittle the monumental work of Squier and Davis.

Most of the meteoric iron from the mounds has been worked into tools or ornaments, and it is impossible to tell whether it was all derived from one or several meteorites. If from only one, it would seem to indicate that the Turner, Hopewell, Liberty, and Circleville Groups were contemporary.

*Fetishes.* Stones and concretions of peculiar shapes, and especially those resembling human or animal forms or any of their parts, were by most Indians supposed to possess supernatural powers, and were used as fetishes. Several of these were taken from the altar, and are illustrated in the lower half of plate 18. The most remarkable of these is the middle stone in the upper row (e), which represents the head of a serpent. Its form has not been modified in the least by art; even the eye is natural. It is very probable that the serpent was the supreme guardian of the owner of the objects sacrificed here, for the mica effigy of the horned deity, illustrated in figures 30 and 31, was also found on this altar. The fossils shown on plate 17, d, were probably also regarded as fetishes.

*Mica Objects.* A considerable number of designs cut from thin mica had been placed upon the altar, and nearly all were destroyed. Some of them lay in contact with one of the large stone effigies, and were thought by Dr. Metz to have been wrapped around it. A high degree of heat will anneal this mineral, and render it soft, pliable, and easily torn. Practically all of these mica objects owe their destruction to extreme heat. Among the hundreds of fragments were pieces of small scrolls, serpentine

figures, etc., none of which could be joined to form an intelligible design, with the single exception of the horned serpent deity above mentioned. This had been one of the last sacrificial objects to be deposited, and probably owes its fair state of preservation to this fact. Drawings of the greater part of the upper portion of this serpent have been published elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Since beginning the preparation of this paper, however, the writer has made a careful



FIGURE 30

From Altar 1, Mound 4: Effigy of horned serpent cut from mica. (1/4.)

search among the mica fragments from this altar in hopes of being able to supply at least some of the missing parts, with the good results shown in the photograph. The nose, a part of the upper jaw, the tail with a portion of the rattles, and the lower part of the body were found. The incised lines forming the base of the jaw, the lines about the eye, and the horns on one side of the head, do not show clearly in the photograph, but are brought out in the drawing. There are two perforations for the attachment of the eye, which was undoubtedly a large pearl perforated laterally for

<sup>1</sup> Willoughby, *op. cit.*, Holmes Anniversary Volume, plate ix, m.

the passage of a cord. Such a perforated pearl of a size to fit exactly the two holes in the head was found among the ashes. There seems to be no evidence that the effigy had been painted.

The prominent place occupied by the serpent in the religious life of the Indians is too well known to be enlarged upon here. He was god of the upper regions, the four winds and four quarters, and occurs in combination with the primitive cosmic symbol or some of its parts, from Ohio southward to Central America. He

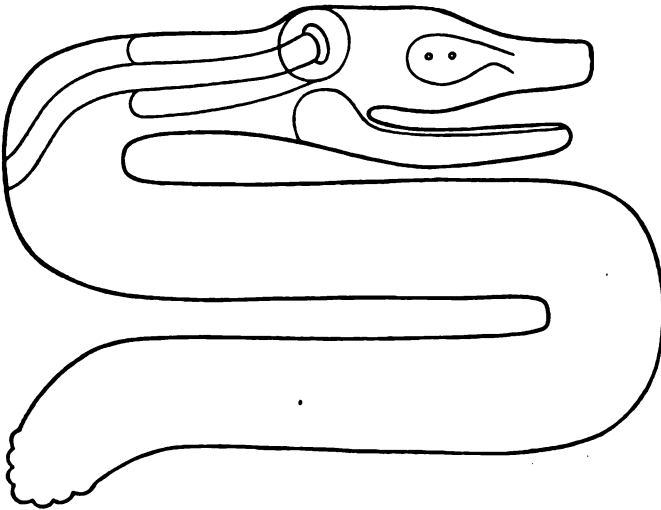


FIGURE 31

From Altar 1, Mound 4: Drawing of the serpent effigy illustrated in figure 30, showing the incised lines outlining the horns, a part of the lower jaw, and the eye, which do not appear clearly in the photograph. (1/4.)

was one of the principal divinities of many North American tribes. Among the Maya and Nahua peoples he was usually shown with plumes instead of horns. The most noted representation of this horned god in the North is the great Serpent Mound of Adams County,<sup>1</sup> which belongs to the same general culture as the Turner, Hopewell, Liberty, and other mound groups. Interesting representations of this serpent were taken from the first three of these groups.

For a description of this effigy, see Willoughby, *The Serpent Mound of Adams County, Ohio*, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXI, 1919, pp. 153-163.

*Effigies in Stone.* A remarkable effigy of a serpent-monster, part horned serpent and part quadruped, beautifully carved in red slate, also from this altar, is illustrated in plate 19, a, b, and a side view is given in figure 32. This was broken into many pieces, most of which were recovered. The head and tail are those of the horned serpent. The latter has the usual rattles. On the head, above and below, appear the typical reptilian plates. Two of the horns are carved in relief, and two are made separately, being inserted in holes drilled at the sides. Drilled holes also form the eye sockets, into which were doubtless inserted pearls, as was usual in the smaller animal effigies of this class. The mouth is open, as shown in the side view. This opening is plain, depressed,



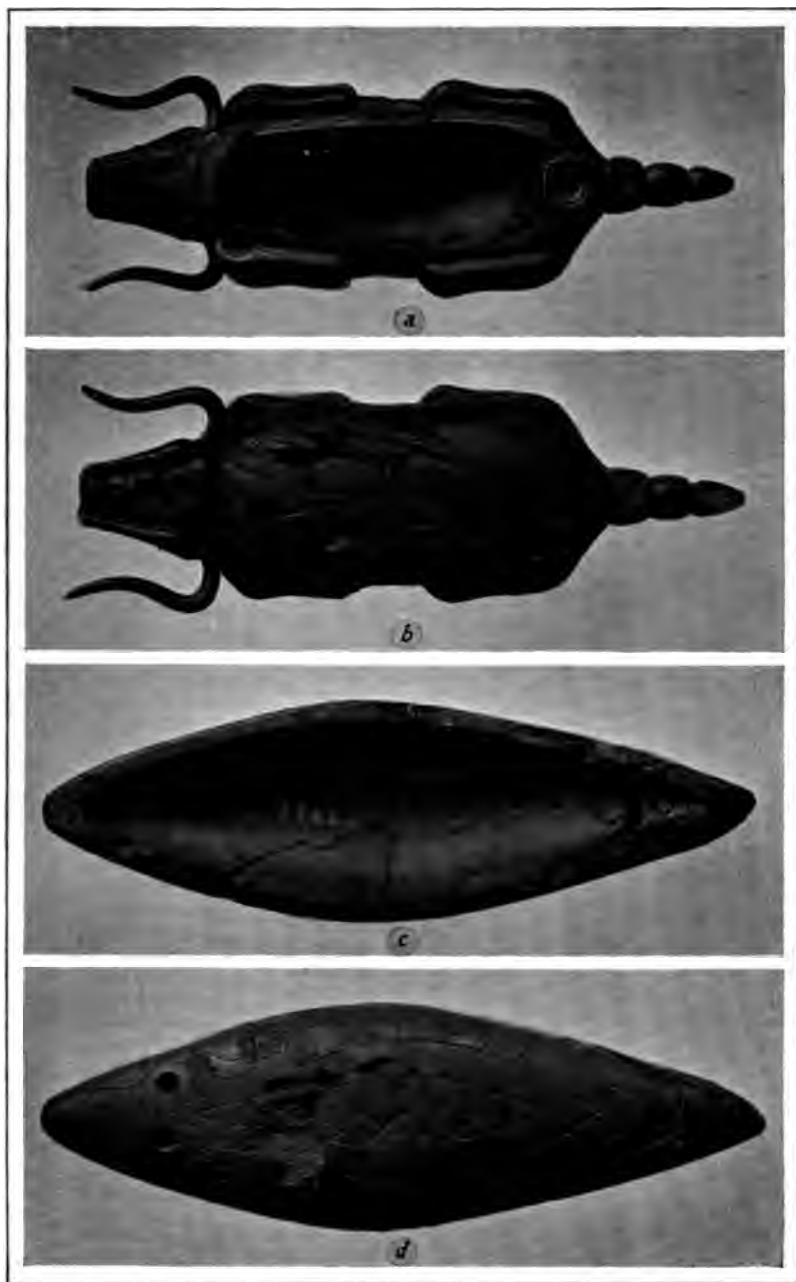
FIGURE 32

From Altar 1, Mound 4: Side view of the horned serpent-monster shown in plate 19, a, b. (2/5.)

and without teeth. It is probable that this depression was originally inlaid with some material representing teeth, for there are two holes drilled upward into each side of the forward portion of the upper jaw beneath the nostrils in which two canine teeth of some small mammal were probably inserted. The body is that of a quadruped, and is ornamented with a decorative band. The vent is pronounced, a feature occasionally noticeable in Indian representations of both birds and quadrupeds, the significance of which is not clear. The effigy probably represents the water-monster or serpent-dragon, a mythical being of the Kiowa and other northern tribes, which is referred to by James Mooney as the "water-monster formed like a horned alligator."<sup>1</sup>

The second hollow object from this altar of the same general class is figured in c, and d, of the above plate. Instead of being carved in relief, the animal is represented by the usual lines and cross-hatching seen in the incised carvings upon bone and antler.

<sup>1</sup> Science, March 24, 1905.



From Altar 1, Mound 4: a, b, Horned serpent-monster; c, d, Hollow stone object with incised animal figure. (About 3/8.)





The entire design is illustrated in figure 33. The drawing is so conventionalized we can only guess as to what animal it represents. The eye cavities have an unfinished appearance, and it is probable that pearls were inserted in them. The material is reddish-brown mica-schist thickly interspersed with particles of gold-colored mica. This stone seems to have been highly prized by the Indians, and was used in making various choice artifacts, including the stone earrings referred to on page 60.

These two effigies belong to a group of hollow objects from the mounds, the use of which is unknown. They are usually made of

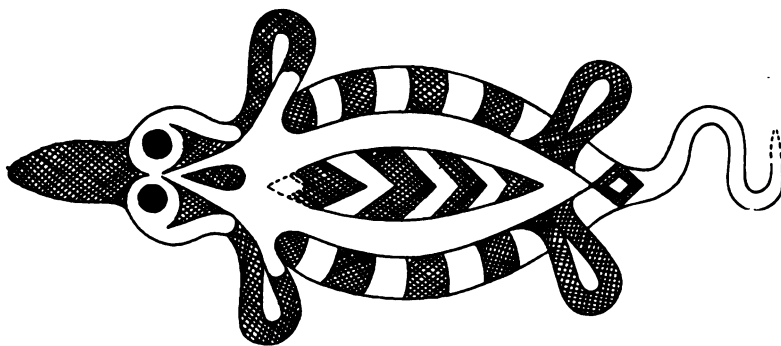


FIGURE 33

From Altar 1, Mound 4: Incised design upon hollow stone object shown in plate 19, c, d. (2/5.)

choice varieties of stone, but sometimes of antler or other material. They are carved into many shapes, but the more elaborate examples are representations of the upper portion of a bird or quadruped, or the head of some animal. One specimen in the Museum collection is in the form of a large beetle. All of them have a cavity upon the under side, and seem to have been fitted over some object. Some have perforations through the top, evidently for attachment.

*Figurines of Terra-cotta.* Perhaps the most interesting objects from this altar are the figurines illustrated on plates 20 and 21. There is every reason to believe that the artists who fashioned them belonged to the group of people who resided here, and that the effigies represent individuals or types of the same people. Dr. Hooton has called attention to the fact that the peculiar form

of head shown in the figurines corresponds closely to the crania from the mounds and burial places of this group.

Unfortunately, none of the effigies is perfect. They were either deliberately broken before being placed on the altar, or the heat from the fire caused them to splinter. Probably both agencies contributed to their destruction. Such fragments as could be fitted together have been carefully joined. In this way, the complete outlines of several were restored, as shown in plate 21.

The figures were modeled from clay without the addition of shell. They were apparently roughly formed with the fingers, and finished with modeling tools, some of which had sharp edges for trimming and paring the surface. The ears, ear-ornaments, garments, and some other portions were prepared separately and luted on. So far as can be judged by the fragments, both arms of each individual occupied the same relative position. This is another illustration of the symmetry so characteristic of the art of the Great Earthwork Builders and the Northwest Coast tribes.

Two fragments of similar figures were obtained in the general digging of mound 4, and another fragment was found under the northern embankment of the great enclosure.

These figures have little in common with the crude terra-cotta effigies from other sections of the United States. The modeling is much superior, and an unusual variety of postures is shown. As portraiture of the human form these effigies compare favorably with many of the figurines from the Maya and Nahua regions.

The largest of these effigies (plates 20 and 21, g) represents a man with hands crossed over his abdomen. The face is destroyed, but the shape of the head is easily determined. He wears spool-shaped ear-ornaments of the same form as those of copper taken from the graves and altars of this group. The large knot of hair shown above the forehead in the drawing was among the fragments, and undoubtedly belonged to this figure. He wears a belt, and a broad breech-cloth, which has been painted red.

The greater part of the surface of the effigy shown in a, of both plates, is badly mutilated. This man, also, wears a belt, breech-cloth, and large ear-ornaments. His fore-knot is bound with a fillet which is carried around the back of the head. His foot coverings consist of moccasins with short leggings attached. The upper edge of the legging is scalloped. The moccasin proper has



From Altar 1, Mound 4: Terra-cotta figurines. (About 1/3.)



the U-shaped inset characteristic of the northern Algonquian and neighboring tribes.

The seated figure, f, in both of the above plates, represents a warrior with sides of the head shaved, leaving a ridge of short hair extending across the crown from front to back, a method of arrangement characteristic of the warriors of the Pawnee, Sauc and Fox, and various other tribes of the northern half of the United States.

The kneeling effigy, illustrated in e, has the usual fore-knot, and wears a breech-cloth. The lower legs are flexed, and the toes turned inward, as shown somewhat imperfectly in the rear view. In the seated figure, c, no attempt has been made to restore the head, as the entire outer surface has scaled off.

In the upper row in plate 20 is shown the lower part of a face, and one ear with a large perforation in the lobe. The head is restored in d, plate 21. Detached ornaments were probably inserted in the perforations.

Portions of two other male figures are illustrated in k, plate 20. Both of these wear the usual breech-cloth.

Aside from a few small fragments of one or two individuals, three women are represented in the figurines. The most perfect of these is shown in b, of both plates. This is 6½ inches in height, and represents a matron dressed in a short blanket-skirt, and low foot coverings of the general form of the woven shoes from the Kentucky caves. The hair is neatly parted, and gathered in a chignon at the back of the head. The ears are not pierced. The whole skirt is colored a dull red, and traces of paint may be seen on other portions of the figure. The eyeballs show traces of white, and the lips are colored red. It seems probable that the whole effigy was originally carefully painted. The skirt is short and reaches nearly to the knees. It is of the type worn by the Natchez and other tribes of the South, and is in the form of a long narrow blanket, wrapped around the hips, one corner being tucked in at the waist-line at the back to hold it in place, as shown in the back view in the drawing.

The effigy of another woman is illustrated on plate 20, h. This has been so badly injured that few details can be made out, a considerable portion of the exterior having flaked off. She wears the same type of skirt, but instead of the outer end being brought

around under the right arm before tucking in at the back, it is carried in the opposite direction under the left arm.

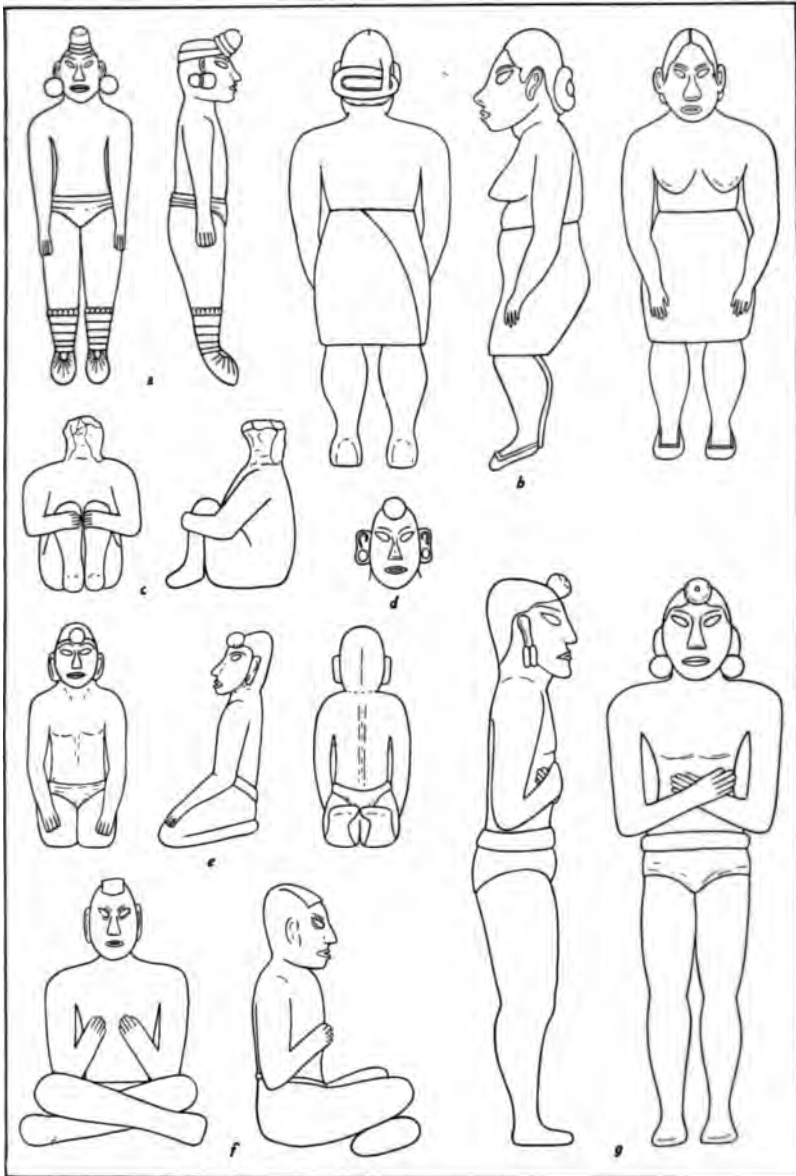
The third woman is represented by a few fragments only. These have been joined together, and are shown in plate 20, i. This apparently was one of the most carefully modeled in the group. It represents a young woman dressed in the characteristic red blanket-skirt, and low shoes, sitting in the usual fashion of Indian squaws, with the lower limbs flexed and the feet carried backward to one side, the weight of the body resting principally upon the lower half of the left leg. The portions of the exterior of the figure which remain show unusual care in modeling and finish. It is possible that these figures when properly arranged may have formed one or more mortuary groups, and the large effigy with crossed hands may have represented a corpse, around which the other figures were placed.

In addition to the objects above described taken from altar 1 of mound 4, there must have been many articles of value such as textile fabrics, objects of wood, dressed skin, etc., which were wholly consumed.

**Mound 5.** This was a counterpart of mound 6, so far as its outward appearance was concerned. It contained four altars placed near together at different levels. The exploration was begun by digging a trench, 18 feet wide, into the mound from its northwestern end. About 3 feet from the beginning of the trench, at a depth of 6 inches, a skeleton was uncovered lying upon its side in the position indicated in the plan (figure 34). This was undoubtedly an intrusive burial.

Nothing further of note was found until the trench had been carried 21 feet into the mound, when a burnt area near its base, and the edge of altar 1 at a higher level, were discovered. The trench was then extended towards the north, and the altars shown in the plan and section were found. Dr. Metz writes as follows concerning them:

Altar 1 was found at a depth of 41 inches below the surface of the mound measuring to the floor of its basin. The dip of its sides was 12 inches, and the perpendicular depth of the basin, 7 inches. Its length was 3 feet, and its breadth 31 inches. It was filled with sand and gravel, and was covered over with flat stones. Altar 2 was unearthed immediately under the layer of gravel upon which the first altar rested. Its length was 29 inches, its width 19 inches. Its basin, only 3 inches deep, was filled with sand and a dark tenacious earth



From Altar 1, Mound 4: Terra-cotta figurines, with some of the outlines restored.  
(About 1/3.)





or clay. Altar 3 was 33 inches long, 27 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. The dip of its sides was 9 inches. Altar 4 was 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 4 inches deep, the dip of its sides being 8 inches.

No artifacts were found in any of these altars. The second altar was removed and shipped to the Museum. There was a series of post-holes upon three sides of the group of altars, as shown in the ground plan. There is no mention of these in the notes. Other

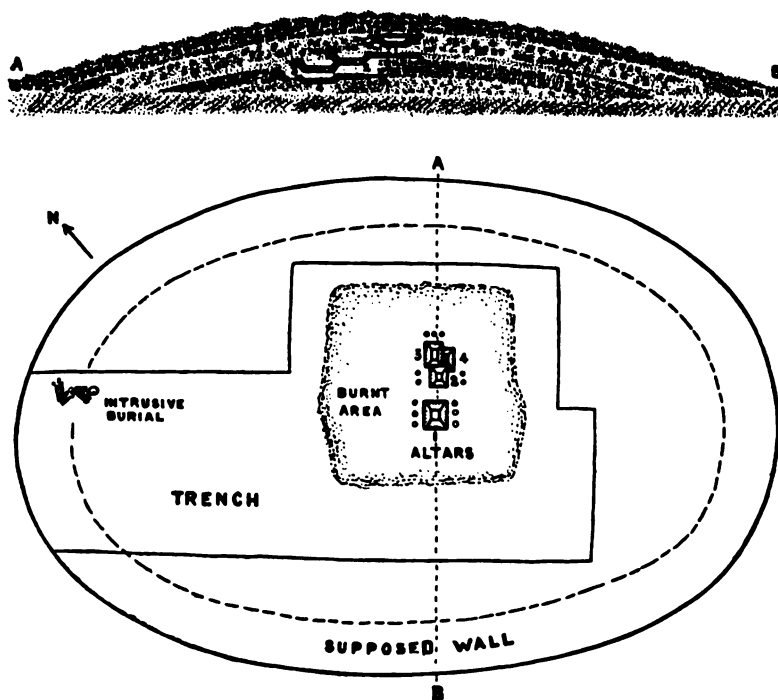


FIGURE 34  
Cross-section and plan of Mound 5, showing position of altars.

post-holes may have occurred which were overlooked, or their importance not recognized. There is also no mention of a low wall of river stones such as was found surrounding the other mounds of this connected group. This is probably due to the fact that the mound was not wholly removed during the exploration.

**Mound 6.** This mound was 66 feet in length by 44 feet in width, measuring from the outer edge of the encircling wall, which con-

tinued in three layers 4 feet up the sides of the mound. Its greatest altitude was 5 feet. The upper portion, to a depth of 2 feet 6 inches, was composed of clay, beneath which was a nearly horizontal layer of gravel, 2 inches thick, its edges touching the upper



FIGURE 35. Cross-section of Mound 6: 1, 2, 3, Hearths of burnt

layers of the stones forming the encircling wall. Beneath this layer of gravel was a stratum of burnt loam, 8 inches deep, containing the circular altar (4), and hearths (1, 2, 3). The hearths were covered with sand. The one nearest the altar was covered with very fine sand in which were found several animal teeth, perforated. To the southwest from this hearth lay the altar, 2 feet in diameter and 6 inches deep. The sides of its basin were burned to a depth of 3 inches, and the burning extended downward beneath the altar for 12 inches. Some distance to the east, a third hearth was uncovered, measuring 30 by 36 inches. Two distinct burnings had taken place here. In the first, the clay had been burned to a depth of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. This had been covered with fresh clay, the upper portion of which was burned to a depth of 2 inches; over this, fine sand was strewn. Beneath the level of the hearths and altars were strata of sand, gravel, and burnt earth.

Beneath the wall, at the eastern side of the mound, were two nearly square pits separated from each other by a clay wall, 4 inches thick. The larger pit was 4 feet long,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and 28 inches deep (number 6, figure 35); the smaller was 3 feet square, with a depth of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet. At one corner of the floor of this pit an oval hole had been dug to a depth of about a foot. These pits were filled with river sand in which were numerous small fresh water shells.

Post-holes to the number of one hundred and three were found, and plotted on Dr. Metz's plan, many of which were beneath the surrounding wall.

**Mound 7.** This mound, with its periphery touching the edges of mounds 3, 4, 5, and 6, is one of the smallest of the connected group. It was 40 feet in diameter, and a little over 5 feet in height. Near its base, at the same level as the surrounding plain, was the



clay; 4, Circular altar; 5, Post-holes; 6, Pit beneath wall.

burnt area of irregular form indicated in the ground plan, figure 37. A circular depression or hearth was found near the stake marking the center of the mound (number 8). A few feet to the west was

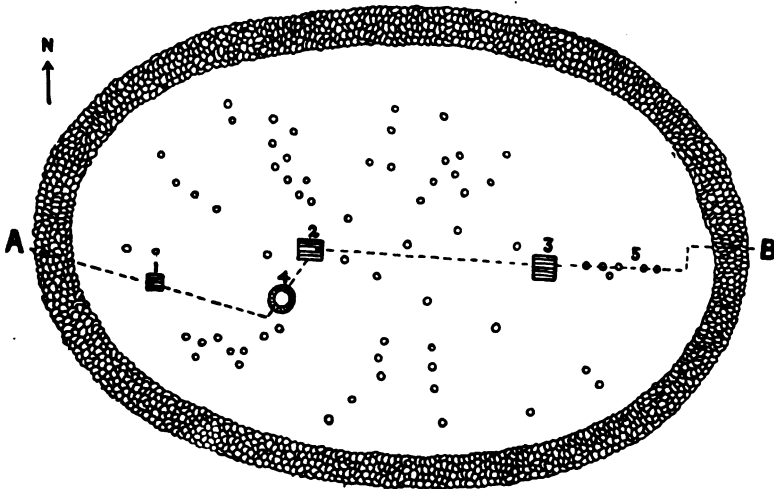


FIGURE 36

Plan of Mound 6: 1, 2, 3, Hearths of burnt clay; 4, Circular altar; 5, Post-holes.

a circular basin (9), 4 inches deep, filled with ashes and covered with clay. The altar (7), found 4 feet east of the central stake, was 3 feet long, and 28 inches wide. This was taken out and shipped to the Museum. Beneath it were indications of a second

altar. A few pits and numerous post-holes found at the base of the mound are shown on the plan prepared by Dr. Metz. The only artifact found was a copper ring, about a foot from the surface.

**Mound 8.** At the foot of the graded way, there is a small earth-work enclosure still showing a very shallow ditch on its inner side.

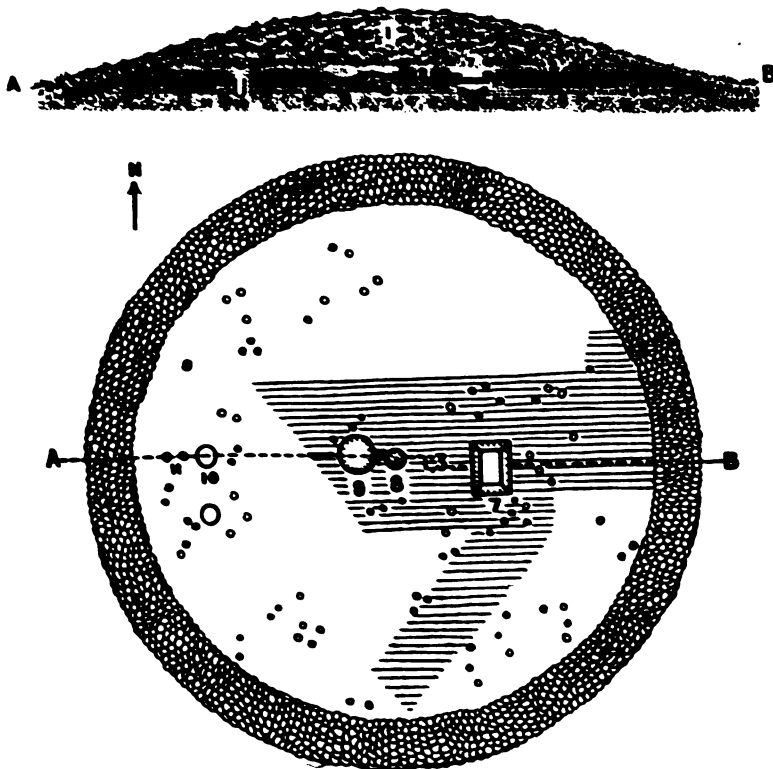


FIGURE 37

Cross-section and plan of Mound 7: 1, Mixed clay and earth; 2, Gravel; 3, Burnt area; 4, Clay and charcoal; 5, Black earth; 6, Hard-pan; 7, Altar; 8, Circular depression; 9, Circular basin; 10, Pit; 11, Post-holes.

This enclosure is approximately 100 feet in diameter, with gate-way opening to the east. The height of the embankment is about 10 inches. Within this is mound 8, having a height of 30 inches. Dr. Metz writes as follows:

A trench 15 feet wide was carried directly through from north to south, which was the longest diameter of the mound. Many stones were uncovered, which had probably been torn up by the plow. Mr. Turner informed me that he had carted away six wagon loads.

On reaching a depth of 10 inches, a pavement of flat river stones was uncovered which extended 25 feet north and south, and had a width of 12 feet throughout. This pavement was laid upon a layer of black soil, 5 inches deep. No traces of ashes or charcoal were found. Below this black soil was the clayey loam of the surrounding plain.

In 1905, Mr. Volk uncovered and photographed a portion of this, or a similar pavement within the earth circle. His description follows:

Dug trenches west of the many stones strewn over the surface. It was found that they had been arranged in layers 10 to 12 inches below the surface . . . . They were water-worn pebbles of fossiliferous limestones about 6 to 12 inches in length, by 4 to 8 inches in width, the thickness varying from 2 to 4 inches. There were four layers of stones near the center of the pavement, but at the edges they dwindled to a single layer. In removing the stones I found about a dozen that had been burned. Several of the pebbles were notched, and some of the thin ones showed chipping to a cutting edge. These may have served as diggers in excavating the tough clayey soil of the locality.

**Mound 9.** This mound was about 60 feet in diameter, and 5 feet high, and was outlined with the usual layer of stones. From the surface downward the strata were as follows: clay similar to that of the ordinary surface of the plain, 16 inches; clay containing numerous traces of charcoal, 18 inches; a layer of flat stones, 15 feet wide and 25 feet long, occupying the center of the mound; from the edges of the stone layer, a stratum of coarse gravel 3 inches thick extended to the mound's outer edge; and beneath the layer of stones was a thin stratum of sand which covered a layer of black ashes under which the earth was tinged red by burning.

To the west of the center of the mound and beneath the layer of stones, an altar, 4 feet long and 2 feet wide, was found. Its basin was 4 inches deep, with sloping sides 10 inches wide (number 1 of figures 38 and 39). The altar was filled with fine sand covered with coarse gravel. Its floor was burned to a depth of 5 inches. Nine feet east of the altar, at a lower level, a nearly circular basin or altar was uncovered (number 2), the bowl-shaped cavity of which was 8 inches deep, and 3 feet across at the top. Its floor was burned to a depth of 5 inches. The cavity was filled

with a dark, very tenacious earth. No artifacts, with the exception of the usual flint chips and potsherds scattered through the mound, were obtained. At the base of the mound numerous pits



FIGURE 38. Cross-section of Mound 9:

or post-holes, 12 to 24 inches deep, and 6 to 10 inches in diameter, were found.

**Mound 10.** This is situated just north of the small enclosure at the foot of the graded way. It was oblong in shape, about 3 feet high, and extended east and west approximately 40 feet.

A trench 18 feet wide was dug through its longest diameter. The mound was composed of sandy loam showing traces of charcoal throughout. At its center, and on a level with the plain, was found an ash-pit which was carefully explored. The contents were as follows, working downward: 7 inches of black ashes; 16 inches of gravel, sand, and ashes; and at the bottom, 4 inches of pure ashes. The diameter of the pit at its top was 6 feet; at its bottom, 16 inches; and its depth was 27 inches. Scattered throughout the ashes, sand, and gravel were animal bones, fragments of pottery, mica, and charcoal.

**Mound 11.** Within the great enclosure and about 300 feet northeast of mound 10 is situated this tumulus. Excavations showed it to be composed of sandy loam having a mottled appearance. No traces of charcoal or ashes were discovered.

In the center, and at a depth of only 8 inches, a skeleton was unearthed in a horizontal position, head to the south. The right hand was placed over the pelvis, and contained a small copper adze blade [figure 44, c]. About 4 inches from the skull a mass of galena, weighing one pound and six ounces, was found. Three feet southeast of this skeleton lay the remains of a child in a doubled-up position; and 5 feet southwest of this, and 16 inches beneath the surface, was a second adult skeleton in a horizontal position with its head to the south. Near the left hip was a broken pottery vessel, and near by a flint knife. [This vessel is shown with outline restored in plate 22, d.]

**Mound 12.** This interesting earthwork, the larger of the two mounds in the elevated circle, was 52 feet in diameter, and some-

what more than 5 feet high. After working through a stratum of clayey loam,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in depth, Dr. Metz came upon a horizontal pavement of flat river stones, 25 feet in diameter, having a cir-



1, Altar; 2, Circular basin.

cular outline (2, figure 40). This was about 3 feet above the base of the mound. Dr. Metz's account is as follows:

This pavement was laid on a 3-inch stratum of sand. On removing the stones and sand, a circular stone wall was discovered, and within the enclosure

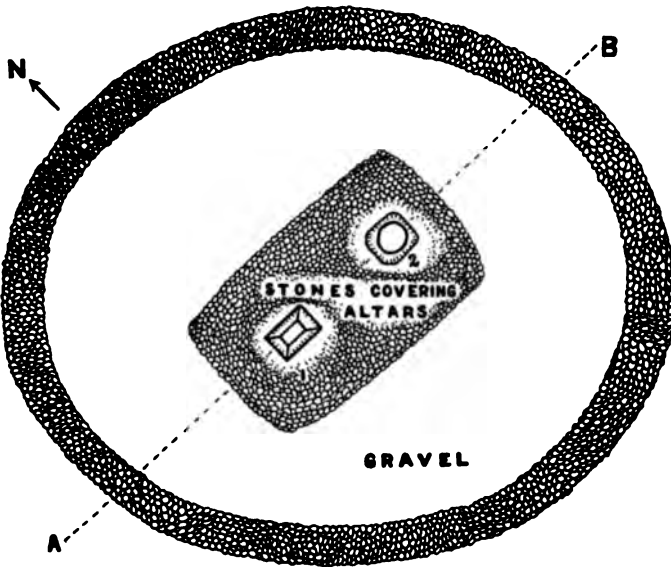


FIGURE 39

Plan of Mound 9: 1, Altar; 2, Circular basin.

formed by this wall was a mass of round, drift-gravel pebbles ranging in size from a filbert to an orange. These pebbles covered an earth mound within the wall, which was 2 feet 4 inches in height, and had a base diameter of 12 feet. The earth composing this little mound was stratified, there being several



alternate layers of dark earth and yellow clay, the latter being much the thicker. In the dark earth strata, traces of charcoal and ashes were seen.

The circular wall [see ground plan and cross-section, figures 40, 41] was 34 inches in height, 30 inches wide at its base, and 24 inches at its top. It rested on a 4-inch layer of coarse gravel which connected with the gravel surrounding the central earth mound. The diameter of the enclosure within the wall was 21 feet.

Not far from the center of the small interior mound, and beneath the stratum of coarse gravel, was a 3-inch layer of fine sand which covered a small altar (8). The basin of the altar was 2 feet in length, 18 inches in width, and had a depth at the sides of 6 inches.



FIGURE 40. Cross-section of Mound 12: 1, Clayey loam; 2, Layer earth and yellow clay; 6, Pebbles; 7, Sand; 8, Altar; 9, Cavity

Its cavity was 4 inches deep, and contained slightly burnt earth. The floor of the altar was burned to a depth of 3 inches, its entire thickness. Continuing, Dr. Metz says:

On removing the altar, a cavity filled with fine sand was discovered beneath. The length of this cavity was 12 inches, width 10 inches. A single valve of a unio shell was found in the sand contained in the cavity. It was placed directly under the floor of the altar, and lay upon the sand. On removing the sand, the depth of the cavity was found to be 8 inches.

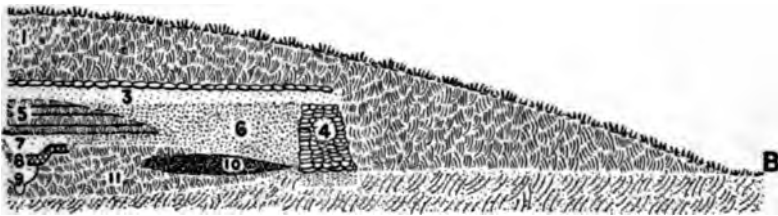
This cavity or basin [number 9 of the cross-section], was moulded in the clay upon which the altar rested. The imprints of the fingers of the ancient workmen were plainly visible upon its sides and bottom. Its form somewhat resembled the impression of a human foot clothed with a moccasin.

To the northwest of the altar at a distance of 30 inches was an irregular layer of dark, tenacious clay (10), having a depth of 4 inches, and extending several feet in width and length. It showed no evidence of having been burned.

The circular stone wall was built principally of large river stones with occasional large limestones interspersed, some of them being 12 inches in length and width, and 3 to 5 inches in thickness. A portion of this wall is shown in the photograph, figure 42. The

spaces between the stones were packed with sand and gravel. The inner edge of the wall was perpendicular. The outer edge sloped inward gradually from its base to its top (4, figure 40). The wall formed nearly an exact circle, and was uniform throughout except on the southwest side, where it had been disturbed by two burials, at least one of which was probably intrusive.

From the inner side of the southern portion of the wall, a single layer of stones extended to the south corner of the altar. Above this row of stones, and supported by the layer of gravel extending under the small interior mound, was a second line of stones reaching to the edge of this inner mound. On the



of stones; 3, Sand; 4, Circular wall; 5, Alternate layers of dark beneath altar; 10, Dark clay; 11, Clay.

southwest side of the wall, three courses of stones had been removed for a distance of 4 feet, and in the space thus formed, and on a stratum of fine sand, 26 inches below the surface, the flexed skeleton of an adult was found [figure 41, a], the bones of which were much decayed, and the skull in fragments.

On the west side, the wall was again interrupted. For a space of 7 feet, five courses of stone had been removed, and an adult skeleton [b] in a horizontal position resting on a bed of coarse gravel was unearthed. Near the knees lay portions of a large marine shell. The stones which had evidently been removed to make way for the two interments were not found.

Just outside the wall in the western portion of the mound were two skeletons lying side by side in a horizontal position, heads to the north. The one nearer the wall (c) was evidently an adult male; the other (d), a youth. At each hand of the former lay a copper spool-shaped ear-ornament. At the left hand of skeleton d, rested another copper ear-ornament, and at intervals along the right arm were several shell beads. At the right hand were a considerable number of shell beads, and near the pelvis a portion of a second ear-ornament. A large shell vessel, with its smaller end

downward, rested near the head. Four canine teeth of the bear, perforated for attachment, were also found with this skeleton.

Continuing the excavations to the southward outside the wall, several additional burials were uncovered.

Skeleton e, of an adult, was found in a flexed position about 10 inches from the wall. It was badly decayed, and the skull was in fragments. An adult skeleton [f], 8 feet to the southeast, was also in a flexed position, 3 feet from

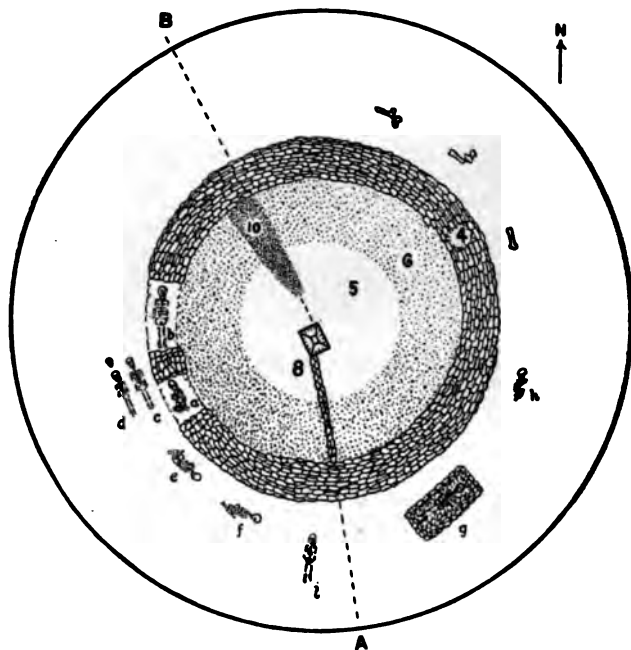


FIGURE 41

Plan of Mound 12: a-i, Graves containing skeletons; 4, Circular wall;  
5, Small interior mound; 6, Pebbles; 8, Altar;  
10, Dark clay.

the surface. Skeleton g, of an adult, lay in a horizontal position, head to the northeast, on a pavement of flat stones, 7 feet long and 3 feet wide. A copper ear-ornament lay at each hand, and a copper blade [figure 44, a], at the right shoulder; at the neck and shoulder were many shell beads. An adult skeleton [h] in a flexed position, a few feet northeast of the latter, and 3 feet from the surface, was much decayed. No artifacts were found with it. Skeleton i, an adult, 4 feet to the south of the wall, at a depth of 2 feet, lay on a bed of coarse gravel, 4 inches in thickness. A plate of mica rested at the neck and shoulder.

To the northeast of the wall at three different points, portions of skeletons were unearthed. At one place, a right femur and part of a pelvis, and at a distance of 4 feet a left femur and part of another pelvis were found. At a point 6 feet to the south was a single femur, unaccompanied by other bones.

With all the skeletons occupying a horizontal position, relics were recovered, and great care seems to have been taken in their interment, as they were placed either on a bed of sand, gravel, or flat stones. While with those that were interred in a doubled-up position, no relics were found, nor was there evidence of special care being exercised in their burial. We failed to discover a single potsherd or a flint chip in the entire mound.

The earth composing the greater part of the mound seems to have been taken from the surrounding plain. It was homogeneous throughout. Upon



FIGURE 42

Section of Mound 12 showing circular wall.

the slope of the tumulus were several stumps, one of which, an oak, measured 12 feet in circumference.

**Mound 13.** This is the smaller of the two mounds in the elevated circle. It was approximately 30 feet in diameter, and 2 feet high. Upon removing the earth, a circular pavement of flat river stones, 15 feet in diameter, was found. This rested on a layer of sand, 8 inches deep. The clay beneath the sand showed no evidence of having been disturbed.

**Mound 14.** This is the smallest and the most northern of the seven connected mounds within the great enclosure. It was ap-

proximately 30 feet in diameter, and had been reduced to a height of but 2 feet. Only a portion of the surrounding wall remained, most of it having undoubtedly been destroyed by plowing. Near its center was unearthed a small square altar of burnt clay, 28 inches in diameter. The depth of its basin was 7 inches, and the slope of its sides, 9 inches. The stratum above the altar was clean gravel, having a thickness of 8 inches, upon which rested a 12 inch layer of soil. The basin of the altar was filled with yellow clay.

**Mound 15.** Upon the river bank, about 900 feet north of the great enclosure, is a mound, the greater part of which has been

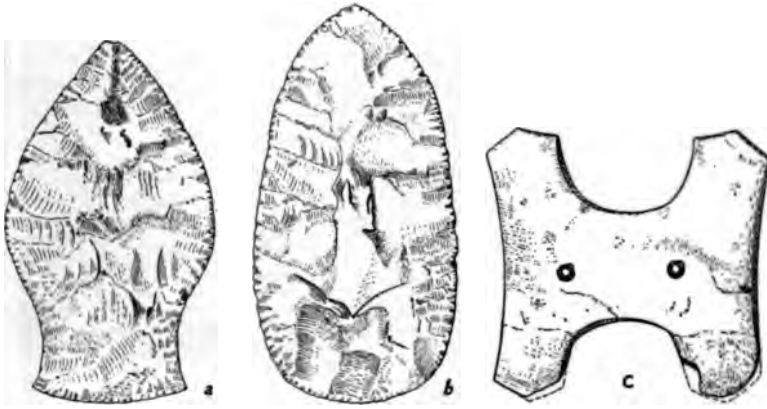


FIGURE 43

Chipped knife blades and a gorget, taken with others from a cache in Mound 15.  
(About 1/2.)

destroyed by the washing away of the bank during freshets. The dimensions of the remaining portion as given by Dr. Metz are as follows: height 6 feet, diameter 25 feet, length 65 feet. Its surface was originally paved with round pebbles which seem to have been carefully selected both as to size and color. They average a little larger than a goose egg, and are of a bluish shade. They were compactly laid, resembling in this respect the pebble pavements of modern streets. The center of the mound was composed largely of kitchen refuse to the height of about 3 feet, over which had been placed a 2-inch stratum of sand. This, in turn, had been covered with about 10 inches of hard dark earth. The re-

maining portion was made up principally of clayey loam, and gravel. A few small hearths of river stones were found also.

Animal bones, potsherds, broken implements, flint flakes, pieces of mica, etc., were common. About twenty-five calcite gorgets (so-called) of the form shown in figure 43, c, several of which were broken, were taken from a cache in this mound. With them were seven thin, finely chipped blades, of the type figured in a, and one leaf-shaped blade, b, of the above figure. These

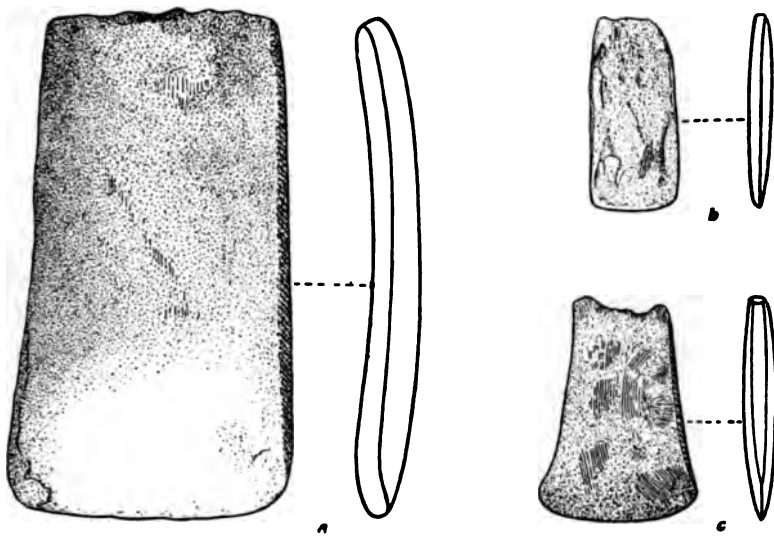


FIGURE 44

Copper blades from graves: a, With Skeleton 7, Mound 12; b, Grave 5, Burial Place e; c, With skeleton of child, Mound 11. (2/3.)

were found with pieces of worked antler, probably the remains of their handles.

**Mounds to the West of Elevated Circle.** The largest of these, Marriott mound 1, was opened in 1884 by Dr. Metz and Professor Putnam, and an account of the exploration was published.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the exploration the mound was 2 feet high, and 60 feet in diameter. Its height had been reduced by plowing, and the layer of stones which had covered the lower portion had been

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Putnam, *The Marriott Mound No. 1 and Its Contents*, Reports of the Peabody Museum of Am. Arch. and Eth., Vol. III, pp. 449-466.

disturbed. Near its center was a rude altar or basin of clay which contained ashes, charcoal, burnt acorns, and pieces of burnt bones, some of which were probably fragments of implements. There were also several beads of shell, and other ornaments. Near the altar were two hearths or areas of burnt clay and stones, 8 to 10 inches in depth. Several bone implements, flaked knives, etc., were found in the ashes.

Near the center of the mound was a group of four graves, each outlined with flat limestones. The largest of these graves contained a skeleton lying at length, head to the northeast. The smallest contained a complete skull with under jaw. A hole  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter had been bored through the occipital bone, near the margin of the foramen magnum. The position of the holes suggests that a cord, for the purpose of suspension, may have been passed through it and out of the great foramen. Two other small graves were nearby, each containing a skeleton out of natural order.

A plate of native copper, ear-ornaments of this metal, perforated teeth of the bear, two of them inlaid with a large pearl, many pearl beads, and various implements were found with the skeletons.

The construction of the mound, the forms of the graves and the artifacts, all indicate that this was probably contemporary with the other earthworks of the group.

Some 400 feet to the northeast of the above tumulus is Marriott mound 2, much reduced by cultivation. This proved of little interest. About the same distance to the southeast, and occupying one of the points of the triangle formed by the three tumuli, is Cemetery mound, so-called because it is located in a private cemetery. This has never been explored. Still farther to the west are the remains of a small mound which has been destroyed.

### ARTIFACTS IN GENERAL

**Stone Implements.** Comparatively few stone implements were found. A few dozen chipped flint knives of common forms, such as can be picked up on almost any site, several chipped flint scrapers, and a few grinding stones, hammer-stones, and anvils were obtained during the general digging. No chipped flint arrowpoints occurred, which is especially remarkable considering

the hundreds found at the Madisonville site, only a few miles distant. There were no "snub-nose" scrapers, which were also common at Madisonville. By far the most abundant flint implement is the flaked knife, figure 10, a. Scores of these were recovered, usually from graves but many were found in general digging. Only three or four stone adze blades were collected. One of these accompanied an intrusive burial. The others were found under conditions which render it doubtful if they were left by the Earthwork Builders.

There were no grooved axes and but few of the grooveless variety; only two of the latter were recovered under conditions which

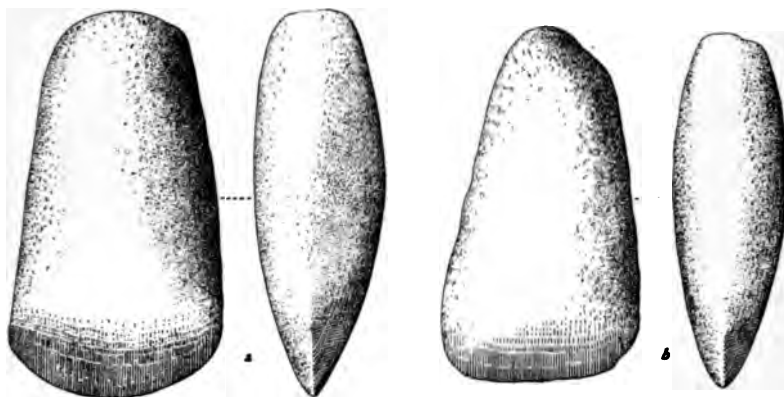


FIGURE 45

Stone adze blades from post-holes: a, Mound 5; b, Mound 4. (1/2.)

render it certain that they belonged to the people under consideration. These are illustrated in figure 45, and are both from post-holes. One of them (a) is from mound 5, the other from mound 4.

Implements of copper seemed to be confined to adze blades, and awls or pins. Three of the former are shown in figure 44, all from graves.

**Textile Fabrics.** Numerous small fragments of twined-woven cloth, preserved by salts of copper, were adhering to a few ear-ornaments and other objects of this metal from certain graves. They all seem to be of the variety shown enlarged in figure 46, which was common over a wide area. Other types of twined and checker weaving, such as were taken from the Hopewell, Liberty,



and other mound groups, were doubtless also made and used by the people who occupied this site.

**Pottery.** During the exploration of this group of earthworks, two to three bushels of potsherds were recovered. These were found principally in the refuse piles, in the general digging of the mounds, on the hearths, and among the ashes of the mounds and embankments. Sherds were found with several burials, but only two of these vessels could be restored. They are shown on plate 7, c, and plate 22, d. Not one fragment of pottery of the Madisonville type was found. Pots with ears were apparently unknown to the builders of these earthworks.<sup>1</sup>

A most instructive group of vessels taken from the hearth near the center of mound 1 (figures 12 and 13) is illustrated in plate 23,

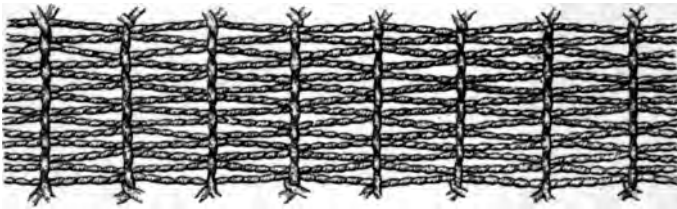


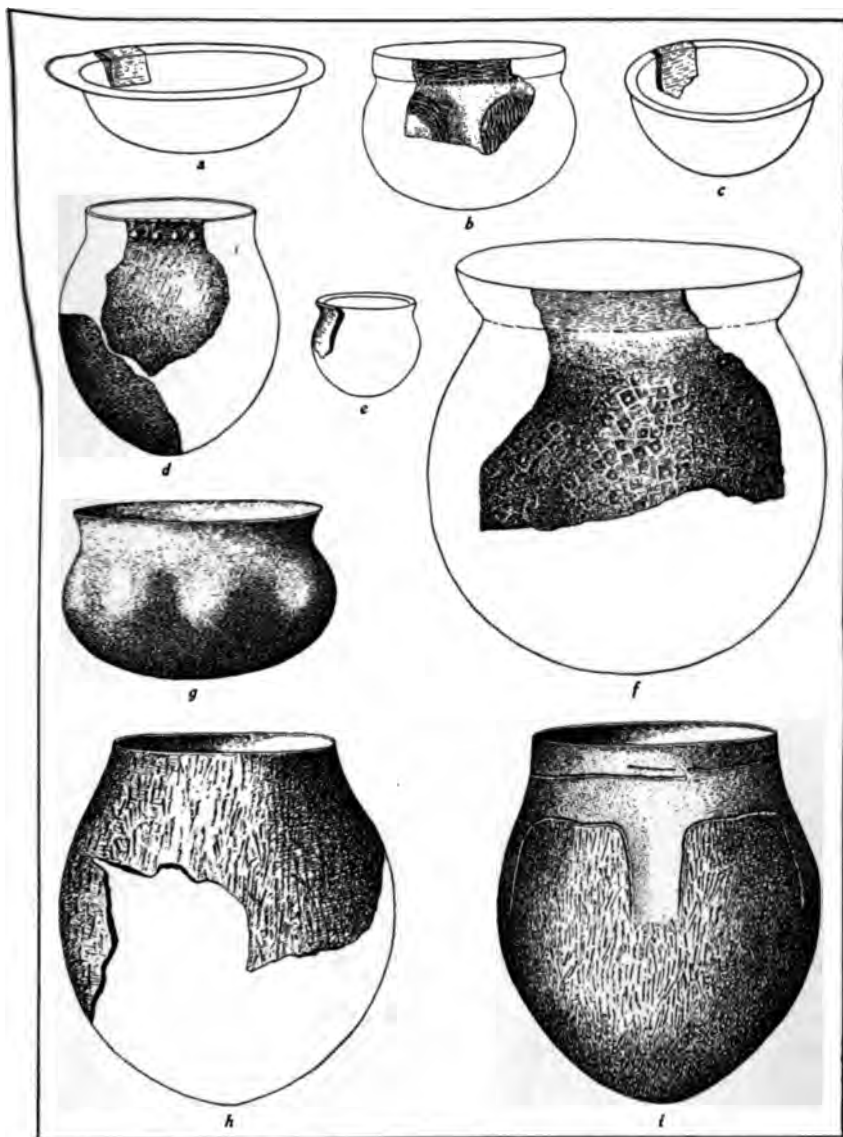
FIGURE 46

Cloth enlarged three diameters to show type of weaving. Contact with copper ear-ornaments had preserved a few pieces of this twined-woven fabric.

and in g, h, i, plate 22. The four vessels represent types in use at the same period, and as good fortune will have it, they belong to the three principal groups of pottery from this site.

The two examples figured at the bottom of plate 22 are ordinary cooking pots. Like most of the coarser pottery from this site, they are made of clay, sparingly tempered with crushed stone. The greater portion of the surface of each is covered with cord markings, produced probably by the twine-covered potter's paddle used in their construction. The upper portion of the body of i, is separated into four divisions by somewhat depressed bands extending downward from the roughly smoothed neck. A smaller pot with similar decorations, from a mound in Wisconsin, is

<sup>1</sup> For examples of Madisonville pottery, see *Indian Village Site and Cemetery Near Madisonville, Ohio*, Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. VIII, No. 1, plates 22-24.



Pottery vessels: a, e, Mound 4, general digging; b, f, Burial Place, general digging; c, Trench a, embankment of the Great Enclosure; g, h, i, Central fireplace of Mound 1. (About 1/5.)

1

figured by Holmes.<sup>1</sup> Probably two-thirds of the potsherds from the Turner Group are of this crude variety, without decoration except occasionally at the neck or near the rim, as illustrated in plate 22, d, and plate 24, d-f, j, k, and having the usual cord markings. In figure 47, a, c, are shown outlines of two of the largest, each restored from a single fragment of the rim and part of the body. The approximate capacity of each is twelve to fifteen gallons.

The third and fourth vessels from the hearth of mound 1, although of entirely different shape, evidently belong to the same general group. The first of these is shown in plate 22, g. It is made of the same material as the others, is shallow, with rounded

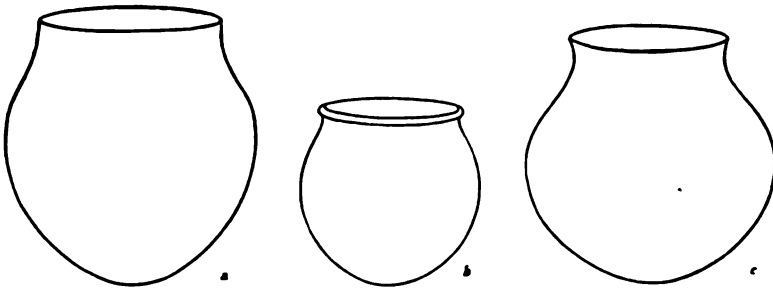


FIGURE 47

Outlines of large cooking pots restored from fragments. The approximate capacity of the two largest is twelve to fifteen gallons.

bottom, and the body has six lobes. Unlike other vessels of this shape it has no surface decorations. A second example of this type with four lobes, and bearing characteristic surface decorations, is illustrated in b. Fragments of a number of this general form were found. The fourth vessel from the hearth is figured on plate 23. It is nearly cylindrical, with flat bottom, and is ornamented with angular bands filled with the usual zigzag pattern.

Many fragments of ware bearing this type of decoration were recovered. They were not, however, nearly so abundant as the cord-marked group above referred to. Pottery vessels with this style of decoration were made in a great variety of shapes. The designs were usually composed of bands or circles outlined with in-

<sup>1</sup> *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States*, W. H. Holmes, Twentieth Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, plate clxx, b.

cised lines, and filled with zigzag patterns which were not made with a roulette, as suggested by Holmes, but with a tool more or less gouge-shaped, having a plain or notched edge, which was pressed against the soft clay with a rocking motion, each opposite corner being raised and slightly advanced alternately, the tool not being wholly lifted from the vessel. Potsherds showing these markings were found in nearly all the mounds of the group, also in the cemetery, and beneath the embankment of the great enclosure. Examples are illustrated on plate 24, j-l, n-p. While most of the sherds of this general class have the zigzag pattern as a part of the decoration, it is replaced in a few instances by circular or square depressions, the former being shown in m. Another vessel having the zigzag pattern over nearly its entire surface is illustrated in plate 7, c. It was found in grave 9-b, in the cemetery of the great enclosure by Mr. Saville in 1890.

A portion of a very interesting vase, about 6 inches in height, from the Liberty Group of mounds, is in the Museum collections. It is of a depressed double globular form. The entire lower section is covered with a design composed of triangles made up of bands  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch wide, filled with zigzag markings. The upper section is somewhat smaller than the lower, and is ornamented with a zone in which are six highly conventionalized bird figures, the space within the incised outlines of each bird being filled with the usual zigzag pattern. Each alternate bird is reversed. Both the figures and grouping remind one strongly of similar designs upon Peruvian textiles. Illustrations of a few examples of this group of earthenware taken from the mounds of the Great Earthwork Builders in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, are brought together by Holmes, and should be compared with those described in this paper.<sup>1</sup>

Squier and Davis found a number of these vessels on the altar of mound 3 in Mound City, two of which they figured; and a flat-bottomed vase, closely resembling in form a modern terra-cotta flower pot, with its outer surface covered with zigzag markings, was taken from the altar of the great mound of the Hopewell Group. Many fragments of vessels having a cross-hatched band near the rim, beneath which was usually an encircling row of dots or depressions, were found. These apparently belong to the same

<sup>1</sup> Holmes, *ibid.*, figure 74 and plates clxix, clxxi, clxxii.



Pottery vessel from central fireplace of Mound 1.  
(About 1/2.)



general group as the above, for the forms and material are the same, although the ornamentation differs in detail.

In addition to these there are fragments of vessels with flat bases, and upright or flaring sides. A nearly perfect specimen of the former kind has already been referred to (plate 23). There is also shown on plate 24, r, the bottom of a vase having four feet. Ten feet of similar vessels were found during the explorations of mounds 3 and 4, and beneath the embankment of the great enclosure. Sherds of various food bowls, with wide rims and without decorations, were recovered (plate 22, a, c, and plate 24, h); and also a very few fragments showing ornamental paddle marks, the largest of which, with the form of the pot restored, is illustrated in plate 22, f. A small fragment having a more elaborate pattern may be seen in plate 24, q. There were also several sherds similar to s, of the same plate. Sherds showing ornamental paddle marks were extremely rare. Such vessels may have been brought from the southern Appalachian region, or they may possibly have been made by captured women from the South.

Some of the clay used in making the smaller and more delicate vessels was tempered with sand instead of crushed stone. The writer has found no evidence of the use of crushed shell as a tempering material by the builders of these earthworks, as was the custom among the later Indians of the neighboring Madisonville site.

The pottery of the builders of this mound group shows a great variety of form, size, and decoration. The patterns upon some of the sherds, although more crude, seem to belong to the same general class as the designs upon the hollow stone effigies illustrated on plate 19. There can be little doubt that if the explorations of the Hopewell, Mound City, Liberty, and other well-known sites of southern Ohio had been as prolonged and as carefully conducted as those of the Turner Group, an equal number and variety of potsherds would have been found.

Mr. Holmes was the first to recognize that the few known vases and sherds, bearing the characteristic zigzag ornamentation above described, which were obtained from the mound area of the states bordering Ohio, should be attributed to the Great Earthwork Builders, whose center of development was in the southern portion of that state.



Mr. Holmes writes as follows:<sup>1</sup>

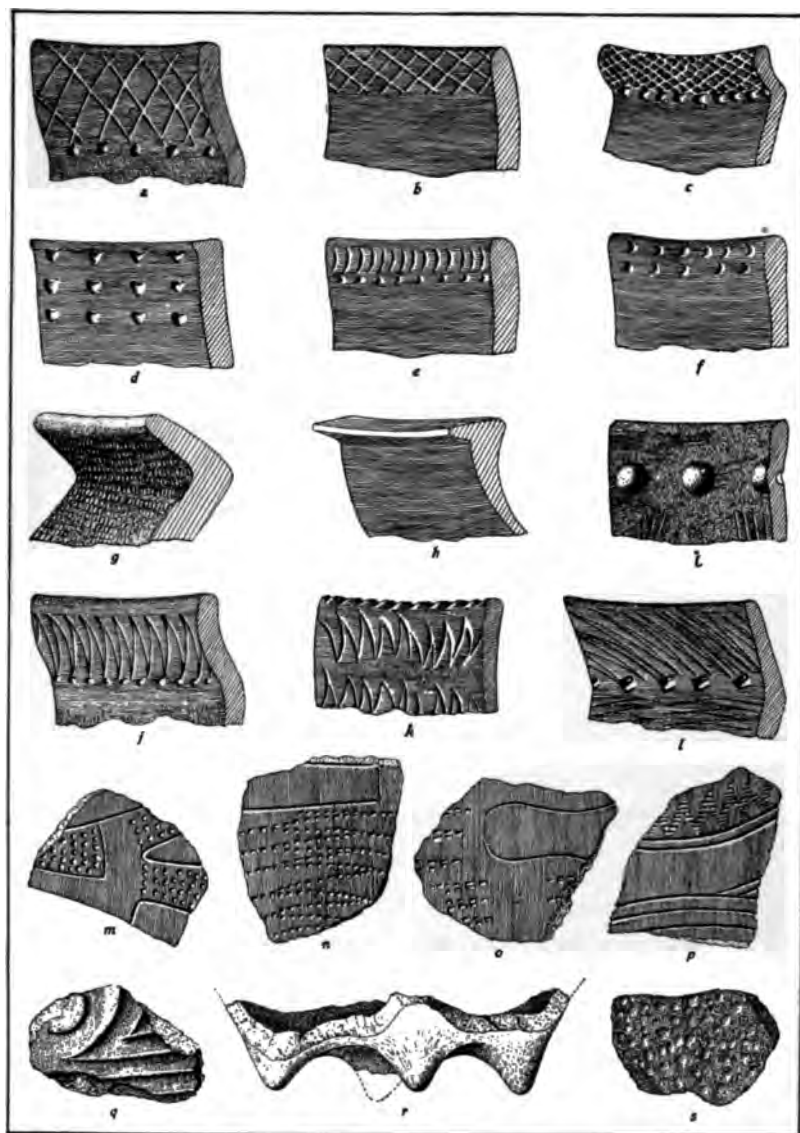
It would seem that the builders of the great mound groups about Chillicothe, the enterprising people who gathered stores of shells from the Atlantic, copper from Lake Superior, flint from the lower Ohio Valley, and obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, Oregon, or Mexico, were identical with or closely related to tribes scattered over a large part of a region including parts of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Though the pottery of this group of people is not nearly so highly developed as is that of the southern mound-builders, as for example those of Cahokia in Illinois, and of Etowah in Georgia, there can be little doubt that their general culture was of an order equally advanced.

With respect to the origin of the great numbers of obsidian implements found in the Hopewell mounds, it may be well to note that there is no trace of Mexican characters in the pottery of these mounds; besides, the general trend of the group of ware here associated is from Chillicothe toward the northwest, suggesting the upper Missouri region or the valley of the Columbia as the source of the obsidian. The significance of this observation is emphasized by the discovery of fragments of rouletted ware in the Yellowstone National Park, where great beds of obsidian are found. . . . These fragments were brought in by Colonel P. W. Norris, Superintendent of the Park, in 1880. They represent a large jar or pot with upright neck. The material is coarsely silicious, and the walls are thick. Just below the rim is a line of nodes made by punching with a round implement from within, and there are indistinct traces of roulette-markings. These pieces have a close analogy with the roulette-stamped ware of Naples, Illinois, and therefore with the whole rouletted group.

It is an interesting fact that much of the pottery from this mound group of the cooking pot class is very nearly duplicated in material, form, and decoration by the archaic Algonquian pottery from the graves and shell heaps of New England.<sup>2</sup> The more or less curved chisel-like implement with plain or notched edge was used in the same peculiar manner in making the characteristic decorations of both regions, and many of the other forms of ornament are similar. This resemblance may possibly be more than casual. In this connection it may be of interest to note that the "monitor" pipe of the type illustrated in figure 11, c, is also not uncommon in the older graves in New England.

<sup>1</sup> Holmes, *ibid.*, pp. 194, 201.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Willoughby, *Pottery of the New England Indians*, Putnam Anniversary Volume, pp. 83-101.



Potsherds from the Turner Group showing typical decorations.



## CONCLUSION

**General Summary.** The people who constructed the Turner Group of Earthworks belonged to that great culture group whose center was in southwestern Ohio, and whose remains are found as far north as Grand Rapids, Michigan, as far west as Naples, Illinois, and as far south as Franklin in central Tennessee. In the height of their power they undoubtedly dominated a considerable portion of this region, and their influence probably extended beyond these limits.

The center of population was apparently the valleys of the three principal rivers of southwestern Ohio: the Great and Little Miami, the Scioto, and their tributaries.

The earthworks which mark the sites of their former occupancy are sometimes very extensive. The embankments form various figures, including squares, parallelograms, circles, and covered ways, which are usually accompanied by tumuli and other mounds. The relation between these remains and the great hill-top fortifications, of which Fort Ancient is perhaps the best example, has not been definitely worked out. It is very improbable that the group of artifacts belonging to what is commonly known as the "Fort Ancient Culture" was connected in any way with the builders of that stupendous earthwork. This culture is the same as that of the great site near Madisonville, which is proto-historic.

The occupancy of southern Ohio by the Great Earthwork Builders must have covered a considerable period of time. This would account for the few local differences in their cultural development.

Their occupation of this region preceded that of another group of Indians of a lower grade of culture, whose remains are found over a large part of southern Ohio, and whose largest village and cemetery, so far as known, were near Madisonville. The last remnants of this later group, who may have been the Monsopelea<sup>1</sup> were apparently in southern Ohio when first heard of by

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Swanton, in a letter to the writer, calls attention to a tribe "which may possibly be that formerly in occupancy of the Madisonville site, since its history fits in rather well with what may be inferred from the Madisonville remains. This is the Monsopelea, which, when first heard of by the French, was in southern Ohio, but soon moved down to the Mississippi, and ultimately united, in part at least, with the Taensa Indians. In Hanna's *Wilderness Trail* most that we know about them has been brought together (Vol. II, pp. 97-108). A note on one of the early maps tells us that when they reached the Mississippi they had already obtained

the French. They in turn were succeeded by the Miami, and later by the Shawnee.

The Turner Group of Earthworks is only four miles distant from the Madisonville site.<sup>1</sup> The differences in culture, however, are very marked. The pottery of the Madisonville people belongs to Holmes's central Mississippi group. Nearly all of the cooking pots were supplied with ears for suspension. The Turner Group pottery is without ears, was not made for suspension, and belongs to a group developed apparently from an early form closely resembling the archaic Algonquian type of the northern Atlantic Coast Indians. Hundreds of finely chipped arrowpoints were found at Madisonville; none was recovered during the work at the Turner Group. "Snub-nose" scrapers were abundant at Madisonville; none was obtained at the Turner Group. These are only minor differences, of course, but they show that the cultures of these two people were very unlike, even when applied to many objects in nearly universal use.

Dr. Hooton's study of the skeletal remains shows that physically this people may be classed with certain Algonquian tribes. They were prevailingly long headed and differed materially from the people of Madisonville. From the figurines we learn that the common dress of the men seems to have been the breech-cloth, worn without hanging ends. It was probably of dressed skin, colored red. They sometimes wore moccasins of the Algonquian type, fitted with short leggings. The hair of the older men was collected in a knot above the forehead. The warriors shaved the sides of their head, the remaining hair being cut somewhat short, and worn in a ridge extending from the forehead backward across the crown, after the manner of the Sauk and Fox, and other tribes. The women wore the blanket skirt, wrapped around the hips and secured by tucking in one corner at the waist. The hair of the matrons was parted, and gathered into a chignon at the back of the head. They wore what appears to be low shoes of the same form as the woven grass shoes from the Kentucky caves.

firearms. Hanna places them a little east of Madisonville, but they are assigned eight villages on the Franquelin map, so that one of them may have been farther west. Their name appears to be Algonquian, but they united with a people of the Natchez connection. As yet, we must admit that we do not know to what group they really belonged."

<sup>1</sup> For a description of these remains, see *Indian Village Site and Cemetery near Madisonville, Ohio*, by E. A. Hooton, with notes on the artifacts by C. C. Willoughby, Peabody Museum Papers, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

Practically nothing was learned about their habitations. It is doubtful if they were very substantial. There is a possibility that the embankment of the great enclosure may have marked the site of earth-covered dwellings. That structures of some kind, perhaps of a religious or semi-sacred character, formerly occupied many of the mound sites is evident from the presence of numerous post-holes. It is probable that some of these structures, perhaps the ones which occupied the sites of mounds 3 and 4, served as store houses for tribute and other property of chiefs, which was sacrificed upon the altars at their death, the buildings destroyed, and mounds erected over the remains.

Smith, writing of the Virginia Indians, tells us that in a thicket of wood near Orapaks, Powhatan had a treasure house, fifty to sixty yards in length, frequented only by priests, where he kept his treasure, such as skins, beads, pearls, and copper, stored up against the time of his death and burial. Here also was his store of red paint for ornament, bows and arrows, shields, and clubs. At the corners of the house stood four images as sentinels, one a dragon, another a bear, the third like a leopard, and the fourth like a giant-like man, made "evill favouredly according to their best workmanship."<sup>1</sup>

If these Indians possessed a stronghold, it must have been either the site of the elevated circle, or the two smaller circles within the great enclosure. Each of the embankments of the latter was bordered by a trench upon its inner side, the usual accompaniment of embankments supporting palisades. It is possible that a council house of a semi-public nature may have stood within the elevated circle, although no direct evidence of this was found.

This people reached a high degree of excellence in their art designs. In this line they were probably unsurpassed by any tribe north of Mexico. In modeling, relief carving, and copper working they also attained high proficiency. As traders they were enterprising and resourceful. They procured obsidian, probably from the Yellowstone; shells from the Florida coast; copper from the Lake Superior region; and mica from the Appalachian Highland. While no ivory artifacts were found during the exploration of this group, several fine carvings of this material were taken from

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Smith, *True Travels*, Richmond Edition, 1819, p. 143.

one of the altars of the Hopewell mounds, and the writer has examined a beautifully made ivory ring from a mound in Indiana. These were probably made of fossil tusks of the mammoth, which may not have been brought a great distance.

So far as the religious beliefs of the people are concerned, but little was learned. That the horned serpent was one of their principal deities is indicated by the mica effigy from the altar of mound 4, and by the finding of parts of what seems to be a larger representation of this god upon the central altar of mound 3. The great Serpent Mound of Adams County, situated between the Scioto and Miami Rivers, about fifty miles to the east of the Turner Group, was probably one of their chief shrines.

Like so many important works of this interesting prehistoric people, the Turner Group of mounds has practically disappeared under the destroying hand of the white man. The elevated circle and a part of the graded way remain, but most of the area which includes the great enclosure is now an immense gravel pit. During a recent visit by the writer, steam shovels were rapidly eating westward to the foot of the graded way. Embankments, mounds, graves, and many feet of gravel beneath them, have gone to form new road beds, another and a more prosaic type of earth-work.

## THE SKELETAL REMAINS

By EARNEST A. HOOTON

**The Collection in General.** The skeletal remains from the Turner Group of Earthworks now forming a part of the collections of the Peabody Museum represent at least 90 individuals. Eight of these have been cremated; 17 are the remains of immature persons; and 30 are represented by such scanty fragments that they are practically useless for purposes of study. The remaining 35 skeletons are all in a fragmentary condition. Measurements of a few long bones of some, and incomplete measurements and observations on the crania of others were taken wherever possible. Of the skeletons measured or observed, 12 came from intrusive or secondary burials, and it is therefore necessary to consider them separately. This leaves a very inadequate series upon which to base conclusions. One can place little confidence in the chance that such a small sample is representative. Under the circumstances, statistical treatment of measurements would be misleading. The arithmetic mean, for example, of such a short series is often a fictitious figure representing not a single observed frequency. If, however, a high degree of homogeneity characterizes an inadequate series, there is some hope of its being representative.

Measurements and observations upon the material presented here have all been taken by the writer, except the cranial capacities. The latter were measured by Miss Ruth O. Sawtell, according to Hrdlička's method. The writer is also indebted to Miss Sawtell for the recording of the data. Measurements conform to the International Agreement of Monaco, unless otherwise stated. Observations are based upon the system devised by Dr. Ales Hrdlička.

Some time before 1886, Miss C. A. Studley, then Assistant in the Museum, prepared a report upon the crania from the intrusive pit in mound 3. This paper consists of a careful account of the pathological features of the skulls and a minute description of the perforations found in six of the crania, together with measure-



ments and observations on the specimens. It includes measurements on one cranium, number 32413, which I have been unable to find. It also includes many measurements which I have been unable to take on the crania on account of their present fragmentary condition. Some of Miss Studley's measurements agree exactly with mine, but others differ to the extent of several millimeters. This may be due partially to the fact that many of these crania have been mended, presumably by Miss Studley, and have come to pieces, necessitating re-mending. Many of

## AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

Infants.....	Less than 1 year	2-3 years	4-5 years	Total
Number.....	1	2	2	5
Children.....	6-8 years	9-10 years	11-12 years	
Number.....	4	1	0	5
Adolescents.....	13-14 years	15-16 years	17-18 years	
Number.....	0	2	3	5
Sub-adults.....	19-20 years			
Number: male.....	2			2
" female.....	1			1
Adults.....	Young	Middle-aged	Old	
	21-35 years	36-50 years	51- years	
Number: male.....	1	27	13	41
" female.....	1	9	4	14
Adults (age doubtful)				
Number: male.....				6
" female.....				4
" sex doubtful.....				7
Total .....				90

them are somewhat warped, so that re-mending may have changed the dimensions; but aside from this there are certain divergences in results that cannot be reconciled except on the assumption of a difference in methods or in precision of instruments. I have therefore refrained from utilizing Miss Studley's measurements. I also find myself disagreeing with her in respect to the sex of one cranium, number 32411, which I judge to be that of a sub-adult female. I have not included this specimen in most of the tabulations.

In most of the tables given below, percentage distributions of the various characters have been omitted, because such tabulated

percentages are likely to be misleading when they are based upon so small a number of crania. In some instances where there is little sex difference manifested and where the distribution in the two series of male crania is approximately the same, percentage frequencies for the combined series have been given.

The collection includes the remains of 15 children and adolescents and of 75 sub-adults and adults. Of the latter, 49 are males, 19 females, and 7 of indeterminate sex. The excess of males may be due in part to erroneous sexing caused by the fact that many skeletons are represented by a few fragments only, but this cause is not sufficient to account for the disproportions of the sexes.

The sex characters are, for the most part, well marked and little difficulty was encountered in determining the sex of fairly well-preserved skeletons.

**Cranial Deformation.** A considerable amount of post-mortem deformation and warping has occurred in many of the crania of these series. In many instances this renders them useless for purposes of measurement.

On the other hand, there is very little artificial cranial deformation. In the primary series, 5 of 21 crania show a slight or very slight occipital deformation, in no case sufficiently marked seriously to affect the measurements. In the secondary or intrusive series of 13 crania, one specimen shows a medium degree of occipital deformation and 3 display very slight occipital flattening. But in some cases this inconsiderable flattening is so combined with post-mortem warping as to necessitate throwing out the measurements.

In respect to artificial deformation these series are markedly in contrast with the group of crania from the neighboring Madisonville site previously studied by the writer. Of 53 male crania from the Madisonville site, 73.5 per cent showed occipital deformation, although the flattening was medium or pronounced in only 9.4 per cent of the male series. In the case of females from Madisonville, 29 in number, 82.7 per cent displayed occipital deformation which was medium or pronounced in 13.8 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hooton, E. A. and Willoughby, C. C., *Indian Village Site and Cemetery near Madisonville, Ohio*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Ethnology and Archaeology, Harvard University, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 85.

**Cranial Vault — Measurements and Indices.**

	CRANIAL INDEX				Min.	Mean	Max.
	Dolicho.	Meso.	Brachy.	Total			
Primary series:							
Males: number . . . . .	7	3	2	12	71	75.58	83
Females: " . . . . .	1	4	2	7	70	77.85	83
Secondary series:							
Males: number . . . . .	5	5	0	10	68	74.3	79
Females: " . . . . .	1	0	0	1	..	73.26	..

In the tabulation of cranial indices above, one male skull of the secondary series has been excluded because of a medium occipital deformation (index 83.5), and several others because of post-mortem warping. It includes several indices which may be only approximately correct on account of defective conditions of the specimens. Taken at its face value the table would seem to indicate that the primary series contains a brachycephalic element which is absent from the secondary series.

These skulls, with respect to the cranial index, contrast sharply with the neighboring Madisonville group which included only 2 dolichocephalic crania of a total of 81 measured by the writer, whereas 62 crania or 76.54 per cent were brachycephalic. The Turner group of crania resembles rather the Eastern Indians in its predominant dolichocephaly. Hrdlička found brachycephaly present among the Eastern tribes to the extent of 10.9 per cent in 138 male crania and 10.3 per cent in 145 female crania.<sup>1</sup>

The brachycephalic element is slightly more pronounced in our primary series from the Turner Group, if indeed such a short series is at all representative. In the secondary series there is but one brachycephalic cranium, which is the only one of either series presenting a medium occipital deformation. This cranium is almost certainly a naturally mesocephalic specimen.

**DIAMETERS OF THE CRANIAL VAULT**

	No.	Length Glabello-occipital			No.	Breadth Maximum			No.	Height Basion-bregma			
		Min. mm.	Mean mm.	Max. mm.		Min. mm.	Mean mm.	Max. mm.		Min. mm.	Mean mm.	Max. mm.	
Primary series:													
Males	13	175	183.15	191	12	129	138.50	153	3	136	142.66	151	
Females	7	169	175.43	186	7	131	136.57	144	3	134	137.33	142	
Secondary series:													
Males	10	173	183.80	199	10	124	135.30	145	0	0	0	0	

<sup>1</sup> Hrdlička, Alés, *Physical Anthropology of the Lenape or Delawares and of the Eastern Indians in General*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 62, p. 113.

The mean length of crania of males in the two series from the Turner Group is approximately the same (183.15 mm. in the primary series and 183.8 mm. in the secondary series), but the primary series with a mean breadth of 138.5 mm. exceeds the secondary series (mean breadth 135.3 mm.).

The Madisonville series of 52 male crania yielded an average glabello-occipital length of 177.4 mm., and that of 29 female crania, 169 mm. The mean breadths of this series were 146.1 mm. and 147.1 mm., respectively. The basion-bregma height in the Madisonville series averages 136.9 for males and 131.3 for females. It is quite apparent that both series from the Turner Group differ from the Madisonville crania in all three skull diameters. The crania from the Turner Group are longer, narrower, and higher. They resemble rather the crania of the Eastern Indians. Our primary series is similar in cranial dimensions and cranial index to those Eastern groups which contain brachycephalic elements such as the Virginia series measured by Hrdlička.<sup>1</sup> The secondary series shows affinities with the more dolichocephalic Eastern tribes, but the writer wishes to avoid overemphasizing these resemblances and differences in view of the small number of crania under consideration.

*Height Indices.* All but 9 of the Turner Group crania are so defective that the height-length index cannot be ascertained. Three of four male crania in the primary series are hypsicephalic and one orthocephalic. Three females of the primary series are all hypsicephals, as is the one male skull of the secondary series in regard to which this index is valid. The mean of the four male crania is 77.72 and of the three female crania 79.66. Miss Studley calculated the mean height-length index of 9 crania of the intrusive or secondary series at 78.9, but her measurements of the basi-bregmatic height must have been mere guesses, unless the crania in question have been broken since she studied them, which is not probable. If any significance is to be attributed to these few height-length indices, it is that they are rather above the average for Eastern Indians, except the Virginia Indians, the crania of which average in two small series of males 76.2 and 79 respectively.<sup>2</sup> Height breadth indices are too few to merit consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Hrdlička, op. cit., loc. cit.

**Cranial Arcs and Circumferences.**

	MEAN VALUES AND RANGE					
	Male mm.	Mean Female mm.	Male mm.	Range Female mm.	Male	Female
Horizontal Circumference:						
Primary series . . . . .	516	498	495-536	478-512	12	8
Secondary series . . . . .	515	..	496-537	....	10	..
Nasion-opisthion arc:						
Primary series . . . . .	381	358	371-400	345-370	6	4
Secondary series . . . . .	364	..	323-405	....	7	..
Transverse arc:						
Primary series . . . . .	318	303	305-327	292-320	8	7
Secondary series . . . . .	309	..	282-328	....	9	..

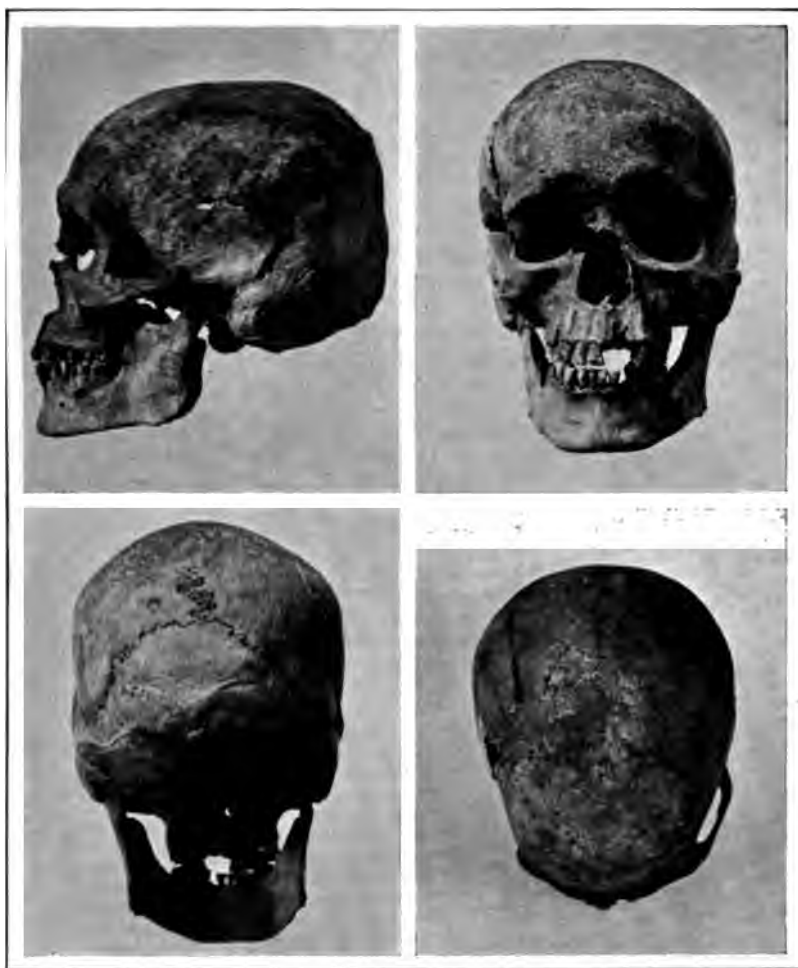
From an inspection of the table above it may be observed that the mean values of the horizontal circumferences (above brow-ridges) in our primary and secondary series of males from the Turner Group are approximately the same, 516 mm. and 515 mm. respectively. These figures are slightly in excess of the mean for Madisonville males, which is 513 mm.

The figures for the nasion-opisthion arc are based upon very few observations and the mean of the primary series of males (381 mm.) is extremely high as compared with that of the secondary series (364 mm.). The mean of the females of the primary series is also high (358 mm.). The means of corresponding measurements on Madisonville males and females are 361 mm. and 345 mm., respectively. The high mean for this measurement in the case of the males of our primary series is probably due to the circumstance that the only skulls of the short series upon which this measurement could be taken happened to be the largest skulls of the series. The nasion-opisthion arc in 7 Munsee (Delaware) males averaged 371 mm. and in 9 Munsee females 346 mm., according to the work of Dr. Hrdlička.<sup>1</sup>

The transverse arc of the males of the primary series averages 318 mm., and of the males of the secondary series 309 mm. This difference may possibly be significant. The figures for Madisonville males and females are 316 mm. and 306 mm., respectively.

**Cranial Capacity.** Only 2 skulls of the collection are sufficiently well preserved to permit the cranial capacities to be measured.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 22.



Dolichocephalic cranium of male, Grave 10, Burial Place a; Primary series, A731.



These are 2 male crania of the primary series, and the capacities (approximate only) are 1420 cc. and 1580 cc. respectively. Miss Studley in her study of the crania of the secondary series records the capacities of 10 skulls. The average was 1485 cc., and the range 1225-1600 cc. The present writer is skeptical in regard to the accuracy of these figures, because many of the crania for which capacities are given are mere fragments.

**Thickness of Left Parietal Above Temporo-parietal Suture.**

MEAN THICKNESS AND RANGE			
	Mean mm.	Range mm.	Number
Primary series: males.....	5	3.3-7.5	12
" " females.....	4.8	3.6-6.3	8
Secondary series: males.....	4.5	3.0-5.3	10

This measurement is the average thickness of the left parietal 1 cm. above the squamous suture. The average thickness of the crania of the primary series, 5 mm. in males and 4.8 mm. in females, is moderate for Indians. The mean for males of the secondary series, 4.5 mm., is small.

**Minimum Frontal Diameter.**

	MEAN BREADTH AND RANGE				Number	
	Mean Males mm.	Mean Females mm.	Range Males mm.	Range Females mm.	Males	Females
Turner Group						
Primary series ...	92.15	90.50	84-100	85-95	13	10
Secondary series .	93.50	...	89-100	...	10	..
Madisonville series...	94.97	92.71	89-103	85-103	48	28

A noticeable feature of the Turner Group series of crania is the narrow, low, but not especially retreating frontal region. The frontal region is often narrow in dolichocephali, but such a low average minimum frontal diameter as is to be observed from the table given above in the case of the males of our primary series is unusual in Indians. For parallel cases we may look once more to the Eastern Indians, among whom Dr. Hrdlička records a mean minimum frontal diameter for 4 Connecticut male crania of 91 mm., and one of 92 mm. for 2 male crania from Staten Island.

**Facial, Nasal, and Orbital Measurements and Indices.** The facial portions of almost all of the crania from the Turner Group are either entirely missing or fragmentary, so that very few of them can be measured.



Only two of the male crania of our primary series are available for the calculating of the total facial index. These are both leptoprosopic, with indices of 91.24 and approximately 90.8. Of the four male crania from the secondary series upon which this index was obtained, one is euryprosopic with an index of approximately 84.7, one mesoprosopic with an index of 89.26, and two leptoprosopic with indices of 98.56 and approximately 95.31. Three female crania of the primary series are all mesoprosopic with indices of 87.50, 87.69, and 88.37. There were no leptoprosopic crania in the Madisonville series, and over 72 per cent were euryprosopic.

In regard to the upper facial index, two male crania of the primary series are leptene with indices of 55.73 and 58.39. Three of the male crania from the secondary series are mesene, and two leptene. One female cranium of the primary series is mesene and two are leptene. Only about 7.5 per cent of the Madisonville crania are leptene, and in respect to this index the Turner Group series shows a closer similarity to the crania of the Tennessee stone graves, among which Fuller found 34 per cent leptene. Several groups of Eastern Indians measured by Hrdlička show average leptene indices. The facial skeletons of both of our series are relatively long and narrow.

Of 5 nasal indices calculated on male crania of the primary series, 1 is platyrrhine, 2 are mesorrhine, and 2 leptorrhine; 6 nasal indices on males of the secondary series are all leptorrhine; of 4 nasal indices of females of the primary series 2 are mesorrhine and 2 leptorrhine.

The mean orbital indices of 3 male crania from the primary series are all hypsiconch (89 and over); in the intrusive series of males the distribution of 4 orbital indices is as follows: 1 chamaeconch (under 83), 2 mesoconch, and 1 hypsiconch. Three female crania of the primary series are mesoconch, and 2 are hypsiconch.

**External Palatal Index (Maxillo-alveolar).** One male cranium of the primary series is dolichuranic (below 110), 1 is mesuranic, and 2 are brachyuranic (above 115). These 4 indices yield a mean of 118.7. Of the males of the secondary series 1 is mesuranic and 4 are brachyuranic, yielding together a mean index of 117.6. The females of the primary series show 3 mesuranic indices and 3 brachyuranic indices, with a mean of 116.7.

**Alveolar Index (Gnathic Index).** This index is obtainable on 6 crania of the combined series. All are orthognathous, except one male of the primary series which is mesognathous.

**Lower Jaw.**

MEAN DIMENSIONS						
	Males		Males		Females	
	Primary series		Secondary series		Primary series	
	Number	Mean mm.	Number	Mean mm.	Number	Mean mm.
Bigonial diameter.....	4	101	8	105.8	4	96.7
Mean angle.....	7	120.1	8	123.3	5	124.4
Height of symphysis.....	7	37.6	8	37	8	34.9
Width bicondylar.....	1	131	6	125.8	5	117.4
Minimum breadth of ascend- ing ramus.....	11	36.4	10	34.7	7	34.5
Height of ascending ramus	9	63	10	62.4	8	57.2
Condyllo-symphyseal length	4	108.5	9	108.9	5	99.8

The mandibles of these series are longer than those of the Madisonville series, and judging from the males of the secondary series, are narrower. The mean condyllo-symphyseal length for Madisonville males (24) is 104.6, but for 7 females 104.5. The bicondylar width of 22 Madisonville male crania averages 129 mm. and of 7 females, 122.7 mm.

**Frontal Region.**

OBSERVATIONS				
	Primary series		Secondary series	
	No. of	No. of	No. of	Total
	males	females	males	
Height low:				
Breadth submedium, Slope submedium	0	2	2	4
Breadth submedium, Slope medium ...	3	2	3	8
Breadth submedium, Slope pronounced	1	1	1	3
Breadth medium, Slope submedium ...	1	0	0	1
Breadth medium, Slope medium .....	2	0	0	2
Breadth medium, Slope pronounced ....	1	0	2	3
Breadth pronounced, Slope medium ...	1	0	0	1
Total: number.....	9	5	8	22
per cent.....	69.2	50	72.7	64.7
Height medium:				
Breadth submedium, Slope submedium	0	1	0	1
Breadth submedium, Slope medium ...	2	2	1	5
Breadth medium, Slope submedium ...	2	1	0	3
Breadth medium, Slope medium .....	0	1	2	3
Total: number.....	4	5	3	12
per cent.....	30.7	50	27.2	35.2

Observations on the frontal region refer to the combinations of height, breadth, and slope. Each of these may be adjudged submedium, medium, or pronounced. There are thus 27 possible combinations of the three observed characters, of which 11 occur in the two series from the Turner Group. There are no crania which are classified as high; about 70 per cent of both male series and 50 per cent of the female series are low. The following tabulation shows the distribution of breadth and slope considered independently.

## BREADTH AND SLOPE OF FRONTAL REGION

	Breadth			Slope		
	Submedium	Medium	Wide	Submedium	Medium	Pronounced
Primary series:						
Males: number . . .	6	6	1	3	8	2
Females: number . .	8	2	0	4	5	1
Secondary series:						
Males: number . . .	7	4	0	2	6	3
Total: number . .	21	12	1	9	19	6
per cent . . .	61.7	35.2	2.9	26.4	55.8	17.6

From the tables above it may be seen that the prevailing type of frontal region in the males and females of both series is low, narrow, and of medium slope. The females show a larger number of cases in which the slope is submedium or steep. The low and narrow, but only moderately sloping frontal region, is a marked characteristic of most of the crania from this site. It is strikingly represented in the conformation of the forehead of certain clay figurines from the site, described by Mr. Willoughby (p. 71).

## Sagittal Region.

## OBSERVATIONS

	Primary series		Secondary series	
	Males	Females	Males	Total
Breadth submedium:				
Elevation absent . . . . .	1	0	1	2
Elevation submedium . . . . .	1	1	1	3
Elevation medium . . . . .	1	1	1	3
Elevation pronounced . . . . .	0	0	0	0
Total: number . . . . .	3	2	3	8
per cent . . . . .	23.1	22.2	27.2	24.2



Mesocephalic cranium, Grave 18, Burial Place a; Primary series, A748.



	Primary series		Secondary series	Total
	Males	Females	Males	
<b>Breadth medium:</b>				
Elevation absent.....	0	2	4	6
Elevation submedium.....	4	3	3	10
Elevation medium.....	2	0	1	3
Elevation pronounced.....	1	1	0	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total: number.....	7	6	8	21
per cent.....	53.8	66.6	72.7	63.6
<b>Breadth wide:</b>				
Elevation absent.....	1	0	0	1
Elevation submedium.....	0	0	0	0
Elevation medium.....	2	1	0	3
Elevation pronounced.....	0	0	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total: number.....	3	1	0	4
per cent.....	23.1	11.1	0	12.1

A perusal of the table above shows that the crania of our primary series are prevailingly of medium breadth with a submedium sagittal elevation, and that the same holds true of the males of our secondary series except that the sagittal elevation is more frequently absent. Separate tabulations of the development of the sagittal elevation and of the postcoronoid depression follow.

	SAGITTAL ELEVATION				POSTCORONOID DEPRESSION			
	Absent	Sub-medium	Medium	Pronounced	Absent	Sub-medium	Medium	Pronounced
<b>Primary series:</b>								
Males.....	2	5	5	1	3	8	2	0
Females.....	2	4	2	1	2	7	0	0
<b>Secondary series:</b>								
Males.....	5	4	2	0	4	6	0	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total: number	9	13	9	2	9	21	2	1
per cent	27.2	39.3	27.2	6.1	27.2	63.6	6.1	3

The sagittal elevation is more strongly developed in the males of the primary series than in the females, and more strongly developed in both sexes of the primary series than in the males of the secondary series. The same is true of the postcoronoid depression. The sagittal elevation is not so well developed in these

series as in the Madisonville crania, but the postcoronoid depression is much more common.

### Temporal Region.

OBSERVATIONS				
	Flat or Compressed	Medium	Protuberant	Total
Primary series:				
Males.....	9	2	2	13
Females.....	2	4	2	8
Secondary series:				
Males.....	9	1	1	11
Total: number.....	20	7	5	32
per cent.....	62.5	21.8	15.6	

The temporal region in the males of both series is predominantly flat or compressed as is to be expected in long heads. The females show a greater convexity of this region. In the Madisonville series almost equal proportions of the three categories appear in both sexes.

### Occipital Region.

OBSERVATIONS				
	Primary series		Secondary series	Total
	Males	Females	Males	
Flat or steep:				
Torus absent.....	2	2	1	5
Torus submedium.....	1	0	1	2
Torus medium.....	1	0	1	2
Total: number.....	4	2	3	9
per cent.....	33	28.5	37.5	33.3
Medium convex:				
Torus absent.....	6	5	3	14
Torus submedium.....	0	0	1	1
Torus medium.....	1	0	0	1
Torus pronounced.....	0	0	1	1
Total: number.....	7	5	5	17
per cent.....	58.3	71.4	63.5	62.9
Protuberant:				
Torus medium.....	1	0	0	1
Total: per cent.....	8.3	0	0	3.7

An inspection of the table above shows that the occipital region is predominantly medium convex, and with no development of the occipital torus. This table excludes 1 female cranium, flat and deformed with a slight torus, and 3 flat deformed male crania of the secondary series, 2 of which have a slight torus. The complete tabulation of the occurrence of the occipital torus is as follows:

OCCIPITAL TORUS					
	Absent	Submedium	Medium	Pronounced	Total
Primary series:					
Males.....	8	1	3	0	12
Females.....	7	1	0	0	8
Secondary series:					
Males.....	5	4	1	1	11
Total: number.....	20	6	4	1	31
per cent.....	64.5	19.3	12.9	3.2	

The occipital torus occurs more frequently in the males of the secondary series than in the males of the primary series, and is almost absent from the female crania.

#### Sutures.

#### OCCCLUSION OF CORONAL, SAGITTAL, AND LAMBDROID SUTURES

	All open	All beginning	Almost obliterated	Miscellaneous	Total
Primary series:					
Males.....	4	1	2	6	13
Females.....	6	1	1	1	9
Secondary series:					
Males.....	3	0	2	6	11
Total.....	13	2	5	13	33

From the table above it may be seen that a larger proportion of female crania show no exterior signs of sutural occlusion than is the case with either of the male series.

Five of the 6 crania in the primary series of males classified as miscellaneous, show obliteration more advanced in the coronal suture than in the sagittal and lambdoid sutures. The order of obliteration is probably C-S-L in this series of males. Three of



the miscellaneous crania of the secondary series show obliteration farther advanced in the sagittal than in the coronal or lambdoid; in two others there is equal obliteration in the coronal and sagittal and less in the lambdoid; and in the sixth, obliteration has proceeded farthest in the lambdoid.

	SERRATION			
	Simple	Medium	Complex	Total
Primary series:				
Males.....	2	11	0	13
Females.....	4	5	0	9
Secondary series:				
Males.....	7	3	1	11

Serration of sutures in the primary series of males is prevalingly medium, which is unusual for Indians. In the secondary series there is the usual predominance of simple sutures.

WORMIAN BONES						
	None	Lambdoid	Temporo- parietal	Temporo- occipital	Others	Total
Primary series:						
Males.....	4	6	1	0	0	11
Females.....	4	3	0	2	0	9
Secondary series:						
Males.....	1	7	0	0	3	11

The secondary series differs from the primary series in the larger number of crania with Wormian bones in the lambdoid suture. There are also two crania in this series with "Inca" bones, and one with an epipteric suture.

	PTERIONS				
	H type narrow	H type medium	H type broad	K type	Total
Primary series:					
Males.....	2	3	1	1	7
Females.....	1	7	1	0	9
Secondary series:					
Males.....	1	8	0	0	9

The table above shows that the form of the pterion is usually a medium H in all of the groups considered.

**Parietal Foramina.**

NUMBER AND SIZE								
	None	One small	Two small	One medium	One medium One small	Three small	One large	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>								
Males.....	6	3	1	1	0	0	1	12
Females.....	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	8
<b>Secondary series:</b>								
Males.....	4	3	1	0	1	1	0	10
Total: number	14	10	2	1	1	1	1	30
per cent	46.6	33.3	6.6	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	

Parietal foramina are absent in 50 per cent of the males and females of the primary series, and in 40 per cent of the males of the secondary series. In the Madisonville series parietal foramina are absent in 45 per cent of males and 58 per cent of females.

The number of retromastoid foramina could be recorded in a very few crania only. Usually there are a larger and a smaller on each side, but they are extremely variable in size, number, and position.

**Mastoids.**

SIZE				
	Small	Medium	Large	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>				
Males.....	6	6	1	13
Females.....	9	0	0	9
<b>Secondary series:</b>				
Males.....	2	7	2	11

These are small in all females, and in 46.1 per cent of the males of the primary series, but in only 18.1 per cent of the males of the secondary series. The percentage distribution of the males of the primary series is approximately the same as that of the males of the Madisonville series, but the females of the Madisonville series have better developed mastoids than the females of our series from the Turner Group.

**Supraorbital Ridges.****SUPRAORBITAL RIDGES — TYPE**

	Primary series		Secondary series	Total
	Males	Females	Males	
Median type:				
Submedium.....	2	4	3	9
Medium.....	4	1	1	6
Large.....	0	0	1	1
	—	—	—	—
Total.....	6	5	5	16
Divided type:				
Submedium.....	2	2	2	6
Medium.....	3	0	3	6
Large.....	1	0	1	2
	—	—	—	—
Total.....	6	2	6	14
Torus type:				
Large.....	1	0	0	1
Absent.....	0	3	0	3

**SUPRAORBITAL RIDGES — SIZE**

	None	Traces	Submedium	Medium	Large	Total
Primary series:						
Males: number.....	0	0	4	7	2	13
per cent.....	0	0	30.7	53.8	15.3	
Females: number...	3	6	0	1	0	10
per cent... 30	60	0	10	0		
Secondary series:						
Males: number.....	0	0	5	4	2	11
per cent.....	0	0	45.4	36.3	18.1	

Supraorbital ridges in the males of the two series are about evenly divided between the median type, in which they are confined to median portions of the orbits, and the divided type in which the lateral portions of the superior orbital margins are thickened to form ridges which are divided from the median ridges by a groove leading upward from the supraorbital notch. The torus type occurs in one cranium only. In the females, the supraorbital ridges are either absent or show very slight development, except in one case.

**Facial Region.** The facial parts are so defective in the majority of the crania of these series that few observations were recorded. The height, breadth, and slope of the nasal bridge, for example, was

ascertained in only one cranium of our primary male series. This specimen has a high, narrow, and straight bridge. In two other specimens of this series the nasal bridges are medium in height and in breadth, and low and narrow respectively, but the slope of the nasal bones could not be ascertained. In the female series, four observations are as follows: 1 low, medium broad, concave; 1 low, medium broad, straight; 1 medium high, narrow, straight; 1 medium high, narrow, concavo-convex. In the males of the secondary series there occurred the following: 1 low, narrow, concavo-convex; 1 low, medium broad, concavo-convex; 1 medium high, medium broad, concavo-convex. Of four others in this series in which the slope could not be ascertained the combinations of height and breadth are as follows: 1 low, narrow; 2 low, medium broad; 1 medium high, narrow. It is impossible to draw many conclusions from such data. High, narrow, and straight noses occur in the primary series, while low or medium noses of medium breadth and concavo-convex in slope seem to prevail among the males of the secondary series.

Nasion depressions, properly speaking, are practically non-existent in this series. There is usually a depression below nasion, but any depression of the fronto-nasal suture itself is due entirely to the prominence of glabella.

#### LOWER BORDERS OF NASAL APERTURE AND NASAL SPINE

	Primary series		Secondary series	Total
	Males	Females	Males	
Borders indistinct:				
Spine small . . . . .	4	3	6	13
Spine medium . . . . .	1	1	0	2
Spine large . . . . .	0	0	0	0
	—	—	—	—
Total . . . . .	5	4	6	15
Borders medium:				
Spine small . . . . .	0	1	0	1
Spine medium . . . . .	0	2	2	4
Spine large . . . . .	1	0	1	2
	—	—	—	—
Total . . . . .	1	3	3	7

The table above shows that the prevailing form of lower borders of nasal aperture is indistinct, with a small development of the nasal spine in all groups considered. Similar results were

found in the crania from the Madisonville site. Subnasal grooves are absent in all of 6 of the male crania of the primary series, slightly developed in one of 7 crania of the female series, and moderately developed in 2 of 9 male crania of the secondary series. The males of the secondary series appear to have slightly more primitive features of the nasal aperture than those of the primary series.

#### SHAPE OF ORBITS AND INCLINATION OF LATERAL AXIS

	Primary series		Secondary series	
	Males	Females	Males	Total
Nearly oblong:				
Inclination none . . . . .	0	2	1	3
Inclination slight . . . . .	1	1	1	3
Inclination medium . . . . .	2	1	6	9
Inclination marked . . . . .	0	1	0	1
	—	—	—	—
Total . . . . .	3	5	8	16
Nearly square:				
Inclination none . . . . .	1	0	0	1
Inclination submedium . . . . .	1	1	0	2
Inclination medium . . . . .	1	1	1	3
	—	—	—	—
Total . . . . .	3	2	1	6

Features of interest in the observation of orbits are the shape and inclination of the lateral axis. The usual shapes are approximately oblong with rounded corners, or approximately square with rounded corners. Strictly speaking, when the lateral axis of an orbit is much inclined, the form of the orbit is rhomboidal, rather than square or oblong. Marked inclination of the lateral axis of the orbit is more common in narrow, long-faced crania than in short, broad-faced crania, in which the orbits are likely to be oblong with little inclination. Square forms of the orbit are also more common in long, narrow faces. In the males of the primary series from the Turner Group, 3 crania are of oblong shape and 3 square. Five of 7 female crania, and 8 of 9 crania in the males of the secondary series are oblong. Inclination of the lateral axis is usually slight or medium in these series.

## INFRAORBITAL SUTURE

	Absent	Complete one side	Complete both sides	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>				
Males.....	5	1	1	7
Females.....	5	0	2	7
<b>Secondary series:</b>				
Males.....	6	0	1	7
Total: number.....	16	1	4	21
per cent.....	76.2	4.7	19	

## SUBORBITAL FOSSAE

	Shallow	Medium	Deep	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>				
Males.....	0	5	0	5
Females.....	5	1	1	7
<b>Secondary series:</b>				
Males.....	4	5	0	9
Total .....	9	11	1	21

The depth of the suborbital fossae in these series is prevailingly medium or slight. It may be observed from the table above that the males of the primary series are sharply contrasted with the females in respect to the development of this feature. Shallow suborbital fossae are often associated with broad, short faces.

## MALARS

	Small	Medium	Large	Very large	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>					
Males.....	0	4	3	0	7
Females.....	2	3	1	0	6
<b>Secondary series:</b>					
Males.....	0	3	5	1	9
Total .....	2	10	9	1	22

On the basis of the table above the males of the secondary series seem to have somewhat larger malars than those of the primary series. As usual the malars of the females are decidedly smaller than those of the males. There are no anomalies of malar bones in any of these crania.

ZYGOMAE					
	Small	Medium	Large	Very large	Total
Primary series:					
Males.....	1	4	2	0	7
Females.....	2	3	1	0	6
Secondary series:					
Males.....	0	3	5	1	9
	—	—	—	—	—
Total .....	3	10	8	1	22

The males of the secondary series have larger zygomae than those of the primary series. The females show the usual sex differences in the smaller size of the zygomae as compared with males. The zygomae of the males of the primary series seem rather small for Indians.

ALVEOLAR PROGNATHISM					
	Absent	Slight	Medium	Pronounced	Total
Primary series:					
Males.....	0	4	0	3	7
Females.....	1	1	4	1	7
Secondary series:					
Males.....	0	6	0	2	8
	—	—	—	—	—
Total .....	1	11	4	6	22

The distribution of alveolar prognathism is very irregular.

#### Teeth.

DENTITION				WEAR			Total
	Complete	Incomplete	None	Slight	Medium	Pronounced	
Primary series:							
Males.....	10	1	0	2	3	6	11
Females.....	9	0	0	2	4	3	9
Secondary series:							
Males.....	9	1	1	1	4	4	10
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total .....	28	2	1	5	11	13	30

In both cases the dentitions listed as incomplete in the tables above show imperfectly erupted third molars. On the whole, this series includes a high percentage of crania with deeply worn teeth (43.3 per cent). This is a result, in all probability, of the small number of young adults included in the series. The following table shows the relation of estimated age to dental wear.

## WEAR OF TEETH

	None	Slight	Medium	Pro-nounced	Very pro-nounced	Total
Estimated age:						
Sub-adult (19-20 years)...	1	..	..	..	..	1
Young adult (21-35 years)...		2	..	..	..	2
Middle aged (36-50 years)...		3	11	6	..	20
Old adult (51-years).....		..	..	..	7	7

## QUALITY OF TEETH

	Poor	Medium	Good	Total	Caries	Abscesses	Teeth lost in life
Primary series:							
Males.....	3	3	5	11	3	2	2
Females.....	1	2	6	9	2	3	2
Secondary series:							
Males.....	2	1	6	9	1	2	4
Total: number..	6	6	17	29	6	7	8
per cent..	20.6	20.6	58.6		20.6	24.1	27.5

The table above shows that the quality of the teeth in these series is generally good. Caries and alveolar abscesses are not especially prevalent.

## NUMBER OF CUSPS

	Upper molars			Lower molars		
	4-4-4	4-4-3	4-4-2	5-5-5	5-5-4	5-4-4
Primary series:						
Males.....	0	3	1	1	3	0
Females.....	0	2	0	1	0	1
Secondary series:						
Males.....	0	1	0	4	0	1
Total: number.....	0	6	1	6	3	2

The number of crania in which the cusps of the molar teeth can be counted is very few. The table above shows a tendency toward reduction of cusps in the third molars. The following abnormalities of eruption are recorded. Primary series: crowding of incisors, 1 male, 1 female; absence of third molars, 1 male; impacted lower left third molar, 1 male; pronounced reduction of lower left first incisor, 1 female. Secondary series: crowding of teeth, 1 male; reduction of third molars, 1 male.

Thirteen crania had shovel-shaped incisors, and one had not. In the remainder of the series the presence or absence of this feature could not be determined.



**Palate.**

	SHAPE			ROOF			TORUS	
	U-shaped	Parabolic	Elliptical	Low	Medium	High	Present	Absent
<b>Primary series:</b>								
Males.....	3	3	0	0	1	5	1	5
Females.....	2	2	3	1	4	2	4	3
<b>Secondary series:</b>								
Males.....	1	4	0	0	2	3	0	5
Total: number	6	9	3	1	7	10	5	13

Determination of the shape of the palate was possible in a few crania only. The parabolic type seems to be predominant in the males of the secondary series, and the elliptical type seems to be confined to females. The roof is prevailing of medium height in females and high in males. A slight or medium development of the palatine torus is common in the female crania.

**Skull Base.** In these series the skull base is usually so fragmentary that few observations can be made. In the primary series of females it was ascertained that 5 crania had small styloid processes, and 2 had large styloid processes.

	GLENOID FOSSA — DEPTH				POSTGLENOID PROCESS				
	Shallow	Medium	Deep	Total	Absent	Small	Medium	Large	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>									
Males.....	2 <sup>1</sup>	6	5	13	3	2	7	1	13
Females.....	2	4	3	9	4	1	3	1	8
<b>Secondary series:</b>									
Males.....	3 <sup>2</sup>	2	5	10	1	4	4	1	10
Total: number....	7	12	13	32	8	7	14	3	32
per cent....	21.8	37.5	40.6		25	21.8	43.7	9.3	

The glenoid fossa is usually deep or of medium depth in the primary series. It is somewhat shallower in the females. There is a moderate postglenoid process. Apparently this feature occurs more frequently in long heads than in short heads. It is rare in the secondary series.

<sup>1</sup> Both arthritic.

<sup>2</sup> One arthritic.

females than in males. In the Madisonville series the occurrence was about 30 per cent in males and only 10 per cent in females.

In the few cases where the lacerate foramina were observed, they were small. The depression of the petrous portions of the temporal bones in the combined males and females of the primary series is as follows: 2 slight, 5 medium, 2 pronounced; in the males of the secondary series, 1 absent, 2 medium.

PTERYGO-SPINOUS FORAMINA						
	Absent	Incomplete one side	Incomplete both sides	Complete one side	Complete both sides	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>						
Males.....	5	0	1	0	0	6
Females.....	4	0	2	0	0	6
<b>Secondary series:</b>						
Males.....	3	1	0	1	0	5
Total .....	12	1	3	1	0	17

Pterygo-spinous foramina are uncommon in these crania.

DEHISCENCES IN THE FLOOR OF THE AUDITORY MEATUS					
	None	One small	Two small	One medium	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>					
Males.....	7	1	1	1	10
Females.....	5	0	1	0	6
<b>Secondary series:</b>					
Males.....	8	0	0	0	8
Total .....	20	1	2	1	24

Defects in the floor of the auditory meatus are common in the primary series but absent from the secondary series.

#### Mandible.

	SIZE				MENTAL PROMINENCE				
	Small	Medium	Large	Total	None	Small	Medium	Large	Total
<b>Primary series:</b>									
Males.....	2	6	4	12	0	3	7	2	12
Females.....	3	4	2	9	1	3	4	1	9
<b>Secondary series:</b>									
Males.....	3	4	3	10	0	4	4	2	10
Total .....	8	14	9	31	1	10	15	5	31

MEASUREMENTS OF CRANIA FROM THE

	Catalogue No.	Sex	Age	Deformation	Length	Breadth	Height	Cranial Index	Height-Length Index	Height-Breadth Index	Menton-Nasion Height (a)	Alveon-Nasion Height (b)	Diam. Bixygomatic maxim. (c)	Facial Index, total $\left(\frac{a \times 100}{c}\right)$	Facial Index, upper $\left(\frac{b \times 100}{c}\right)$	Basion-Alveon (x)
PRIMARY SERIES	A731	♂	old	—	183	136	136	74.32	74.32	100.00	119	72	?	?	?	101
	A560	♂	old	—	179	(120)	?	(67.04)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	30117	♂	mid.	—	(175)	139	?	(79.43)	?	?	125	80	137	91.24	58.39	?
	A701	♂	mid.	—	178	140	141	78.65	77.90	99.29	119	73	(131)	(90.84)	(55.73)	102
	A628	♂	old	med. pm.	185	(153)	151	(82.70)	81.63	(98.69)	(129)	82	?	?	?	100
	A727	♂	mid.	—	190	140	(147)	73.68	(77.37)	(105. )	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A8	♂	old	—	181	144	?	79.56	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A835	♂	old	sl. occ.	182	129	?	70.88	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	30116	♂	mid.	med. pm.	188	(133)	?	70.74	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	34366	♂	mid.	sl. r. occ.	191	139	?	72.77	?	?	(138)	(83)	?	?	?	?
	A541	♂	mid.	sl. lamb.	191	141	?	73.82	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A4	♂	y. ad.	—	177	135	?	76.27	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A534	♂	mid.	—	181	(133)	?	(73.48)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A748	♀	y. ad.	—	179	138	?	77.07	?	?	114	69	129	88.37	53.49	?
	A829	♀	sub. ad.	—	176	139	?	78.98	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A632	♀	mid.	—	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A627	♀	mid.	pm. pron.	(167)	(147)	?	(88.54)	?	?	114	74	(130)	87.69	(56.92)	?
				sl. occ.												
	A612	♀	mid.	med. pm.	176	144	142	81.82	80.68	101.41	119	75	(136)	87.50	55.15	(88)
SECONDARY OR INTRUSIVE SERIES	A16	♀	mid.	sl. occ.	169	141	?	83.43	?	?	(115)	70	?	?	?	?
	A726	♀	mid.	—	169	131	134	77.51	79.29	97.76	?	?	?	?	?	?
	58001	♀	old	sl. pm.	186	131	?	70.43	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	30137	♀	mid.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	77	?	?	?	?
	A538	♀	mid.	—	173	132	136	76.30	78.61	97.06	?	?	?	?	?	100
	32408	♂	mid.	med. pm.	177	134	?	75.71	?	?	137	83	139	98.56	59.71	?
	32419	♂	mid.	—	185	(136)	?	(73.51)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	32416	♂	mid.	—	199	135	?	67.84	?	?	133	77	149	89.26	51.68	?
	32417	♂	mid.	—	183	145	?	79.23	?	?	(122)	73	(144)	(84.72)	(50.69)	?
	32415	♂	old	sl. l. occ.	176	137	?	77.84	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	32412	♂	mid.	—	186	140	?	75.27	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	32410	♂	old	med. occ.	(170)	(142)	(152)	(83.53)	(89.41)	(93.42)	?	(76)	139	?	(54.68)	98
	32421	♂	old	med. pm.	(184)	(132)	?	(71.74)	?	?	(122)	71	(128)	(95.31)	(55.47)	?
				sl. occ.												
	32420	♂	mid.	med. pm.	(180)	(136)	?	(75.56)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
				sl. occ.												
	A629	♂	sub. ad.	sl. pm.	(173)	124	137	(71.68)	(79.19)	90.51	?	?	?	?	?	?
	A633	♂	old	—	185	134	?	72.43	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	32411	♀	sub. ad.	—	172	126	?	73.26	?	?	112	?	(122)	(91.80)	?	?

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

sub. ad. = sub-adult (19-20 yrs.).      old = old adult (51- yrs.).  
y. ad. = young adult (21-35 yrs.).      sl. = slight.  
mid. = middle aged adult (36-50 yrs.).      med. = medium.

[illegible]

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

pron. = pronounced.      occ. = occipital.  
pm. = post-mortem.      lamb. = lambdoid.

Parenttheses indicate that measurement or index is approximate because of defective condition or because of deformation.

	MYLO-HYOID RIDGE				GENIAL TUBERCLES			
	Absent	Sub-medium	Medium	Pro-nounced	Absent	Small	Medium	Total
Primary series:								
Males.....	0	6	6	0	1	4	7	12
Females.....	1	4	4	0	1	7	1	9
Secondary series:								
Males.....	0	3	6	1	0	6	4	10
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total .....	1	13	16	1	2	17	12	31

The size distribution of mandibles is ordinary, as is also the development of the mental prominence. Mylo-hyoid ridges and genial tubercles are better developed in this series than in the Madisonville crania.

**Miscellaneous and Pathological.** Aside from one or two small lesions of traumatic origin on these crania, and three cases of arthritis affecting the glenoid fossae, there is nothing of interest to report in the way of pathological features. Caries and alveolar abscesses have been dealt with above. One skull of the secondary series shows two small exostoses on the frontal bone, and three have slight exostoses in the auditory meatus.

In six crania of the secondary series, nearly circular holes have been drilled, as discussed by Mr. Willoughby above (p. 61). These are primarily of ethnological rather than somatological interest. They were evidently bored with a stone drill. The edges are clean and show no cicatrization. The following are the perforated crania:

No. 32410. One hole, 6 mm. in diameter in the left parietal, 46 mm. back of the coronal suture, and 30 mm. external to the sagittal suture.

No. 32411. Two nearly round holes, 6 and 9 mm. in diameter, one in the frontal bone 3 mm. in front of bregma and a little to the left of it, the other in the right parietal 5 mm. back of the coronal suture and a little to the right of bregma.

No. 32412. Two holes, each 6 mm. in diameter, one near the middle of the right parietal, the other in approximately the same position in the left parietal.

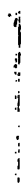
No. 32413. Two holes in the frontal bone 5 mm. in diameter and 35 mm. apart, one in each parietal 8 mm. above the squamous suture and 30 mm. back of the coronal suture.

No. 32414. One hole in each parietal bone, symmetrically placed.

No. 32415. Eleven perforating holes and one unfinished hole, ranging in diameter from 3-6 mm. Six of these holes are disposed in pairs, 5-8 mm. between each member of a pair (plate 27).



Crania with perforations (32415, upper; and 32411) from the intrusive pit of Mound 3.



Scaling of the inner table of the skull vault at the points of perforation suggests that the holes were made when the skulls were comparatively dry. All of the crania from this intrusive pit are green and fresh in comparison with the dry, chalky bones of the primary series.

**Bones in General.** The skeletal parts other than the crania are few in number and fragmentary in condition.

**Femur.**

MEASUREMENTS									
Bicondylar length			Maximum length			Maximum diameter			
No.	Paired bones		No.	Paired bones		No.	of head		
	Right	Left		Right	Left		Right	Left	
	mm.	mm.		mm.	mm.		mm.	mm.	
Primary series:									
Males: mean	8	437.2	438.7	8	440	442.2	14	46	45.5
Females: mean	6	431.3	430.3	6	435.3	434	8	41.5	42.2

The number of paired femora is unfortunately small. If odd bones are taken into consideration, the mean bicondylar length of 10 right femora of males is 441.7 mm. and of 7 left femora, 443.4 mm. The maximum length of 7 left femora of males averages 448.8. If we utilize the mean bicondylar length of the 10 right femora, the average stature for 10 males according to Manouvrier's tables is 165.8 cm. and according to Pearson's formula for oblique length<sup>1</sup> 164.8 cm.

The mean bicondylar lengths for paired Madisonville femora are slightly larger (444 mm. right, 447 mm. left), as are also the maximum lengths, (449 mm. right, 451 mm. left). The average stature of Madisonville males is estimated to be 166-167 cm.

The mean bicondylar length of 5 right femora of females is 430.8 mm., which would correspond to a stature of somewhat more than 158 cm. according to Manouvrier, and to a stature of 157 cm. according to Pearson. The mean bicondylar lengths for Madisonville females are 410 mm. and 419 mm., respectively for right and left sides. The estimated stature of Madisonville females is 155 cm.

The femoral lengths of females are rather high in comparison with the males. This is partially because of the inclusion in the very small male series of one exceptionally short individual whose bicondylar femoral lengths were only 513 mm. and 515 mm.

<sup>1</sup> Pearson, K. and Bell, J., *A Study of the Long Bones of the English Skeleton*, Drapers' Company Research Memoirs, Biometric Series X, London, 1919, p. 5.



The femora of the secondary series of males include 2 paired and 2 odd only. The bicondylar lengths of three left femora are 451 mm., 468 mm., and 481 mm. The corresponding maximum lengths are 455 mm., 475 mm., 489 mm. The mean bicondylar lengths of these three bones is 466.6 mm. and of maximum lengths 473 mm. These three individuals must have been about 167, 170, and 172 cm. in stature. The largest male in the primary series had a left femur with bicondylar and maximum lengths of 461 mm. and 467 mm., respectively. He probably had a stature of about 168.5 cm. It is scarcely safe to attach much importance to the results of so few measurements in a bone individually so variable as the femur, but on the face of the evidence, such as it is, our secondary series of males must have been somewhat taller than the males of the primary series.

The difference between the statures of males and females (7.8 cm.) as estimated from Pearson's formula is comparatively small. The females are estimated at 157 cm. in stature and the males at 164.8 cm. The sex ratio is unreasonably low (1.049). The maximum diameters of the femoral heads average for rights, 46 mm. in males and 41.5 mm. in females; and for lefts, 45.5 mm. and 42.2 mm. For Madisonville femora the head diameters are as follows: right, males 47.2, females 43.6; left, males 46.7, females 42.3. The sex differences in this feature are more pronounced in the Turner series than in the Madisonville series. According to Pearson<sup>1</sup> the mean percentage reduction of the diameter of the male femoral head necessary to obtain that of the female femoral head in the English femur is about 12.7. In our series the difference on the right side is 10.2 per cent and on the left side only 7.2 per cent. In the males the right femora are longer and have larger heads, but in the females the reverse is the case. On the whole the writer is inclined to believe that the male series of femora is not a representative sample in that it includes too many small bones. If this hypothesis is rejected we are reduced to two alternatives: (a) that sexual differences in the size of the femora are unusually small in this series, or (b) that the present writer has made serious errors in sexing the material. The writer has had a good deal of experience in anatomical sexing of skeletal material and has a fair degree of confidence in his own accuracy.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

## MEAN SHAFT DIAMETERS AND INDICES (PAIRED BONES)

	Number	Subtrochanteric region		Platymeric index (a) $\times$ 100 (b)	Number	Middle of shaft		Middle index (d) $\times$ 100 (c)
		Diameter minimum (a) mm.	Diameter maximum (b) mm.			Diameter sagittal (c) mm.	Diameter lateral (d) mm.	
<b>Primary series:</b>								
Males: right	8	25.2	31.5	80.5	9	30.4	24.9	81.8
“ left	8	25.3	31.4	80.5	9	30.6	25.2	82.3
Females: right	5	23.3	30.5	76.2	6	27.4	24.3	89
“ left	5	24	31.2	76.8	6	27.7	24.5	89.8

The table above shows that the males of the primary series are but slightly platymeric, and the females somewhat more so. On the other hand, the middle index shows a pronounced development of the pilaster in the males, and a less developed pilaster in the females. Madisonville femora are much more platymeric in both sexes (right, males 77.1, females 72.6; left, males 76.7, females, 75.5). The Madisonville femora also have much higher middle indices (right, males 92.1, females 94; left, males 89.2, females 95.7).

## MEAN DIAMETER OF FEMUR AT MIDDLE OF SHAFT

	Turner Group mm.	Madisonville mm.	Munsee (Hrdlička) mm.
Males: right.....	27.6	28.2	27.3
“ left.....	27.9	28.5	27.5
Females: right.....	25.8	24.1	24.6
“ left.....	26.1	25.6	24.3

The males of the Madisonville series exceed the males of the Turner Group series in mean diameter of the femoral shaft at the middle, but the females of the Turner Group exceed the Madisonville females in this diameter.

The shape of the shaft is prismatic in 10 males and quadrilateral in 2 males. In 6 females it is prismatic. The development of the linea aspera is as follows: submedium, 3 males, 4 females; medium, 6 males, 2 females; pronounced, 3 males, no females. It is submedium in 25 per cent of males and in 66.6 per cent of females, and medium in 50 per cent of males and in 33.3 per cent of females. The linea aspera is, on the whole, better developed in this series than in the Madisonville series.

## THIRD TROCHANTER

	Ridge			Fossa			Tuber-	Ridge and	Total
	Small	Medium	Large	Small	Medium	Large	osity	tuberosity	
Primary series:									
Males . . . .	4	2	0	1	1	2	2	0	12
Females . . .	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	4

The third trochanter in some form appears in all of the males, and 4 of 6 females. In one female it is absent, and in one the subtrochanteric region is defective.

Bowing of the shaft is submedium in one male, medium in 8 males, and pronounced in 3 males. It is submedium in 3 females, medium in 1 female, and pronounced in 1 female.

Torsion is slight in 3 males, medium in 4 males, and pronounced in 4 males; slight in 2 females, medium in 2, and pronounced in 2 others.

A medium or submedium development of Poirer's facet on the femoral neck is present in 2 males and 3 females.

**Tibia.**

## MEASUREMENTS

	Number	Mean length (minus spine) mm.	Mean middle diameters Antero-posterior (a)	Lateral (b)	Middle index (b) $\times$ 100 (a)
Primary series:					
Males: right, paired	4	373	32.2	22.2	67
“ left, “	4	369	32.2	23	68.3
Females, right, paired	3	...	31.3	20.1	64.3
“ left, “	3	355.6	29.6	19.6	66.3

The number of tibiae available for measurement is so small as to be hardly worthy of consideration. The mean length of rights and lefts for males (371 mm.) would give a stature of 166.6, using Pearson's formula. The mean length of 3 female left tibiae, according to the formula for females, yields a stature of 158.4 cm. These are somewhat higher than the statures calculated from the femora. On the showing of these few specimens the males of our series have somewhat shorter tibiae and the females somewhat longer tibiae than those of the Madisonville series (males 376.4 mm., females, 347.2 mm.).

The mean tibio-femoral index on 6 odd pairs of male bones, both sides, is 84.25, and on 3 female pairs, 83.4. These indices are about the same as those given by Dr. Hrdlička for Munsee

and Louisiana Indians (tibio-femoral index: males, Munsee 84.45, Louisiana, 84.25; females, Munsee 83.7, Louisiana, 83.9).<sup>1</sup> Madisonville males average 83.1, and Madisonville females 83.8.

The middle diameters and the middle index show considerably more flattening than the Madisonville tibiae.

The shape of the shaft is quite variable. Prismatic and lateral prismatic types, quadrilateral types, and the type with the external surface concave occur.

The head of the tibia shows a slight backward inclination in 10 bones, a medium inclination in 3 bones, and a pronounced inclination in one bone. The external condyle is slightly convex antero-posteriorly in 7 bones, and concave in 4 bones. Slight "squatting facets" on the anterior lip of the inferior articular surface are found in 5 female bones and 2 male bones, and well-marked facets on 4 male bones.

The tibiae of one female are "boomerang"-shaped, and show inflammatory thickenings in the middle portions of the shafts. Similar inflammatory thickenings occur in the middle portions of the shafts of two other pairs of female tibiae. These bilateral tibial lesions are very common in Indian bones, especially those of females. One male tibia shows an arthritic condition of the superior articular surfaces.

**Other Long Bones.** Fibulae, and long bones of the upper extremity are too few in number in this collection to merit attention.

**Vertebrae.** Nothing unusual was observed in the spines of this collection. They are mostly incomplete and fragmentary. In two male specimens it was possible to secure the vertical lumbar index, which in one was 96.4 or kurtorachic, and in the other 102.9 or kailorachic.

### Pelvis.

#### PELVIS AS A WHOLE

	Breadth maximum	Superior strait		Brim index $\frac{(b) \times 100}{(a)}$
		Breadth maximum (a)	Diameter antero-posterior (b)	
	mm.	mm.	mm.	
Primary series:				
Males: No. A 778	298	141	124	87.94
" No. A 628	294	124	100	80.65
Females: No. A 612	309	149	109	73.15

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 69.

	Mean height of innominate bones mm.	Distance between ischiatric spines mm.	Pelvic index
Males: No. A 778.....	219.5	91	73.65
" No. A 628.....	208	88	70.74
Females: No. A 612.....	208	?	67.31

Only 3 pelves are available for measurement. Two of these are male and one female. They are all exceptionally large and capacious pelves for Indians. Especially remarkable is the great breadth between the iliac crests (outer lips). The total pelvic indices are extremely low because of this great width. The brim indices are all platypellic.

Sexual characters in these and in 4 other pelves upon which observations could be made are well marked. In the males the ischiatic notch is narrow in 3 cases, and medium in 1 case; the preauricular sulcus is absent in 2, and 2 others show slight traces; and the sub-pubic angle is small in 2 and medium in 1. In the pelves of 4 females the ischiatic notch is in every case wide, the preauricular sulcus is broad and deep in 3, medium in 1; and the sub-pubic angles are great in the 2 in which this feature could be observed.

Age changes in the pubic symphysis seem to conform in general with those established for male whites by Professor T. Wingate Todd.<sup>1</sup> The present writer is not confident of his ability to discriminate correctly between all the 10 phases which Todd recognizes, but in so far as he has been able to distinguish these phases they seem to correspond fairly accurately with the age estimates based upon other skeletal characters. Two male pelves were classified as phases 8 (age 39-44) and 9 (age 45-50) respectively; and 2 female pelves as phases 2 (20-21) and 9. One of the males, who had a phase 8 symphysis, was, however, judged to be old (over 50 years).

**Summary.** The crania of the primary series from the Turner Group show very slight occipital deformation in 5 of 21 specimens. In the secondary or intrusive series of 13 crania, 3 display slight occipital flattening, and one a medium occipital deformation. The males of the primary series are dolichocephalic in 58.3 per cent of

<sup>1</sup> Todd, T. Wingate, *Age Changes in the Pubic Bone, I, The Male White Pubis*, American Journal of Anthropology, Vol. III, No. 3, 1920, p. 313 sq.

cases, mesocephalic in 25 per cent, and brachycephalic in 16.6 per cent. The females show higher proportions of mesocephals and brachycephals. The males of the secondary series are half dolichocephals and half mesocephals, with one brachycephalic deformed cranium excluded. The male crania of both series are hypsicephalic, except one orthocephal. Most of the cranial dimensions are moderate, but the minimum frontal diameter is extremely small in both series and in both sexes. The facial skeletons are mostly long and narrow in all of the series; none is short and broad. Nasal indices are prevailingly leptorrhine in the males, and half leptorrhine and half mesorrhine in the females. The orbits are mostly high in relation to breadth in the primary series, but variable in the secondary series. There is very little prognathism.

A narrow, low, and rounded frontal region is a marked characteristic of most of the Turner Group crania of both series. The primary series differs from the secondary series in that the former has the sagittal elevation more strongly developed. The temporal region is flat in both series of males and more convex in the females. All series show predominantly medium convex occiputs with little development of an occipital torus. The serration of sutures tends to be medium in the primary series, but simple in the secondary series. Brow ridges are generally small or medium in both series of males, and relatively undeveloped in the females. High and narrow noses seem to be prevalent in the males of the secondary series, and all varieties in the primary series.

The suborbital fossae are prevailingly medium or shallow, the malars and zygomae are medium or large, but larger in the secondary series. The teeth are in general, good, and show few abnormalities. Shovel-shaped incisors are characteristically present. The palate is U-shaped or parabolic in the males, and both of these forms as well as the elliptical form, occur in females. A medium or deep glenoid fossa with a moderately developed postglenoid process is usual in all of the groups, but the process is more often lacking in the females. The mandibles are moderately developed.

The males of the primary series seem to have been of medium stature, 165-166 cm., but the females are rather tall (157 cm.). The muscular development of the long bones of the primary series

is in general moderate. Very few pathological conditions were observed in the study of this collection.

The primary series differs from the secondary or intrusive series in many details. The former includes a brachycephalic element which is lacking in the secondary series, while the secondary series contains the one cranium which gives evidence of having been submitted to intentional occipital deformation. In most of the observed and measured characters there are differences between the two series which are possibly significant, but both series are so short that positive conclusions are impossible. In the opinion of the writer, the intrusive or secondary series probably represents a separate but allied Indian group, possibly a neighboring tribe. The primary and secondary series resemble each other much more closely than either resembles the Madisonville series.

It may be said positively that the people of the Turner Group show practically no physical affinities with the people who lived on the Madisonville site, beyond those which are common to all Indians. The affinities of the Turner Group people are rather with the Eastern dolichocephals, although there is present a brachycephalic element such as is often found also among the Eastern Indians. The Madisonville people were mostly brachycephalic and deformed, while the Turner Group people were mostly dolichocephalic and without cranial deformation. The Madisonville people had short broad faces and short broad noses; most of the Turner Group people seem to have had long narrow faces and long narrow noses. The muscular development of the Turner Mound people was superior to that of the Madisonville people, especially as regards the bones of the lower extremity, but the Madisonville males seem to have been slightly taller than those of the neighboring but older group.

The collection from the Turner Group is small, but sufficiently homogeneous to afford hope that it may be a representative sample of the people who were responsible for the remarkable culture which Mr. Willoughby has described.

**PAPERS**  
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v. 9

**A MAYA GRAMMAR**  
**WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY AND APPRAISEMENT**  
**OF THE WORKS NOTED**

**BY**  
**ALFRED M. TOZZER**

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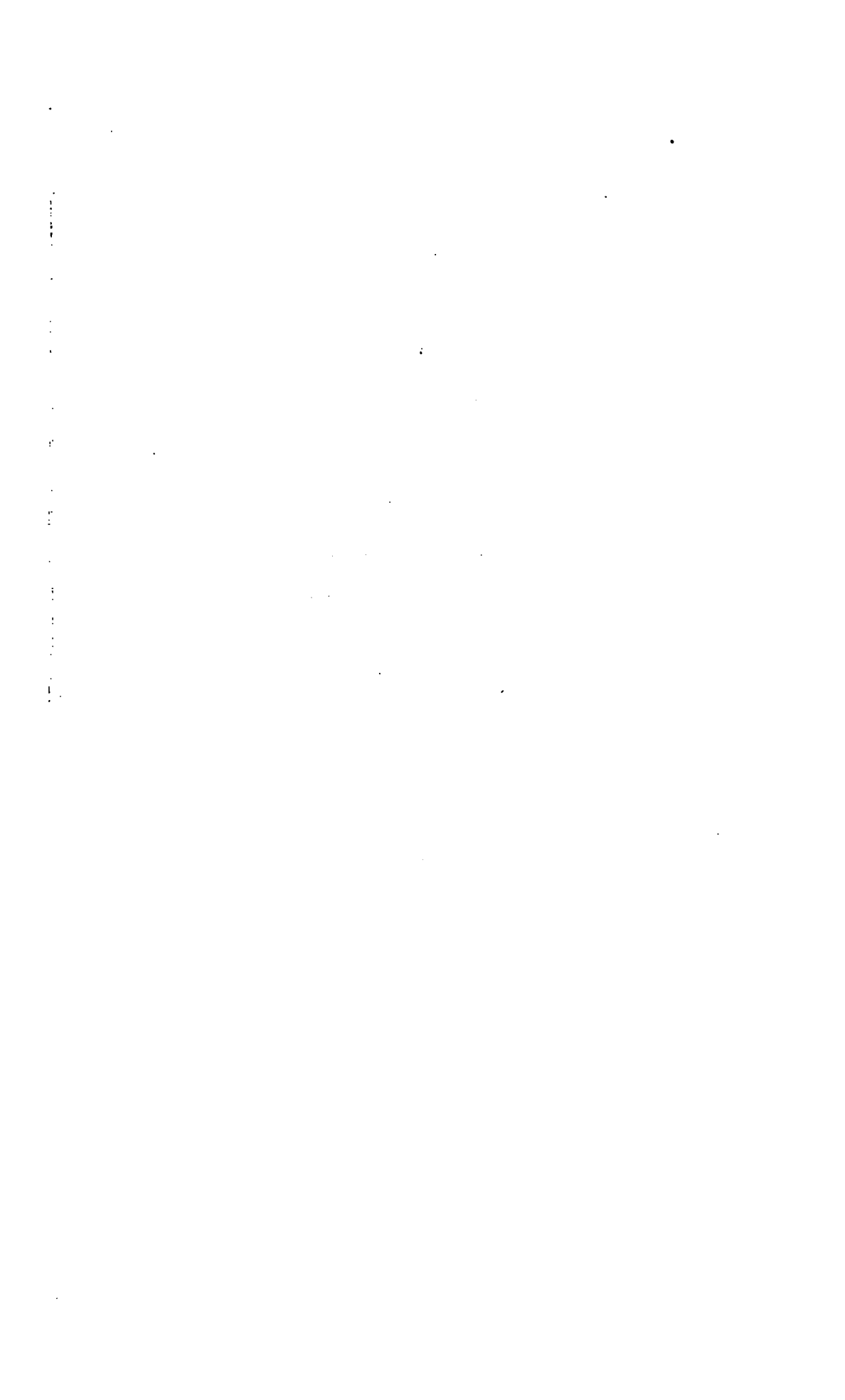


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**TO THE MEMORY OF  
CHARLES P. BOWDITCH**

**1842-1921**

**THAT GREATEST OF ALL FRIENDS OF MAYA RESEARCH  
THROUGH WHOSE INITIATIVE  
AND AID THIS VOLUME HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE**



## PREFACE

As the first recipient of the Travelling Fellowship in American Archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of America, I spent the winters of the years 1901–1902 to 1904–1905 in Yucatan, Chiapas, and Tabasco, Mexico, and northern Guatemala.<sup>1</sup>

A report on the ethnological work of this Fellowship was published as a special paper of the Archaeological Institute of America, "A Comparative Study of the Mayas and Lacandones," (New York, 1907, xx, 195 p., xxix plates). In that report (p. v) a promise was made that the linguistic part of the work undertaken under the Fellowship would be published later. The long-delayed fulfillment of this promise is the present study of the Maya language. The permission of the Archaeological Institute, through its President, has kindly been given to have this work published by the Peabody Museum.

I can do no better than repeat what I said in 1907 regarding my obligations. "I desire at this time to express my appreciation and thanks to the three original members of the Committee on American Archaeology, Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, Chairman, Professor F. W. Putnam, and Professor Franz Boas. To Mr. Bowditch, through whose initiative and aid the Travelling Fellowship in American Archaeology was founded, and to Professor Putnam,<sup>2</sup> both of whom have given unsparingly of their time in advice and counsel both before and during the four years of the Fellowship, and to Dr. Boas, who has been of great aid in his advice on the linguistic side of the work, I am deeply grateful."

These obligations are quite as heavy today as they were in 1907. Dr. Boas has continued to give me valuable aid and it is owing to the never-ending interest and generosity of Mr. Charles P. Bow-

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<sup>1</sup> For brief reports of the work of the Fellowship, see *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2d series, supplement, v. 6 (1902), p. 2–4; v. 7 (1903), p. 45–49; v. 8 (1904), p. 54–56; v. 9 (1905), p. 45–47.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Putnam has died since this paragraph was first written. His death took place on August 14, 1915.

ditch that the Peabody Museum has been able to bring this study out as a Paper of the Museum.

I also wish at this time to thank some of my many friends in Yucatan who aided me throughout the time I was there. Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Thompson and Mr. and Mrs. William James of Merida gave me abundantly of their generous hospitality. I have spoken in another place of my obligations to the late Señor Don Audomaro Molina and to Señor Don Juan Martínez Hernández.

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**PART I**  
**GRAMMAR**

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

# PART I

## GRAMMAR

### INTRODUCTION

**MAYA STOCK.** *Location.* The Maya linguistic stock stands with Nahuatl as the two most important languages of Middle America. With the exception of the Huastecan region, north of Vera Cruz on the Panuco River, the territory occupied by the Maya speaking peoples is practically continuous, including the greater part of the two southernmost states of Mexico, Chiapas and Tabasco, the peninsula of Yucatan which is composed of the Mexican states of Yucatan and Campeche, the Mexican territory of Quintana Roo, and British Honduras, Guatemala, and the northern part of Honduras. The Maya territory in Guatemala is broken up by islands of Nahuatl speaking people and by a few independent stocks such as Xinca.

The geographical unity of the Maya speaking peoples is remarkable when one takes into consideration the colonies of Nahuatl speaking peoples scattered along the Pacific coast of Central America even as far south as the Isthmus of Panama. The Mayas seem to have been content to remain very much in one place and it is evident that it was not their general custom to send out colonies to distant parts of the country. Moreover the wandering of the Mayas among themselves in the comparatively small territory occupied by them is not shown by investigation to have been great.

Most of the dialects of the Maya seem to have been identified with certain localities from the time of the earliest Spanish records down to the present. There does not seem to have been that shifting of population which one might naturally expect. The geographical conditions may have had something to do with this seeming lack of mingling of the people of one dialect with those of another. The peninsula of Yucatan is comparatively isolated from the rest of the Maya territory and the dialect spoken there is very



little changed as far as can be made out from the earliest times of which we have records. The various mountain ranges in the south often render communication difficult and a mountain system often separates distinct linguistic differences as regards dialects of the Maya. Geography cannot, however, in all cases explain the freedom of mixture of two dialects occupying neighboring territory.

Spanish speaking people are found in almost all parts of the country occupied by the Mayas and their influence has, of course, been very great in changing the native dialects. The Indians in most cases have picked up enough Spanish to make themselves intelligible in all parts of the country. When intercourse is to be carried on between the people speaking two different dialects of Maya, Spanish is usually the medium. This may explain in part the distinct dialectic areas still to be made out.

The Maya stock has no affiliation as far as can be made out with any other language of Mexico or Central America. Some authorities claim that the Zapotec is nearer akin to Maya than it is to Nahuatl. Maya is morphologically distinct from the latter.

*Dialects.* The Maya stock has a large number of dialects which may be divided according to their structure into a certain number of groups. Stoll's classification (1884) is the most satisfactory one and it has been followed in the main here.<sup>1</sup> The different divisions are as follows:

1. Maya group proper including the Maya of Yucatan, the Itza or Peten, the Lacandone and possibly the Mopan dialects.

2. Tzental or Tzeltal group including the Tzental, Chontal of Tabasco, Tzotzil, Chafñabal, and Chol (Cholti and Chorti) dialects.<sup>2</sup>

3. Mam group including the Mam, Ixil, and Aguacateca dialects.<sup>3</sup>

4. Quiche group including the Quiche, Cakchiquel, Tzutuhil, and Uspanteca dialects.

5. Pokom or Pokonchi group including the Kekchi, Pokoman and Pokonchi dialects.

---

<sup>1</sup> For other classifications, see p. 158-160.

<sup>2</sup> Sapper (1897, p. 393) makes a Chol group including Chontal, Chorti, and Chol. Gates (1920, p. 606) also makes a separate group of Cholti and Chorti.

<sup>3</sup> Gates (1920, p. 606) also includes in this group Solomeca, Jacalteca, Chuje, Chicomucelteca, and Motozintleca.

6. Huasteca.<sup>1</sup>

A further classification can be made based on the use of the pronoun. In the Maya, Tzeltal and Mam groups the verbal pronoun is a suffix: in the Quiche and Pokom groups this pronoun is a prefix.<sup>2</sup>

The relative antiquity of the various dialects is a subject which has not received much study. The great length of time necessary for the development of these dialects from a mother-tongue must be taken into consideration not only from a linguistic but also from an archaeological point of view.<sup>3</sup>

**MAYA DIALECT.** *Location.* The language treated in this paper is the Maya dialect of the Maya linguistic stock.<sup>4</sup> This dialect is spoken by the natives of the entire peninsula of Yucatan, a larger territory than that occupied by any of the other dialects. This idiom is commonly regarded as the purest of all the Maya dialects owing to the isolation of Yucatan.<sup>5</sup> The language may show a certain pureness and stability lacking in other places where the Maya stock is spoken but there is little reason to suppose that the Maya dialect is the most primitive and that it was from a language such as is spoken in Yucatan that all the other Maya dialects have sprung. Investigations have not gone far enough into the comparative morphology of the Maya for us to ascribe with certainty a primordial character to any of the various dialects. It is com-

<sup>1</sup> Sapper (1905, p. 9) has the Chicomucelteca of southeastern Chiapas as a dialect of the Huasteca. He also gives here the approximate number speaking the various dialects.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Seler, 1887. The page references throughout this paper to this work of Seler apply to the 2d edition, published in v. 1 of his collected works.

<sup>3</sup> Stoll (1884, p. 157) estimates the period of 2000 years as the shortest time required to explain the difference between Maya and Cakchiquel.

<sup>4</sup> Henceforth when speaking of the Maya, the dialect alone will be understood unless the term Maya stock is employed.

<sup>5</sup> Berendt (1878, p. 7) writes in this connection, "The Maya language proper (*Mayathan*) is spoken through the whole peninsula of Yucatan, the ancient name of which was *Maya*. It is the purest and, at present, the most highly developed of all the languages of the family, and is used not only by the Indians, but also by the greater part of the white and *mestizo* population; in the interior of Yucatan I have met with white families who do not understand one word of Spanish. The Maya language is likewise generally used in writing and in printing books of instruction and devotion."

monly supposed, however, that Huasteca shows evidences of greatest age with Mam second in point of time.

No attempt will be made in this study to treat the comparative aspects of the Maya dialect with other dialects of this stock.<sup>1</sup>

*Hieroglyphic Writing.* In the treatment of the Maya language I shall omit completely any discussion of the phonetic character of the Maya hieroglyphics. There is reason to suppose that there is a number of distinct symbols in the hieroglyphic writing of Central America which denote certain phonetic characters of the Maya speech.<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this paper, however, the Maya will be regarded as a language unrecorded up to the time of the Conquest.

A complete elucidation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions will probably be impossible until an advance has been made in our acquaintance with the phonetic elements in the composition of the glyphs. Within recent years our knowledge in this respect has not advanced at all in comparison with the gains made in deciphering the numerical parts of the hieroglyphic writing. A successful correlation of the Maya language and the Maya hieroglyphs holds out a prospect of the greatest interest and importance from the point of view of Maya research.<sup>3</sup>

*Written Maya.* The Spaniards found the natives speaking the Maya language. Their missionaries throughout New Spain easily recognized the impossibility of accomplishing any work in christianizing the people without first learning the native languages. This they set about doing in every case and many of the Spanish Padres became proficient in the languages of the conquered peoples.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Seler (1887) has successfully attempted this. See also the works of Charencey.

<sup>2</sup> See Bowditch, 1910, p. 254-258 for a discussion of this point.

<sup>3</sup> It is needless to comment here on the "Landa Alphabet" and its failure to produce the results hoped for.

<sup>4</sup> Zavala (1896, p. iv, v) gives the following quotations from the records of the Third Mexican Council which considered affairs relating to Yucatan. I give these verbatim as quoted by Zavala although the Latin is incorrect in several places. "*Clericos in regionibus Indorum beneficia cum onere obtinentes in materna erumden regionum lingua examinent, Episcopi, et quos repererint lingue hujusmodi ignaros, sex mensium spatio prefinito, ad discendam linguam compellant, admonentes eos, quatenus elapso termino, si linguam hujusmodi non didicerint, beneficium quod obtinent, ipso facto, vacabit, et alteri de eo fiet pro-*

One of the first acts was to record the native languages phonetically as nearly as they could with the Spanish characters at their command. It was impossible to write down many of the sounds occurring in the different native dialects with the Spanish letters and, in some cases, arbitrary signs or marks were adopted to designate these sounds as, in the Maya, the inverted c (ɔ) was early used as the sign for a ts sound frequent in the language.

The natives soon learned to write their own languages, which hitherto had been unrecorded, by using the same Spanish characters and the signs adopted by the Spaniards. To their ability in this line we owe many valuable documents connected with the native culture of the country, manuscripts written in the native language but with Spanish characters.<sup>1</sup>

*Early grammars on Latin model.* The Spanish priests did not stop with translations of documents into the native languages but they wrote grammars and collected vocabularies as well. These grammars and dictionaries exist in great numbers. There is hardly a dialect spoken in Mexico or Central America that has not some sort of a grammar dealing with the structure of the language. The difficulty met with in using these grammars written by the Spanish is the same as that found wherever a primitive language has been studied and recorded along the lines and with the corresponding forms found in Spanish, Latin, or some other Indo-European grammar. The Spanish priest thought he had successfully written a grammar of a native language if he had found forms in that lan-

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*visio. . . . In quo, et in Regula decima octava Cancellariæ Apostolicæ contentiæ Episcoporum onerantur.*" (Lib. III, Tit. 1 De doctr. cura, V.)

"*La Regla decima octava, dice Arrillaga, es la vigesima que estampa Murillo en el tit. de Institutionibus, num. 82; y en ella se prescribe que la provision de algun beneficio parroquial, hecha en alguna persona que no sepa el idioma de sus feligreses, ni pueda explicarse en él, aun cuando proceda del mismo Papa, sea nula y de ningun valor*" (Notas al Cons. III mex.).

"20. Item voluit, quod si contingat, ipsum (Urbano VIII) alicui personæ de parochiali Ecclesia, vel quovis alio beneficio exercitium curæ animarum parochianorum quomodolibet habente, provideret, nisi ipsa persona intelligat, & intelligibiliter loqui sciat idioma loci, ubi Ecclesia, vel beneficium huiusmodi consistit, provisio, seu mandatum, & gratia desuper, quoad parochialem Ecclesiam, vel beneficium huiusmodi, nullius sint roboris vel momenti."

<sup>1</sup> The Books of Chilam Balam (p. 182) are examples of Maya texts written by the natives phonetically.

guage to correspond to every term in his Spanish grammar. The desire to find words which fitted the different categories of thought expressed in his own grammar often outweighed his keenness in realizing that many grammatical forms used in Spanish could not be properly expressed in the native language. Parallels were sought for every form in the Spanish or Latin. The investigators usually found some native term which seemed to them to conform to the same expression in their own language. If a native did not seem able at first to give words for the pluperfect tense in his language, the more one insisted that there must be such forms the sooner the native would give something which superficially seemed to be a pluperfect.

The whole difficulty lies in the fact that it is impossible to build up a grammar of a primitive language by following a Latin or Spanish model.<sup>1</sup> This rigid adherence to such a model leads to two defects. Forms are given the investigator, often after repeated questioning, which only vaguely express corresponding forms in Spanish or Latin. These are often unnatural and are compounded so as to express in a most artificial way the idea desired. The second defect is the greater as scores of native expressions are entirely overlooked and are never recorded in the early grammars as there are no forms corresponding to them in Latin.

The Spanish missionary did not realize that the different categories of a grammar of a primitive language are entirely different

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<sup>1</sup> Palma y Palma (1901, p. 159) in criticizing Beltrán's grammar expresses the same idea. "*Fray Pedro de Beltrán, el mejor autor de gramática maya, hay que admitir que la carencia de un signo propio en el idioma para la expresión de los verbos sustantivos es efectiva. Tan hábil en la lengua como diestro en el latín, se esforzó en calcar su Arte del idioma maya á la gramática de la de Virgilio, sin tener en cuenta el genio y diversidad de índole de cada una. De aquí sus errores en esto y en otras cosas de que no me es posible hablar, lo que no desdice en nada su talento que me es tanto más grato reconocer, cuanto que el P. Beltrán fué yucateco nato y todo el vigor de su entendimiento claro se desarrolló en las aulas de su suelo nativo al cual prestó un gran servicio con su obra que da á conocer mejor que ninguna otra, una de las más ricas lenguas americanas que se acaba y desaparecerá quizá pronto.*"

Berendt (1878, p. 5) writes in this connection, "A striking instance of this method is presented by the Spanish grammarians, who, in treating the aboriginal languages, are particularly bent upon finding similarities or concordances with the Spanish or Latin grammar, and, if they do not find them, frequently invent them.

from those of an Indo-European language. The only possible method of approach to the study of a primitive language is an analytical one, working out the different thought units and the methods of expressing these entirely divorced from any model based on Latin or Spanish lines.<sup>1</sup>

This difference in categories will be seen at many places in the following pages. Here it is only necessary to point out a few of these differences. The distinction between the noun and the verb is vague in many of the Maya stems — many verbs are really nouns and used with the possessive pronoun as the subject. Time particles attached to the nominal pronoun are entirely overlooked in the early grammars. There is no true case in Maya except in the pronoun where we find only the nominal pronoun used as the subject and as a possessive and the verbal pronoun used as an object. No gender is expressed except that particles are found denoting the sex of the actor in the "*nomen actoris*." The inclusive and exclusive forms for the plural are found in the pronoun.

Maya is a polysynthetic or incorporating language where a pronominal subject of the verb is always expressed. Maya follows, in general, the same methods of expression as those found in the greater number of American languages. From the point of view of lexicography it is distinct from any of the other languages spoken in Mexico or Central America. It is therefore in its structure alone that it corresponds to other American languages.

In the analytical treatment of the grammar I desire, as Boas<sup>2</sup> expresses it, to present the data "as though an intelligent Indian was going to develop the forms of his own thought by an analysis of his own form of speech."

*Grammars of Coronel, San Buenaventura, and Beltran.* In spite of many omissions and forms which are more or less artificial, the old Spanish grammars are of distinct service in understanding the language. I have made frequent reference to these grammars in the footnotes when my forms differ from those given by them.

There are three early grammars of the language which are worthy of special mention, that of Coronel, published in 1620, that of San

<sup>1</sup> For a masterly treatment of this point of view, see Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Bulletin 40, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1911. Introduction, p. 5-83.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

Buenaventura in 1684, and that of Beltran de Santa Rosa in 1746.<sup>1</sup>

The first grammar to be written on the Maya language was by Villalpando, one of the first Catholic priests to arrive in Yucatan. He died in 1551 or 1552. His work was never published and the manuscript has disappeared.<sup>2</sup> This grammar, with additions by Landa, was probably the basis of Coronel's work.<sup>3</sup> The latter starts with the pronouns giving nothing on the phonetics which are treated by both San Buenaventura and Beltran.

It is quite evident that San Buenaventura based his work almost entirely on that of Coronel. The examples in Maya given to illustrate the different parts of the grammar are often identical with those given by Coronel. There are, in fact, only a very few cases where San Buenaventura has material not to be found in Coronel. The list of particles (fols. 20-37) given by San Buenaventura contain many not listed by Coronel. Coronel, on the other hand, has many not given by San Buenaventura. Coronel also discusses the optative which is not mentioned by San Buenaventura and he gives a much fuller treatment of the subjunctive than that given by San Buenaventura. The latter's work, written about 1675, was published in 1684, 64 years after that of Coronel. There is no internal evidence that the language had changed during that time.

Beltran called San Buenaventura, "*el Protomaestro del Idioma Yucateco*." He was not aware of the grammars of Villalpando, Landa, and of Coronel when he wrote his work.<sup>4</sup> Beltran follows San Buenaventura in using the same verbs for his paradigms but he has a large amount of new material in his grammar and often refers to what he considers mistakes in San Buenaventura's work. In every way Beltran's grammar should be considered by far the best of the three printed early treatises on Maya. His qualifications for writing a grammar are many as he himself states.<sup>5</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> For full discussion of the different editions of these grammars, see p. 163-165.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of the large number of authorities whose works have been lost see p. 151-153.

<sup>3</sup> Beltran, 1859 ed., p. 242. Hereafter references to Beltran will be to this edition.

<sup>4</sup> See Beltran, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> § 148. "*Para exponer al público mi dictámen (habiendo de asentar mis conjugaciones diversas de las del R. P. Fr. Gabriel [San Buenaventura]) necesario*

was a native of Yucatan, grew up among the Indians and lived among them practically all his life. San Buenaventura, on the other hand, was a Frenchman and probably lived almost exclusively with Spanish speaking people in Merida.

It has already been pointed out that there are practically no differences between the Coronel and San Buenaventura grammars. Beltran, on the other hand, finds much to differ with in the language as he records it and as given by San Buenaventura.<sup>1</sup> The differences between the present author's version of the grammar and that of Beltran and of the other grammarians will be noted throughout the paper.

There are four possible explanations for these differences:

1. Time.
2. Mistakes of each of the authors in question.
3. Omissions due to following the Latin model.
4. Difference in locality where the data were collected.

Beltran's work, written in 1742, was published in 1746, 62 years after that of San Buenaventura (1684) and 126 years after that of Coronel (1620). It has been pointed out that the grammars of Coronel and San Buenaventura do not differ in substance and yet presumably each recorded the language as spoken at or near the time they were published, 64 years apart. The question may then be asked, did 62 more years cause the differences in the idiom as noted by Beltran from that of the time of San Buenaventura? Again, are the differences noted in the language as spoken today

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*es dar las razones, que me asisten para esta, que parece cosa nueva. Es, pues, la primera que siendo yo hijo de esta provincia, criado entre estos naturales y habiendo habitado con ellos una montaña yerma, predicándoles, confesándoles, instruyéndoles y con ellos de continuo en su idioma confabulando, de modo que se me llegó á olvidar mucho de los vocablos castellanos; y estando juntamente instruido del Arte gramático latino, me es preciso confesar que entiendo con claridad sus periodos y que conozco con evidencia en que cláusulas no concuerda su modo de hablar con el comun modo; y tambien donde pueden no regir bien las reglas que se pueden dar para instruccion de los que quisieren sin error aprender su idioma."*

<sup>1</sup> Beltran, 1859 ed. in his "Prologo al Lector" writes, "Para este fin, queriendo facilitar mas este negocio; leí el Arte del R. P. F. Gabriel de San Buenaventura, de Nacion Frances, Proto-Maestro de este Idioma, y hasta hoy el único, que dió su Arte á la prensa: en donde habiendo yo hallado muchos yerros de imprenta, falta de muchas reglas, y reglas, que ya prescribieron por el contrario uso; me determiné á formar un nuevo Arte, con el designio de proseguir haciendo un vocabulario y otras cosas curiosas, y necesarias."



and that of Beltrán's epoch due to the factor of time? Languages, we are told, never stand still and when we take into consideration the steady advance of the Spanish language we do well to pause before stating that time is not a great factor in causing these differences. I consider, however, that time has played a relatively small part. Those differences pointed out by Beltrán in his criticism of San Buenaventura's grammar are undoubtedly, due for the most part, to mistakes in the observation of the earlier grammarian.<sup>1</sup> This point will be made clearer in the comments made later on the specific statements of Beltrán, San Buenaventura, and Coronel.<sup>2</sup>

The differences I found in the Maya as now spoken in Yucatan from the forms given by Beltrán are, with some few exceptions, due, it seems to me, to the rigid adherence to the Latin model observed by Beltrán. My points of difference with Beltrán are comparatively few when everything is taken into consideration. The additional data presented here are due to the breaking away from the Latin model and carrying on observations from a different angle of approach.<sup>3</sup> It should be clearly understood that I refer here to

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<sup>1</sup> Beltrán states that some of his criticisms of San Buenaventura are due to the changes of time. He writes as follows (§ 49) "*Para conocer á qué conjugacion pertenece cada verbo, se advierta que estas son cuatro, número á que las redujo el R. P. Fr. Gabriel de S. Buenaventura, Religioso nuestro y Frances de nacion, Protomaestro de este Arte, formando el suyo (que á la Imprenta dió) verdaderamente con gran trabajo y elegancia: regradiable por la conocida utilidad que nos dejó su magisterio; pero como no todo lo pudo andar, nos dejó que advertir algo, y porque los tiempos mudan las cosas, será preciso que haga yo algunas notas cuando sean necesarias.*" This statement is flattering to San Buenaventura and was evidently meant to be so. In the specific objections given throughout Beltrán's text it is clear that he considers San Buenaventura to have made actual mistakes in recording the language. The fact that he states that he was brought up among the natives (§ 148) and that San Buenaventura was a Frenchman brings out clearly his own idea that he was the better fitted to write a Maya grammar.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will note that I have endeavored to point out in footnotes the main points where I differ from the old grammarians on the one hand and modern writers such as Selser, Palma y Palma, and Lopez, on the other.

<sup>3</sup> Brinton (1882, p. 35, 36) writes on this point, "I must, however, not omit to contradict formally an assertion made by the traveller Waldeck, and often repeated, that the language has undergone such extensive changes that what was written a century ago is unintelligible to a native of today. So far is this from the truth that, except for a few obsolete words, the narrative of the Conquest, written more than three hundred years ago, by the chief Pech, which

grammatical structure and not to vocabulary. In the latter respect the change has been far greater.<sup>1</sup>

There remain to be examined the differences due to the locality where the material was collected. There are no data to identify the place where Coronel did his work on Maya. San Buenaventura was connected with the Convent of San Francisco in Merida.<sup>2</sup> The name of the Indian who gave him most of the facts regarding the language is known but we are not aware, as Beltran points out, whether or not this Indian was a native of Merida.<sup>3</sup>

Beltran was at the Convent of San Pedro y San Pablo at Tiab in the former province of San José. This town, now called Teabo, is in the present District of Tekax, about half way between Tekax and Peto. It is very probable that the material for his grammar was collected in this vicinity.<sup>4</sup> A contrast should be made between a practically pure Maya population in towns such as Teabo and a mixed population such as is found at Merida.

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I print in this volume, could be read without much difficulty by any educated native."

<sup>1</sup> See in this connection the discussion of the translation of old Maya texts, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Aprobacion del Br. Juan Gomez Brizeño* in San Buenaventura's grammar, the latter was "*Religioso del Orden del Señor S. Francisco, Definidor habitual Guardian del Convento del Señor S. Francisco de la Ciudad de Merida y Lector en el Idioma Yucatheco.*"

<sup>3</sup> Beltran (§ 50) writes, "*El R. P. fué Autor primero . . . y lo enseñó todo á los Indios de esta Provincia, fué un Indio llamado Kinchahau, y por otro nombre Tzamná. Noticia que debemos á dicho R. F. Gabriel, y trae en su Calepino lit. K. Verb. Kinchahau, fol. 390, vult.; mas no dice como adquirió este Indio tal Idioma: y de aquí se infiere que el Idioma de esta Provincia era otro y muy distinto.*"

<sup>4</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871, p. 23) writes, "*Le père Beltran de Santa-Rosa Maria était natif de Mérida de Yucatan, où il prit, dès sa jeunesse, l'habit de Saint François, Profitant des travaux faits avant lui, et en particulier de ceux du père Gabriel de Saint Bonaventure, il composa sa Grammaire, dans le temps qu'il enseignait la langue maya au monastère principal de San-Benito de sa ville natale, dont les grandes ruines recouvrent aujourd'hui celles de l'antique demeure des pontifes d'Ahchum-Caan.*" There seems little doubt that Brasseur de Bourbourg is mistaken in thinking that Beltran's Grammar was written in Merida. There is published in the grammar the *Censura* of Miguel Leal de Las Alas, *Predicador* of the Province of San José and of Pedro Martin, *Predicador* at Tiab together with the *Licencia* of Juan Esteban Pinelo of the Province of San José. These add weight to the supposition that Beltran wrote his work when he was at the Convent of San Pedro y San Pablo at Tiab, the present Teabo.

Palma y Palma, who collected his material in Merida, writes of the language as spoken in the east, where Beltran lived, as especially given to contractions.<sup>1</sup> The use of contractions marks the main change in the language as recorded here and that used by the Lacandones. It is probable that simple phonetic variations and a difference in the use of the contracted forms alone distinguish the Maya of these two widely separated localities.<sup>2</sup> The changes in the language in the peninsula itself seem to be correspondingly few and consist for the most part, of a favorite use of one or more possible variations in expression. These variations are commonly known by everyone. Slightly different pronunciations of the sounds are to be noted. The language structurally does not seem to differ much in the whole peninsula.

It is possible to sum this question up by saying that, whereas the vocabulary has changed greatly owing to the more extended use of Spanish and the corresponding loss of Maya words, there seem to be comparatively few differences in the fundamental characteristics of the language, the structure remaining practically unchanged as far as can be made out from a comparison of the language as spoken in the early days of the Spanish Conquest and that spoken today in the smaller towns and away from the large centers of population.

*Maya of present time.* As noted in a previous study of the ethnology of the Mayas<sup>3</sup> one very interesting fact comes out in connection with the Maya language of Yucatan, a fact noted by all historians and writers on the inhabitants of the peninsula. The Maya language has withstood with amazing stability the entrance of the Spanish tongue into the country. The language is still an important factor to be taken into consideration when dealing with this people. Maya is the language spoken by the natives in the large cities quite as much as in the thinly populated regions. Even the natives who have a good knowledge of Spanish almost invariably use Maya when conversing with one another and some absolutely

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<sup>1</sup> Palma y Palma (p. 179), "*Uin y iló, son contracciones más usadas en el Oriente constituyendo uno de los distintivos del lenguaje y estilo en aquella parte del país donde vivió largos años de misionero y predicador el P. Beltran 'hasta casi olvidar el castellano,' como él mismo pone en el prólogo de su gramática.*"

<sup>2</sup> For further details in this point, see p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Tozzer, 1907, p. 36.

refuse to speak anything else, clinging to their own tongue with the greatest devotion.<sup>1</sup>

So general is the use of the native tongue in the peninsula that in some places in the small interior towns it is sometimes difficult to find one who can carry on a continued conversation in Spanish although most of the younger generation understand it when spoken. It is curious to note the varying differences in the tenacity of the mother tongue in various parts of Mexico and Central America. In many isolated places throughout the whole region the native languages still continue to be used. But in most cases with close contact the native tongue has given way to Spanish. Contact, however, since the very earliest days of the Conquest has not had this influence on the Maya of Yucatan and this still remains the language of the country.

On many of the large plantations, Maya is spoken exclusively and the *mayordomos* use it invariably in speaking to the natives. The Spanish priests when making their visits through the small towns preach their sermons in Maya.

*Modern Maya Grammars.* I have attempted to give in the Appraisement (Part III) a full discussion of what I consider to be the relative merits of the many writers on the Maya dialect. It is, therefore, only necessary here to say a few words concerning the modern works to which reference is made in the main body of this paper. The grammar of Ruz (1844) is of very slight value. The work of Seler (1887), although based entirely on the early grammars, is the first attempt ever made to explain the structure of the language. The book of Palma y Palma (1901), although following the lines of the older grammarians, contains a great deal of new and valuable material. The grammars of Zavala (1896) and of Pacheco Cruz (1912) should be mentioned here. The best modern grammar is that of Lopez Otero (1914).

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Brinton (1882, p. 27-28) who writes, "It has been observed that foreigners, coming to Yucatan, ignorant of both Spanish and Maya, acquire a conversational knowledge of the latter more readily than of the former." He quotes Garcia y Garcia (1865, p. lxxv) who writes on this point, "*La lengua castellana es mas difficullosa que la Maya para la gente adulta, que no ha mamado con la leche, como lo ha enseñado la experiencia en los extranjeros de distintas naciones, y en los negros bozales que se han radicado en esta provincia, que mas facilmente han aprendido la Maya que la castellana.*"

The late Señor Don Audomaro Molina of Merida, Yucatan, was probably one of the best Maya scholars of the present time. He partially completed the difficult task of revising for publication the Motul dictionary. Unfortunately he published nothing on the language.

One of his pupils, however, Daniel Lopez Otero, notes in his *Gramatica Maya*<sup>1</sup> that he is under obligations to Señor Molina who taught him the greater part of the rules he uses in his work.

Mention should be made of another Maya scholar, Señor Don Juan Martínez Hernández of Merida, who has worked for many years on the Maya language and, more especially, on the Books of Chilam Balam and on Maya chronology. His valuable writings are listed in the Bibliography. I am under deep obligations to him for encouragement in this work and more especially for his willingness to read the proof and to suggest changes in the text of this paper.

All Maya scholars are very greatly indebted to Mr. William Gates of Point Loma, California, through whose energy and acumen large stores of material in the Maya language have been made available to students. Further mention of this work is made in Part III (p. 148-149).

*Provenance of material discussed.* The greater part of the linguistic material used in this study was obtained from Benito Can, a native of Valladolid, a town in northeastern Yucatan. The Spaniards under Montejo founded this city in 1543 upon the site of the native town of Saki. During the early days of the Spanish occupation the city arose to some prominence. It was and is, even to this

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<sup>1</sup> Lopez (1914, p. 5) writes in this connection, "*Tampoco he pretendido conquistar honores que no merezco, sino rendir este humilde recuerdo de gratitud y admiración a mi ilustrado y muy querido maestro, don Audomaro Molina Solis (q. d. D. g.) de quien he aprendido la mayor parte de las reglas que, en esta desaliñada obrita, hallará el indulgente lector que se dignare leerla. Si el Maestro viviera, no me ocuparía en escribir nada acerca de este idioma; pero habiendo fallecido sin haber realizado la noble idea, por él acariciada, de dar a luz una gramática y un diccionario de la lengua maya, y observando que ninguno de sus discípulos ha publicado nada hasta la fecha acerca de este idioma, a fin de que tan sabias como útiles enseñanzas no sean relegadas al olvido, he resuelto publicar en forma gramatical las lecciones que de él he recibido, aumentadas con, algunas reglas tomadas del arte . . . de Beltrán de Santa Rosa María, y otras observaciones que personalmente he tenido ocasión de hacer,*" etc.

day, the farthest point eastward of the country brought under complete Spanish control. The vast territory immediately eastward to the coast is occupied by the "*indios subterráneos*." These wandering bands of Indians have never been wholly conquered by the Mexicans. Valladolid has suffered several attacks and destructions at the hands of these wild tribes and the city is now hardly more than an Indian town.

The language spoken at Valladolid is perhaps more free from outside influence than that used in any other portion of the settled part of the peninsula.

At the time of my four successive seasons in Yucatan, Benito Can was an indented servant upon the Hacienda of Chichen Itza belonging to Mr. E. H. Thompson then American Consul at Progreso, Yucatan. It was while accepting the kind hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Thompson that I did the greater part of my linguistic work.

The investigations into the language were undertaken at several different times covering the whole period of four years. Thus I was able to check up the material often after periods separated by an absence of a year or more.

Benito Can had a strain of Spanish blood in his veins. He had lived all his life, however, in the town of his birth and had had comparatively little contact with the Spanish speaking population. His knowledge of Spanish, however, was adequate for my purpose. He was one of three brothers the other two of whom could not speak a word of Spanish. This man was of rather a higher grade of intelligence than the average Maya. I used several other interpreters to check up the material obtained from Can.

## PHONETICS

**GENERAL CHARACTER.** The phonetic system of the Maya is generally simple. The occurrence of the velar **k** (**q**) and the glottalized or fortis forms of the **t**, **p**, and the two dental surds (**c** and **tš**) give the language a certain harshness when compared with the Nahuatl of the north with its smooth liquid sounds.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Beltrán in his "*Prologo al Lector*" writes, "*Es el Yucateco Idioma garboso en sus dicciones, elegante en sus periodos, y en ambas cosas conciso: pues con pocas palabras y breves sílabas explica á veces profundas sentencias. Y como se acertarán a pronunciar ciertas consonantes, que lo hacen acre, sería muy fácil de*

**CONSONANTS.** The system of consonants includes one velar, two palatals, alveolars, a double set of dentals in both the surd and the fortis, and labials. It is often difficult to distinguish between the sonant **b** and its corresponding surd **p**. It is probable, however, that they are not interchangeable. The following table represents the system of consonants found in the Maya:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral
Velar		q				
Palatal		k		h		
Alveolar		t	t'	s	n	l
Dental		{ c tš	{ t' tš'	š		
Labial	b	p	p'			

In addition to these sounds, **w**, **y**, and **h** sounds occur. I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an **r** sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a doubled vowel:

tin bor-t-ik, or, as usually written, tin boo-t-ik,  
lertl or leetl or letl.

I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list.<sup>1</sup>

There may also be fortis forms for the velar and the palatal surd (**q** and **k**). These are difficult to make out. No differentiation seems to be made between the surd and the fortis in the **k** sounds in the greater number of cases. I have been unable to note any difference in the grammatical structure of the language as a consequence of the failure to differentiate between the surd and the fortis in these two cases. The vocabulary ought naturally to make the distinction if it is present but I have not found it.

The velar **k**, written **q**, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. The palatal **k** is the common English **k**. The

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*aprender por Arte; por carecer, no solo de muchas letras, sino tambien de libros enteros, de los cuales fastidian á un Gramático. ¿Quién creyera, que un idioma muy lato se habia de practicar con expedicion y sin tropiezo: sin tardanza, y con perfeccion sin el admínculo de ocho consonantes? Este es el Idioma ó Lengua Maya; y tan cierto, que carece de las siguientes: d, f, g, j, q, r, s, ll."*

<sup>1</sup> The **r** sound is well recognized in Cakchiquel and Quiche where it is used in place of the **y** in Maya. Palma y Palma (p. 145) uses the **r** in one case, at least, in modern Maya.

palatal spirant (**H**) is an intensified **h** sound and is found only in one place as far as could be made out. The first dental surd, really a **ts**, is written with an inverted **c** (**ɕ**). The second dental surd, **tš**, is pronounced like the first **ch** in church. The fortis forms, called by the early Spanish grammarians "*las letras heridas*," are found in the alveolar, **t'**, the two dentals, **ɕ'** and **tš'** and the labial, **p'**. These are common and are characterized by a forcible expelling of the breath with glottal closure. The dental spirant, **š**, is pronounced like the **sh** in hush. The lateral (**l**) is thick and rather strongly sonant.<sup>1</sup> Long combinations of consonant sounds do not occur.

**VOWELS.** The vowel system is very simple. The vowels all have their continental sounds. There is a long **a** (**ā**) and a short **a** (**ă**), the first pronounced like **a** in father and the second like **a** in hat. There is also some indication of a long **e** (**ē**) like **a** in fate, long **i** (**ī**) like **i** in pique and long **u** (**ū**) like **u** in rule in addition to the ordinary **e**, **i**, and **u**. I did not find a long **o**.<sup>2</sup> The only diphthong is **ai**, written by the early authorities as **ay**.

<sup>1</sup> For the best discussion of the phonetics of the Maya as given in the older authorities, see Beltran, §§ 1-16. See also Lopez, §§ 1-11 and Gates, 1920, p. 611-613.

<sup>2</sup> Perez (1866-1877) speaks of two forms of the vowel although he does not distinguish these forms in his dictionary. Under each of the vowels he describes the two forms. Under "**A**," for example, he writes, "*Esta vocal se pronuncia de dos maneras, una suave que puede ser larga ó breve, y otra fuerte en la que como que se contiene el aliento ó sonido repentinamente al mismo tiempo de emitirlo: como en na, casa y na, madre.*" A question might well be raised here whether he is not speaking of the doubled vowel in each case. It seems from his illustration of **na**, *casa*, and **na**, *madre*, that this is not the case. The **a** in the word for house is short and in that for mother it is long.

Berendt (1869) also gives two forms for each of the vowels but he expressly states that one is long and the other short.

Palma y Palma (p. 137) refers at length to the confusion caused by the different ways of pronouncing the same vowel. He writes (p. 139), "*Aunque de esto hablaré después en lugar más apropiado, bueno es decir siquiera de paso, que las voces monosilábicas mayas, no tienen una cantidad prosódica fija. Unas son extremadamente breves en la emisión, y otras, sin contar con sus diversas inflexiones y acentos que son otros medios de distinción, son más ó menos largas. Por eso no se representan bien siempre doblando las vocales, pues las hay tan largas, que necesitarían tres ó más.*"

In this discussion of long and short vowels, it is significant to observe that the Landa alphabet has three forms for **a**, two for **o** and two for **u**. See in this connection, Palma y Palma, p. 222-239.



*Doubled Vowels.* These are very common in Maya and great care is sometimes needed in distinguishing them as:<sup>1</sup>

<b>kan</b> , snake.	<b>sill</b> , to give, to offer.
<b>kaan</b> , sky.	<b>ton</b> , male sexual member.
<b>be</b> , road.	<b>toon</b> , we.
<b>bee</b> , exclamation of pain.	<b>hun</b> , one.
<b>sil</b> , to tuck up the sleeves.	<b>huun</b> , paper, letter.

NOTATION. It is a matter of no little importance to decide how the various sounds should be written. The table (p. 21), gives the alphabets as used by the modern authors on Maya as well as the letters used by the older Spanish authorities either in their grammars or in their vocabularies. There is a considerable mass of written Maya and material is still being published in Yucatan in this language. The usual modern method follows more or less closely that used by the earlier writers, *c* for our *k*, a *k* for the velar surd (*q*), a barring or doubling of the letters for the "*letras heridas*" or fortis forms, *ch*, *th*, and *pp*. The fortis form of one of the dentals is almost always written *ç*. The inconsistency from a phonetic standpoint of this method is great but the fact that there is a large mass of material already written in this way should be given due consideration before any changes are suggested.

Furthermore, the ease of printing and the necessity for new type if diacritical marks are used are other considerations which

<sup>1</sup> The later Spanish dictionaries often fail to distinguish the difference between a single vowel and the same one doubled. Perez (1866-77), for example, gives *qlq* or *qliq* for blood, *kimil* or *kilmil*, to die. The Motul and Ticul dictionaries, on the other hand, give but one form for each of these words. The early Spanish grammarians make no reference to these double vowels.

Berendt specifically mentions them. In speaking of false diphthongs he writes (1869, p. 4) "In languages of the Maya family they are often formed by a repetition of the same vowel and constitute a remarkable distinction; **kan** is snake and **kaan** is sky in Maya."

Pimentel (1862-1865, v. 2, p. 7; ed. 1874-1875, v. 3, p. 108) writes "*No se observa cargazon de consonantes en yucateco, y si la repeticion de una misma vocal en muchas palabras.*"

<sup>2</sup> *e* and *z* were omitted, probably by mistake, from the list of sounds given by Zavala.

<sup>3</sup> Seler in his first paragraphs writes the sounds as indicated here and in his text he follows the accustomed usage.

<sup>4</sup> *e* and *ch* were omitted by mistake in the 1859 edition of the grammar. They occur in the 1746 edition.

ALPHABETS USED BY VARIOUS AUTHORITIES

Tosser	Gates MS.	Palma y Palma, 1901	Zavala, 1896	Soler, 1887	Stoll, 1884	Brinton, 1882	de Rosny, 1875	Berendt, 1869	Perca, 1866-1877	Brasseur, 1864	Pimentel, 1862-1865	San Francisco Dictionary	Motul Dictionary	Beltran, 1746	San Buenaventura, 1684	Coronel, 1620
a, ã	a	a	a	a	a	a	a, a	ã, ã	a, a	a	a	a	a	a, a	a	a
ai								el[?]								
b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
k	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	k	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
				k	k											
ts	ch	ch	ch	ts <sup>2</sup>	ch	ch	ch	tx	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch <sup>2</sup>	ch	ch
ts'	ch'	ch	ch	chh	ch'	ch	ch'	tx	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch
ê, e	e	e	[e]	e	e	e	e	ê, ê	e, e	e	e	e	e	e <sup>2</sup>	e	e
H	j						h'								h	
h	h	h	h	h	j	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
															j	j
î, i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	î, i	i, i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
				c'	c'		k									
q	k	k	k	k'	k'	k	k'	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ô, ô	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
											p					
p'	p'	p	p	pp	pp	pp	p'	p	pp	pp	pp	pp	pp	pp	pp	pp
															z	
s	s	z	[z]	s	s	z	z	s	z	z	z	z	ç	z	ç	ç
				x												
š	x	x	x	š	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
t'	t'	dt	th	th	tt	th	t'	t	th	th	th	th	th	th	th	th
ç	tz	tz	tz	tz	tz	tz	ts	ts	tz	tz	tz	tz	tz	tz	tz	tz
ç'	tz'	ç	ç	ç	tz'	ç	ç	ts	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç
û, u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	û, ù	u, u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
	v				v			v							v	
w																
y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y

<sup>2</sup> See footnotes 1, 2, and 3 on opposite page.

should be taken into account. If any changes whatsoever are to be made from the older methods it seems to me that these changes should be along well recognized phonetic lines and that they should be consistent.

In adopting what, in some cases, is a new method I have been largely governed by a desire to follow phonetic practices used by other writers on the languages of America, namely, to use a single character for a single sound and to express consistently all sounds made in the same way by a similar notation as, for example, the fortis by an apostrophe after the letter. For purposes of a grammar of the Maya dialect the following changes in notation are used in this paper:<sup>1</sup>

1. The palatal surd is always written **k** rather than **c** as the **c** in Maya is always hard.
2. The velar surd is written **q**, not **k** which is commonly used.
3. The dental spirant is **š**, not **x** or **sh**, as this is a single sound and should be written by a single letter.
4. One of the dental surds is written **tš**, not **ch**, as the sound is really made by a **t** before the dental spirant. **tsh** would be more correct than **ch**.
5. The second dental surd is written **ɔ**, not **tz** or **ts**.
6. The fortis of the alveolar **t**, the dentals **ɔ** and **tš**, and the labial **p** are written with an apostrophe following the letter, **t'**, **ɔ'**, **tš'**, and **p'** respectively rather than **th**, **ɔ**, **ch**, and **pp**.
7. The **s**, written **ç** or **z** by the Spaniards is, of course, a well justified change.
8. **W** is added to the alphabet. This letter is not found in any of the former Maya writings from the fact, no doubt, that there

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<sup>1</sup> In proper names, especially the names of towns, and in the terms given to the divisions of Maya time as shown in the hieroglyphic writing no changes have been made.

I am well aware that these changes in notation will meet with adverse criticism. I do not cherish the hope that my method will be followed by other workers in this field. I have retained the same general system of notation as that used in my previous papers on the Maya language. I have felt that, for purposes of a grammar, it is well to make these changes as, with one exception, the method used here corresponds to that employed by most other writers on American languages. The one exception is the use of the inverted **c** (**ɔ**) which is used by all the ancient Maya authorities. It is employed here, however, for the dental surd and **ɔ'** for the corresponding fortis form.

is no *w* in Spanish. The consonant *w* is clearly different from *u*, a vowel, and should be distinguished from it.

It should be noted that in quoting the Maya of any of the earlier authorities I have used, for the purpose of uniformity, the method of representing the sounds as here given rather than that used by the writers themselves.

**PHONETIC CHANGES.** These do not play an important part in word composition. When the sign expressing past time, *t*, is used with the nominal pronoun of the 1st person plural, *k*, in both the inclusive and exclusive forms, the *k* is lost and the *t* becomes a fortis:

*t-k-putš-ah* becomes *t'-putš-ah*.

In much the same way, when two *k* sounds come together they usually combine into the velar:

*ɔ'ok-k putš-ah* becomes *ɔ'oq putš-ah*.<sup>1</sup>

*Syncope, Synalephe, and Apocope.*<sup>2</sup> Contraction by syncope, synalephe, and apocope occur very frequently. As in English, so in Maya, both the contracted and uncontracted forms are in good use. When a native is dictating texts, he is much more inclined to use the uncontracted forms; whereas, in everyday speech, he usually employs the contracted forms.

Syncope is noted in the following places:

1. The transitive verb with a pronominal object may lose the

<sup>1</sup> This root is more commonly written *putš'*, to pound, to bruise, to grind something: *despachurrar*, *machucar*, *moler*, etc. *Putš'tuntik*, *despachurrar con piedra*, *matar apedreando con las grandes*.

<sup>2</sup> Beltran (§§ 129-147) gives ten rules for these changes. He writes, "*Porque en este idioma no se habla en todo como se escribe, ni se pronuncian muchas voces conforme lo piden las reglas (y es lo que causa, que algunos que lo hablan parezcan forasteros ó se juzgue que no pronuncian como deben; siendo así, que hablan segun las reglas del arte) se advierta que es tan necesario el uso de las sinalefas y sincopas, que sin hipóbole se puede afirmar, que todo el ser y hermosura de esta lengua es el uso de ellas y la parte mas principal del arte es su explicacion.*" And again (§ 135), "*La sincopa no es otra cosa, que comerle á algun vocablo alguna sílaba, ó letra vocal ó consonante. Y esta figura agracia tanto al idioma Maya que sin ella parece que sus vocablos se hacen extraños, poco agradables y en su cadencia feos. En tanta manera, que puedo sin temeridad decir que casi la mitad de sus vocablos se sincopan ó son sincopables.*"

i of the ending **-ik** in the present and the **a** of the ending **-ah** in the past:

**tan-in putš-ik-etš** becomes **tin putš-k-etš**<sup>1</sup>

**t-in kambe-s-ah-etš** becomes **tin kambe-s-h-etš**.

2. The same vowels (i and a) of the temporal endings of the transitive verb are lost when the reflexive form of the pronoun is used:

**tin han-t-ik-im-ba** becomes **tin han-t-k-im-ba**

**tin han-t-ah-im-ba** becomes **tin han-t-h-im-ba**

3. All polysyllabic transitive verbs lose the vowel of the temporal endings before the **-eš** of the 2d person plural and **-ob** of the 3d person plural:<sup>2</sup>

**tun yakun-t-ik-eš** becomes **tun yakun-t-k-eš**.

**tun yakun-t-ik-ob** becomes **tun yakun-t-k-ob**.

4. Verbs using the suffixes **-al**, **-el**, **-il**, **-ol**, **-ul** lose the vowel of the suffix in the present and the future of the intransitive:

**nak-al-in-kah** becomes **nak-l-in-kah**.

**he-in han-al-e** becomes **hēn han-l-e**.

The verbs in **-tal**, following a final consonant in the stem, do not follow this rule.

5. In the future of the intransitive with **bin** and the suffix **-āk**, the **ā** of the suffix is lost:<sup>3</sup>

**bin han-āk-en** becomes **bin han-k-en**.

When the stem ends in **k** the whole suffix is lost:

**bin nak-āk-en** becomes **bin nak-en**.

6. In words of two syllables containing two similar vowels, the second vowel is lost when:

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 140) gives an example of syncope;

**ten kambe-s-ik-etš** becoming **ten kambe-s-etš**.

This seems to me to be incorrect as the contracted form has lost the **k**, the sign of the present. His second example;

**teeš kambe-s-ik-on** becoming **teeš kambe-s-k-on**,

correct as it retains the **k**.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Lopez, § 166.

<sup>3</sup> Lopez (§ 165) gives the following:

**bin taketš** for **bin talaketš**.

(a) the plural sign is used:

**taman-ob** becomes **tamn-ob**.

(b) the verbal pronoun is used:

**winik-en** becomes **wink-en**.

(c) the demonstrative pronoun is used:

**lê-winik-a** becomes **lê-wink-a**.

7. When a vowel suffix is added to a stem ending in **l**, the vowel of the stem is sometimes lost:

**tel-o** becomes **tl-o**.

Synalephe is much less common than syncope. It is noted in the following places:

1. Time particles of the present, past, and future attached to the nominal pronoun:

Present, **tan-in** becomes **tin**.

**tan-a** becomes **tan**, etc.

Past, **ti-in** becomes **tin**.

**ti-a** becomes **ta**, etc.

**ɔ'ok-in** becomes **ɔ'in**.

**ɔ'ok-a** becomes **ɔ'a**, etc.

Future, **he-in** becomes **hên**.

**he-a** becomes **ha**, etc.

2. The negative **ma** and the nominal pronoun:

**ma-in** becomes **min**.

3. **Ti** and some other prepositions and the nominal pronoun: <sup>1</sup>

**ti-in watotš** becomes **tin watotš**.

Apocope. This is not uncommon in everyday speech. Among the places where it may be found, the following are to be noted:

1. The final **-e**, the sign of the future of the transitive with **bin**, is sometimes lost when followed by a noun:

**bin in han-t-e wa** becomes **bin in han-t wa**.

2. The final **-e** of the future is usually lost when the form in **bin** takes a pronominal object:

**bin in yakun-t-e-etš** becomes **bin in yakun-t-etš**.

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<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§§ 132, 133) makes a distinction in the contraction of **ti** meaning "in" and **ti** meaning "to or for." Compare also Lopez, § 164.

3. The final **-e**, the sign of the imperative with transitive verbs, is lost when followed by a pronoun or a particle beginning with a vowel:

**oik-e a-yum** becomes **oik a-yum**.

4. The final **-l** of the suffix **-il** is lost when an adverb or negative is used:

**ma sak-en-i** for **ma sak-en-il**.

*Vocalic harmony.* This is observed in many different sets of suffixes especially those in **-l**, the vowel of the suffix agreeing with that of the stem:

**han-al**, **wen-el**, **tip'-il**, **top-ol**, **qutš-ul**.

There seems, however, to be a strong tendency to prefer the suffix **-al** even when the vowel of the stem is not **a**.

*Avoidance of hiatus.* In certain suffixes beginning with a vowel, when the stem ends in a vowel, the hiatus is sometimes avoided by adding a **b** sound. This is seen in some cases in the plural suffix **-ob** in which case there may be a certain harmony between the consonant of the suffix and the consonant added.

An **h** sound is also sometimes added in order to avoid an hiatus between two vowel sounds:

**meya-h-en**, I am a workman.

This should not be confused with the **hi**, the sign of the past:

**meya-hi-en**, I was a workman.

*Semi-vowels.* These are added both to nominal and verbal stems beginning with a vowel. Whatever the previous history of these sounds may have been they now show a syntactic relation as we find the change of **w** and **y** made, not according to the initial vowel, but rather in relation to the person of the verb or of the nominal pronoun.

Root, **al**, to see.

**tin w-al-ik**, I see it (contraction of **tan-in w-al-ik**).

**tan w-al-ik**, you see it (contraction of **tan a-w-al-ik**).

**tun y-al-ik**, he sees it (contracted to **t-i-al-ik**).

**tank al-ik**, we see it.

**tan wal-ik-eš**, you see it.

**tun y-al-ik-ob**, they see it (contracted to **t-i-al-ik-ob**).

It will be noted that *w* is added in the first person singular and the second person singular and plural and *y* in the third person singular and plural. No vowel is added in the first person plural.

*Lacandone Dialect.* Certain simple phonetic changes and a less extended use of contraction alone distinguish the dialect spoken by the Lacandones from that used by the Mayas of Yucatan. Final *l* in stems appears as *n* in the Lacandone, *wen-el* changing to *wen-en*. Certain stems with final *n* in the Maya change to *m* in the dialect of the Lacandone. The great distinguishing mark, however, between the Maya as spoken around Valladolid, Yucatan, and that spoken in Chiapas is the frequent use of contraction among the people in the former territory. Forms which one is unable to analyze among the Mayas appear separated into their component parts in the dialect spoken by the Lacandones. This is especially to be noted in the time particles used with the nominal pronoun. I shall limit myself hereafter entirely to the language used in Yucatan, leaving it to be understood that that spoken by the Lacandones is essentially the same with the exceptions which have just been noted.

**CHARACTER OF STEM.** Stems are almost entirely monosyllabic and consist normally of consonant, vowel, consonant. Several are made up only of vowel and consonant, and a smaller number of consonant and vowel.

**ACCENT.** This is not marked. It is in part dependent upon the length of the vowel. Contracted syllables usually seem to have greater stress of voice laid upon them. In spite of some authorities to the contrary, there seem to be few cases where a difference in accent occasions a difference in the meaning of the form.<sup>1</sup>

The accent in all the Lacandone chants is much more noticeable than in the ordinary speech. There is often a definite rhythm and in the slow chants this is very marked.<sup>2</sup> Syllables composed of the

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<sup>1</sup> I was unable to find the distinction in accent made by Beltran (§ 98) between the infinitive of certain verbs in *-l* and the past participle;

*lub-úl*, to fall and *lúb-ul*, a thing fallen.

*lik-fl*, to raise and *lík-il*, a thing raised.

<sup>2</sup> Tozzer, 1907, p. 131 and Chant no. 17.



vowel *i* or *ki* are often added at the end of words to fill out a certain measure. These added sounds seem to affect the meaning in no way.<sup>1</sup> The rhythm is very irregular and it is impossible to ascertain the general scheme of long and short syllables.

### GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

#### ENUMERATION.

1. Word composition.
2. Affixes.
  - (a) Prefix.
  - (b) Suffix.
3. Reduplication.
4. Word order.

**WORD COMPOSITION.** An idea is expressed in Maya either by a single stem, usually monosyllabic, to which one or more particles are affixed, or by the juxtaposition of two stems modified and restricted by one or more prefixes, suffixes, or both. In the latter case each stem remains phonetically a unit and each is separated from the other by an hiatus. Grammatically, however, there is a unity existing between the two. The most important case of word composition is that of the transitive verb with its object. So strong is this unity that the action of the verb as related to its specific object is taken as a whole and is considered as intransitive in sense and thus follows the intransitive in form. It is possible to join all transitive verbs with their objects in this way but only those expressing some common and natural act in relation to the object are usually found in the intransitive form as owe-money, chop-wood, etc.

**AFFIXES.** These are very common in Maya and are used to express practically all the grammatical ideas. Phonetically there is much closer unity between the root and its affixes than between two juxtaposed roots. In the former case certain phonetic changes

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<sup>1</sup> Compare in this connection Palma y Palma (p. 144) who writes, "*No obstante, las partículas compositivas que no modifican el sentido, son muchísimas, las cuales, efectivamente, sólo contribuyen á la variedad de las formas de la expresión constituyendo así, como el indicado padre Beltrán dice, 'partículas adornativas' que facilitan giros de estilo de que resulta un lenguaje elegante y artístico cuando se habla bien el idioma.*"

tend to strengthen this unity. An intimate relation is also brought about in some cases between the suffix and the stem by vocalic harmony. It is often difficult to draw a line between true word composition and prefixing and suffixing. I have placed under Composition all forms made up of words which can stand alone and thus can be considered as true words in contrast to the affixes which cannot appear alone. There are, no doubt, many of the latter which were once words. **Tan**, for example, which is given here as a particle is shown by Perez to be an impersonal verb.

**REDUPLICATION.** This is not especially common in Maya and is found only in a limited number of cases.

**WORD ORDER.** This does not play a great part in expressing syntactical relations.

### IDEAS EXPRESSED BY THE GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

**WORD COMPOSITION.** This is employed in the following forms:

1. *Habitual action.* When a verb and its object expresses this idea the two form a unit and the form becomes intransitive in the past tense:

**šo[t]-tše-n-ah-en**, I cut wood.

This is composed of the root, **šot**, to cut, and **tše**, wood. The idea of cutting wood is regarded as a verb in itself.

2. *Agent.* This is sometimes expressed by word composition in addition to the usual sign for the agent, **t**.

**tin tak-ok-t-ik**, I am bending something with my foot (**ok**).

3. *Gender.* In names of animals and, in a few cases, in other nouns:

**šibal ke**, male deer.

**tš'upul ke**, female deer.

4. *Indefinite time in the future.* This is expressed by the root of the verb **binel**, "to go," in both the intransitive and transitive verb:

**bin nak-äk-en**, I am going to climb.

**bin a hant wa-e**, you are going to eat the tortilla.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This also shows a form of word composition as the object is inserted between the root of the verb and the sign of the future, **-e**.

5. *Action just completed.* This is shown by the root **ɔ'ok**, to finish:

**ɔ'a putš-h-en** (ɔ'ok-a putš-ah-en), you have just finished hitting me.

6. *Optative.* This is made by the root of the verb **qat**, to desire.  
in **qat bin** (el), I desire to go, I may go.

THE SUFFIX. This is found to express the following relations and ideas:

1. *Plurality.* In most nouns, the 3d person of the nominal pronoun, and in some adjectives, by **-ob**:

**na**, house, **na-ob**, houses.

**u-na**, his house, **u-na-ob**, their house or his houses.

2. *Plurality.* In the 2d person of the nominal pronoun by **-eš**:

**a-na**, your house, **a-na-eš**, your (more than one) house.

3. *Plurality in some adjectives.* By **-āk**:

**kan-āk tšupal-al**, tall girls.

4. *Plurality in some nouns.* By **-al**.

**tšupal**, a girl.

**tšupal-al**, girls.

5. *Exclusion of the person spoken to.* In nominal pronoun by **-on** for dual and **-on-eš** for plural:

**k-na-on**, our (his and my house).

**k-na-on-eš**, our (their and my house).

6. *Inclusion of person spoken to.* In plural by **-eš**:

**k-na-eš**, our (your and my) house.

7. *Verbal pronoun.* **-en**, **-etš**, etc., when used as subject or object of verbs and as the auxiliary, to be:

**putš-en**, I hit, I am a hitter.

**tan putš-ik-en**, you are hitting me.

**winik-en**, I am a man.

8. *Demonstrative pronoun.* **-a**, **-o**, and **-u** with the prefix **lě-**:

**lě winik-a**, this man here.

**lě winik-o**, that man there.

**lě winik-e**, that man at a distance.

9. *Reflexive pronoun.* By **-ba**:

**tin putš-im-ba** (putš-ik-in-ba) I am hitting myself.

10. *Abstract nouns.* By -il:  
kohan-il, sickness.
11. *Collective nouns.* By -il:  
u-yooɔil-il, the poor.
12. *Attributive relationship.* By -il:  
u tunitš-il qaɔ, the stone of the fire.
13. *Gentilitious relationship.* By -il:  
Ho-il, a Meridano.
14. *Habituality.* By -tal:  
kohan-tal, a sickly man.
15. *Comparative degree.* By -il:  
uɔ na, a good house.  
uɔ-il na, a better house.
16. *Present time in transitive verb.* By -ik:  
tin ɔ'on-ik, I am shooting something.
17. *Present time in intransitive verb of motion.* By -kah:  
nak-l-in-kah (nak-al-in-kah) I am climbing.
18. *Future time in intransitive and transitive verbs.* By -e:  
hən ɔ'on-e, I shall shoot.  
hən ɔ'on-ik-e, I shall shoot something.
19. *Future time in verbs of Class IV.* By -tšal or -tal:  
hən winlk-tšal-e, I shall become a man.
20. *Indefinite future in intransitive verbs.* By äk with stem bin:  
bin nak-äk-en, I am going to climb.
21. *Past time in intransitive and transitive verbs of Classes II, III; IV.* By -ah or h:  
tin ɔ'on-ah, I shot something.  
tšl-l-ah-en (tšl-tal-ah-en) I lay down.  
ɔ'on-(n) ah-en, I shot.  
keel-h-en, I was cold.
22. *Distant past in transitive verb.* By ma-ah:  
tin putš-m-ah, I hit something a long time ago.
23. *Causal verbs (Class I b).* By s:  
tin kim-s-ik, I kill something, I cause something to die.

24. *Agent (Class III b).* By **t**:  
 tin mis-t-ik, I am sweeping or I do something with a broom.
25. *Effect of action of verb on subject.* In some cases this serves to express a passive relationship. By **-al, -el, -il, -ol, -ul**:  
 tin lub-ul, I am falling or my being affected by a fall.
26. *Passive relationship, past tense.* By **b** or **n**:  
 naɔ-s-ah-b-en, I was approached.  
 ɔ'on-ah-n-en, I was shot.
27. *Imperative.* Intransitive by **-en**, transitive by **-e**:  
 ɔ'on-en, shoot!  
 ɔ'on-e, shoot something!
28. *Inchoative or Inceptive verbs and verbs of Class II.* By **-tal** or **-hal**:  
 tin winik-tal, I am becoming a man.
29. *Reflexive verbs.* By **-pahal**:  
 tun tšun-pahal, it begins itself.
30. *Adverbs.* When the verbal pronoun is used and the adverb precedes the verb, the verb takes the suffix **-il**:  
 tšitš šimbal-n-ah-il-en, I walked rapidly.
31. *Manner of action.* When this is expressed by prefix **bě**, thus, the verbal form takes **-il**, and the demonstrative suffixes **-a, -e, or -o**:  
 bě tal-il-en-a, in this way, I came.
32. *Numeral classifiers* (see p. 103).
- THE PREFIX. This is found to express the following relations and ideas:
1. *Gender of the "Nomen actoris."* **H-** for male, **š-** for female:  
**H-men**, a shaman, literally, one who knows.  
**š-men**, a female shaman.
  2. *Time, attached to the nominal pronoun.* **tan** for present, **t** for past, and **he** for future:  
**tan-in** (tin) ɔ'on-ik, I am shooting something.  
**t-in** ɔ'on-ah, I shot something.  
**hēn** (he-in) ɔ'on-ik-e, I shall shoot something.
  3. *Time, used with the intransitive verb in the past.* By **t**:  
**t-putš-en**, I hit or performed the act of hitting.

4. *Nominal pronoun.* When used as subject of the verb or as the possessive:

*tin* (tan-in) *putš-ik*, I am hitting something.

*Juan*, *u huun*, John, his book.

5. *The semi-vowels.* When used with the nominal pronoun with vowel stems. These have a phonetic and syntactical history (p. 26):

6. *Demonstrative.* *lě-* with the suffixes *-a*, *-o*, *-e*:

*lě-winik-a*, this man here.

7. *Relative relationship.* By *lik* or *likil*:

*likil in wen-el* the object in which I sleep, my hammock.

8. *Adverbial relationships.* Such as those indicating repetition with *ka*, totality with *la*, and a large number of others:

*tin ka-bin*, I come again.

*tin la-wuk-ik*, I am drinking all of it.

9. *Manner or state.* By *bě* and the suffix *-il* with the demonstratives *-a*, *-e*, *-o*:

*bě-tal-il-en-o*, in that way, I came.

10. *Direction of motion.* *pai*, motion towards, *pilis*, motion away, etc.:

*tin-pai-bala-ok-t-ik*, I am rolling something towards me with the foot.

11. *Negative.* By *ma*:

*m-in* (ma-in) *qat*, I do not wish to.

12. *Prepositions* (see p. 107).

*t-in na*, in my house.

*yoqol in na*, above my house.

REDUPLICATION. This is syllabic in form. The process seems to have no effect upon the vowel of the stem. It is employed to express the following relations and ideas:

1. *Distant past in the intransitive verb:*

*šimbal-n-ah-ah-n-en*, I ran a long time ago.

2. *Iterative or frequentative verbs:*

*tin bi-bi qab*, I tap with my fingers frequently.

3. *Plural with some adjectives:*

*ta-taš be-ob*, smooth roads.

4. *Plural with some participles:*<sup>1</sup>

tšak, to cut with a blow.

tšak-an, a thing cut.

tšak-an-tšak, things cut.

5. *Diminutive with nouns and adjectives:*<sup>2</sup>

kah, pueblo.

ka-kah, small pueblos.

sak, white.

sa-sak, medio blanco.

noh or nohotš, great.

no-noh or no-nohotš, grandecillo.

WORD ORDER. In general the word order does not differ greatly from that in English. The Maya, as spoken at the present time, generally follows the word order of Spanish. One exception to this rule is to be noted, namely, the subject of the verb when expressed by a noun follows the verb:<sup>3</sup>

u kim-s-ah Juan Pedro, Peter killed John.

u luum kah-l-ik in yum, good is the land in which my father lives.

## SYNTAX

## THE NOUN

FUNDAMENTAL PLACE IN LANGUAGE. The noun should be considered first as it plays a far greater part in the development of the language than has been supposed in the past. The important place has always been given to the verb.<sup>4</sup> It is not true to say that all verbs were originally nouns but the relation between the verb and the noun is very intimate. There are a far greater number of verbs made directly from nouns than there are nouns from verbs.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Seler, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Beltran (§ 128) writes, "*Pero se ha de notar tambien, que no siempre esta reduplicacion significa el frecuente ejercicio del verbo ó nombre, porque á veces con ella se minora su significacion, v.g.: tš'uhuk, lo dulce, tš'utš'uhuk, lo que no está dulce, tš'otš', lo salado, tš'otš'otš', lo poco salado: tšokow, lo caliente, tšotšokow, lo poco caliente ó lo tibio. Ay otros vocablos que aunque tienen reduplicacion no son frequentativos, porque ab origine se pusieron para significar aquella cosa sin frecuencia, v.g.: ɔ'uo'uki, lo blando, tšatšak, lo encarnado, sasak, lo blanco &c.*"

For other forms using reduplication, see Palma y Palma, p. 150-156.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Seler, p. 89, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Seler writes (p. 66) "*denn der Kern der ganzen Sprache (el blanco de este idioma) liegt, wie der Grammatiker Beltran mit Recht bemerkt, in dem Verbum. Wer das Verbum versteht, versteht die Sprache.*"

<sup>5</sup> Seler (p. 89) explains all transitive verbs with objects as "nominal themes of passive significance."

Stems which seem to occupy this half-way position have been called neutral (Class III):

From *loš*, fist, *tin (tan-in) loš-ik*, I am hitting something with my fist, literally, present time my fisting it (present time).

The essentially nominal character of the Maya is seen not only in the verbal stems made directly from nouns but also in words denoting action or state and the effect of this action or state on the subject (Class I). This class of verbs are really predicated nouns. The objective pronoun often conveys the verbal idea.

Directly from nouns we have:

From *mis*, a broom; *mis-en*, I am a sweeper, literally a broomer; *mis-n-ah-en*, I was a sweeper, or I swept.

From *o'ib*, writing; *o'ib-en*, I am a writer.

From verbs of action or state,

From *kiml*, death; *tin kim-il*, I am dying, or my being affected by death; *tin kim-s-ik*, I am causing something to die, or my killing something; *kim-en*, I died; *tin kim-s-il*, I am being caused to die, or my being killed.

**Kim-il** is the stem of the intransitive, present, passive relationship, **kim-s-il** of the intransitive, present, passive, and **kim-en**, the past of the intransitive, active, with the verbal pronoun. As will be pointed out later (p. 64), the distinction made in Spanish between the active and passive voices is not found in Maya.

Another feature of the nominal character of Maya is seen in the fact that the nominal pronoun used with predicative verbal expressions is fundamentally a nominal expression showing possessive relationship: <sup>1</sup>

*tin mis-t-ik*, I am sweeping, literally, my brooming something.

**INCORPORATION IN VERB.** A noun, the object of a transitive verb, may become incorporated in the verb and the unity of the two made so close that the verb passes from the form of the transitive with its object to an intransitive in form. This is found especially in words whose meanings express some habitual action as chop-wood, carry-water, spend-money, etc:

*tin tša-ik ha*, I am carrying water, less common, *tša-ha-in-ka*,

*tin tša-ah ha* or *tša-ha-n-ah-en*, I carried water.

*hën tša-ik ha-e* or *bin tša-ha-n-äk-en*, I shall carry water.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Seler, p. 66.



The transitive form is usually found in the present and future tenses and the intransitive in the past.<sup>1</sup>

*Incorporation to express the agent.* Another type of incorporation is seen when the noun is used to denote the agent by which the action of the verb is accomplished:<sup>2</sup>

**tin pai-bala-ok-t-ik**, I am rolling something towards me with the foot (**ok**).

**tin wuo'-tše-t-ik**, I am bending something with a stick (**tše**).

**tin wop-tunitš-t-ik**, I am breaking something with a stone (**tunitš**).

**CLASSIFICATION.** There is no classification of nouns with the exception of those used with numerals where there is a broad division of those animate and inanimate together with many minor classes (p. 103).

**ABSTRACT NOUNS.** These are made by adding the suffix **-il** to the stem:<sup>3</sup>

**kohan-il**, sickness.

**kimako-il**, happiness.

**noh-il**, greatness.

**COLLECTIVE NOUNS.** There is a class of collective nouns made from the preceding abstract forms by prefixing the possessive pronoun of the 3d person singular. The root in **-il** is used when verbs are thus used:

**u-kohan-il**, the sick.

**u-y-ooil-il**, the poor.

**u-kim[i]l-il**, the dead.

**GENDER.** No gender is expressed with one exception. In the "*nomen actoris*" male and female are shown by the prefixes **H**, for male, and **š**, for female.<sup>4</sup> The palatal spirant is rather difficult to pronounce correctly. It is a weak breathing and, in many cases,

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 58) notes the incorporation of the object in this form and also the fact that the form is made intransitive in the past tense. He finds fault with San Buenaventura who (fol. 6 ob.) makes the past in **ni** (3d person) and not in **n-ah**.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Palma y Palma (p. 324) who writes, "*Hay verbos que á más del acto, expresan el objeto con que se lleva á cabo*":

**maš-tun-te**, machácalo con piedra.

**peo'-tun-te**, apésgalo con piedra.

**peo'-qab-te**, apésgalo con la mano.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Seler, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Beltran (§ 23) gives the particles as **ah** and **iš** (**ix**) but he adds that the

passes almost unobserved. It is the only case where this sound is found:

**H-men**, the shaman, literally, one who knows.

**š-men**, the female shaman.

**H-ooqot**, the male dancer.

**š-ooqot**, the female dancer.

Gender is also shown, especially in the names of animals, by word composition using the words **šibil**, male, and **tš'upul**, female. These forms are also used in some cases with words denoting human beings: <sup>1</sup>

**šibil-pal**, boy.

**tš'upul-pal**, girl.

**NUMBER.** The singular and plural alone are found in the noun. The plural ending is usually **-ob** as seen in the third person of the verb:

**na**, house.

**na-ob**, houses.

When a noun ends in **-al**, plurality is shown by a duplication of the last syllable:

**tš'upal**, girl.

**tš'upal-al**, contracted to **tš'upl-al**, girls.

The usual plural ending, **-ob** may be used in these forms in addition to the **-al**: <sup>2</sup>

**tš'upal-al-ob**.

**CASE.** There is no case expressed with nouns. <sup>3</sup>

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more elegant (*mas garbosamente*) forms are **h** and **š** (**x**). San Buenaventura and Coronel do not mention the feminine prefix **š**. Compare Seler, p. 100.

Palma y Palma (p. 221) finds fault with Beltran for calling these particles "*artículos*." He writes (p. 221) "*No determinan nunca equivaliendo á el, un; de modo que si se les quiere llamar artículos por darles algún nombre como las demás partes de la oración, son artículos sui géneris cuyo oficio apenas se asemeja en algo al de los castellanos.*"

<sup>1</sup> I failed to find the form in **-ton** given by Lopez (§ 27) to indicate the masculine sex of animals;

**ton wakaš**, the bull.

**ton peq**, the dog.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§ 23) does not recognize the uncontracted form except when the regular plural ending, **ob**, is used in addition to **-al**.

<sup>3</sup> Beltran (§ 18) states that there is no sign for the nominative and accusative. He gives the genitive of possession as **u** but this is really the possessive pronoun, 3d person. He gives a dative in **ti** or **tial**, a vocative in **é**, or **bee**, and ablatives in **oqlal**, **men** or **menel**, **ti**, and **yetel**. These are not true cases as the dative, vocative, and ablative relations are expressed by prepositional particles.

The different relationships such as instrument, location, etc. are expressed by adverbial prepositions. The phonetic connection between these suffixes and the words they modify is weak. They are considered under prepositions (p. 107). The indirect object is sometimes expressed by the particle *t*:

*tin wal-ah-t-etś*, I told something to you. .

**ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP.** This is expressed by means of the suffix *-il*:<sup>1</sup>

*u tunitś-il qaq*, the stone of the fire, or, the fire, its stone.

*u ɔ'on-il ke*, the gun for deer.

*u na-il winik*, the house for the men.

*u ha-il ɔ'onot*, the water of the cenote.

**GENTILITIOUS RELATIONSHIP.** This is shown by the suffix *-il*:

*Ho-il*, a Meridano, a man from Merida (*Ho*).

*Saki-il*, *Sak-il*, a man from Valladolid (*Saki*).

**HABITUALITY.** Nouns denoting accustomed condition or state are made from other nouns by means of the suffix *-tal*. There is some reason to believe that this *-tal* is the same suffix as that seen in verbs of Class II and seen again in the inchoative verb:

*kohan*, a sick man, *kohan-tal*, a sickly man.

*kalan*, a drunken man, *kalan-tal*, a drunkard.

**DIMINUTIVES.** This idea in nouns and adjectives may be expressed by reduplication:

*kah*, pueblo.

*ka-kah*, small pueblo.

A more common form of diminutives with nouns is the use of the adjective *tśan*, little;<sup>2</sup>

*tśan peq*, small dog.

### THE PRONOUN<sup>3</sup>

The pronominal forms are added directly to the root-stem. They do not lose their identity when thus added but they are often

<sup>1</sup> Compare Seler (p. 78, 113) where he considers the attributive relationship with adjective forms and also with nouns.

San Buenaventura (fol. 28 ob.) mentions this use of *-il* as follows; "*no propia de persona, sino que por razon de algun oficio se apropia la cosa.*"

<sup>2</sup> Compare Palma y Palma, p. 161-162.

<sup>3</sup> A portion of the material contained in this section was published as "Some notes on the Maya Pronoun" in Boas Anniversary Volume, New York, 1906, p. 85-88.

phonetically changed. The pronouns do not occur as individual words with one exception (p. 42).

**FORMS OF THE PRONOUN.** There are two forms of the pronoun, the real pronoun called "verbal" and used as a suffix and the possessive pronoun called "nominal" and used as a prefix. These forms are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Verbal Pronoun</i>	<i>Nominal Pronoun</i>
1st person,	-en	in-
2d person,	-etš	a-
3d person,	---(1)	u-
<i>Dual</i>		
1st person, inclusive,	-on	k-
exclusive,	-on	k- -on
<i>Plural</i>		
1st person, inclusive,	-oneš	k- -eš
exclusive,	-oneš	k- -oneš
2d person,	-eš	a- -eš
3d person,	-ob	u- -ob

**DISTINCTIVE FEATURES.** The Maya pronoun presents some distinctive features. Among these is the use of two different sets of pronouns for active or transitive verbs and neutral or intransitive

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§§ 32-47) gives the following pronouns:

1. <i>Demonstrative</i>	2. <i>Demonstrative</i>	3. <i>Mixed</i>
ten toon	en on	in ka
tetš te- -eš	etš eš	a a- -eš
lai lo- -ob	lailo ob	u u- -ob
4. <i>Mixed with vowel stems</i>	5. <i>Reciprocal</i>	
w ka	inba kaba	
aw aw- -eš	aba aba- -eš	
y y- -ob	uba uba- -ob	

It will be seen that these five narrow down to the two given here, the two Demonstratives being the verbal pronoun and the verbal pronoun compounded with t, the two Mixed being the nominal pronoun with consonant and vowel stems and the Reciprocal being the nominal compounded with ba. He makes a distinction (§ 61) in the nominal pronoun in the 3d person singular between that used in the present tense where he uses *lai* and in the preterit and future where he has the usual form, *u*;

*lai kambesik*  
*u kambesah*  
*bin u kambes*

I see no reason for this change which he calls "*mi nueva correccion*."

forms. There is an irregularity of usage of the two sets of pronouns dependent, in many cases, upon tense. Another uncommon feature is the association of forms characterizing different types of verbs.

**NUMBER.** In both pronouns there is a singular, dual, and plural.<sup>1</sup> In actual conversation the distinction between the dual and plural is very seldom made.

When the verbal pronoun is used as an object there is no form to express the 3d person singular. When this form is used as the subject of an intransitive verb in the past tenses an *i* is used to express the 3d person.

**kim-en**, I died.

**kim-i**, he died.

A demonstrative (*leti* or *leeti*) is sometimes used when special emphasis is laid upon the 3d person.<sup>2</sup>

**PERSONS EXPRESSED.** In the nominal pronoun all three persons are expressed. The inclusive and exclusive forms of the dual and plural of the verbal pronoun are not differentiated whereas in the nominal pronoun there are different forms marking the inclusion or the exclusion of the person addressed: — *we*, meaning you and I, or *we*, meaning he and I. As in the case with the dual and plural the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive forms is made very seldom in actual conversation.<sup>3</sup>

It will be noted that in the plural of the nominal pronoun both a prefix and a suffix are used and that the second and third persons plural have the same form prefixed as that of the singular with the

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§§ 225–227) notes the dual and plural forms in only two cases, and he does not fail to mention the difference between the forms of the verbal pronoun in *-on* and the *-oneš* as seen in **koon**, come (dual) and **koonēš**, come (plural). There may also be a distinction between the dual and plural of the second person as shown by his forms **koš** (*cox*) for the dual and **košeš** (*coxex*) for the plural.

<sup>2</sup> The early Spanish grammars have *lai* for the demonstrative of the 3d person. Palma y Palma (p. 209, 210) has the form *leti*. He considers this the pronoun of the 3d person which contracts to *i* in some cases;

**nak leti** or **nak-i** he ascended.

Lopez (§ 49) has *lai*, *lei* or *leti*, *laiob*, *letlob* or *leobti* for the 3d person, singular and plural.

<sup>3</sup> The Huasteca has the inclusive and exclusive forms for the nominal pronoun. These forms undoubtedly exist in many of the other dialects of the Maya stock.

addition of the suffix, *-eš* for the second person and *-ob* for the third person. The *-eš* is also used alone in the second person plural of the verbal and is found in the first person plural compounded with *-on*, the regular verbal pronoun for the first person, dual and plural.

There is no way to make clear without the use of the demonstrative the distinction in the pronoun between a singular subject with a plural object and a plural subject with a singular object, as "he hit them" and "they hit him."

**PRONOUN WITH VOWEL STEMS.** When the root or stem begins with a vowel a semi-vowel is infixed between the nominal pronoun and the stem with the exception of the first person plural. This vowel is *w* in the first person singular and the second person singular and plural and *y* in the third person singular and plural. These vowels, when they occur here, may have had a phonetic origin but a syntactic relation is shown at the present time by the fact that the *w* changes to *y* in the third person.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coronel and the other early grammarians give special forms for the pronoun when used with vowel stems. These forms agree in the main with those found at the present time. It should be noted that the form for the first person plural does not differ from the same form used with consonant stems, thus agreeing with Beltran in saying that no semi-vowel is added in the first person plural. The distinction made by them between the first and second person singular by the use of the regular form of the pronoun for the second person and the semi-vowel alone in the first person is probably incorrect as I found the pronoun of the first person singular (*in*) always retained and used with the semi-vowel, *w*. These points are made clear by the following comparison between the early forms and those used at the present time;

*Coronel, etc.*

*w-atan*  
*a w-atan*  
*y-atan*  
*k-atan*  
*a w-atan-eš*  
*y-atan-ob*

*A. M. T.*

*in w-atan*  
*a w-atan*  
*u y-atan* or *y-atan*  
*k-atan*  
*a w-atan-eš*  
*u y-atan-ob* or *y-atan-ob*

Zavala (p. 13) gives the two forms for the 1st person singular;  
*w-atan* and *in w-atan*, *w-al*, *in w-al*,  
 and two for the third person;  
*y-atan* and *u-y-atan*, *y-al*, *u y-al*.

Palma y Palma (p. 147 and p. 213-215) has the same forms as those given here, using the *u*, however, instead of the *w*. He finds fault and quite correctly,

**VERBAL PRONOUN.** This is found in the following places:

1. Subject of the intransitive verb in the past tense.
2. Object of intransitive verbs.
3. With verbs of Class IV.

It may stand alone only when compounded with **t** or **te** as **t-en**, **t-etš**, **t-o(o)n**. These forms are used as a demonstrative pronoun when emphasis is desired and especially in answer to questions;<sup>1</sup>

The verbal pronoun may be compounded with **ka** which, as pointed out by Seler (p. 98, 99), serves as a conjunction, a relative. This **ka** combines with the pronoun into **k-en**, **k-etš**, etc.:

**ten ken** in Nakuk Pech, I, who am here, I am Nakuk Pech.

with the forms of the pronoun given by the early grammarians as used with vowel stems.

Lopez (§ 172) agrees with the forms given here.

San Buenaventura uses the semi-vowel with vowel verbs even when the nominal pronoun follows the verbal stem;

**wokol-in-kah.**

Beltran (§ 45) finds fault with this with good reason.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 160) uses the same form in answer to a question;

**ma eš hantik wah la**, who is eating the tortilla?

**ten hantik**, I am eating it.

He also (§ 32) makes this form compounded with **t** his first pronoun which he calls Demonstrative. He uses it in his 2d, 3d, and 4th Conjugations as the subject of the verb in the present and imperfect tenses;

**ten kambesik**

**ten oikik**

**ten kanantik**

In the Maya as spoken at Valladolid at the present time the nominal pronoun would be used compounded with its time particles for the present and past. As noted above, the forms of the verbal pronoun compounded with **t** have the meaning of a demonstrative;

**ten kambe-s-ik**, I am the one who is showing something.

The fact that Beltran uses the nominal pronoun in the preterit, pluperfect, and his two futures shows that he has no warrant for using the verbal pronoun in the present and imperfect.

San Buenaventura incorrectly uses the forms **ten**, **tetš**, etc. as the forms of the verb "to be." Beltran (§ 32) does not agree with this.

Seler (p. 73) notes the use of the verbal pronoun with a "supporter" **t** or **te**. He (p. 79) points out the mistake of San Buenaventura in considering the **te** as a verb. He bases his objection on the fact that it does not, as a rule, have tense characters.

Lopez (§§ 48, 49) gives the personal pronoun in the nominative as **ten**, **tetš**, etc.

**NOMINAL PRONOUN.** This is found in the following places:

1. Subject of all transitive verbs.
2. Subject of the present and future of intransitive verbs.
3. Possessive pronoun.

**TIME PARTICLES.** These time particles of the pronoun have not been recognized as such in any of the Maya grammars.<sup>1</sup> It is not without ample verification of the data collected in Yucatan and among the Lacandones that I venture to suggest the presence of a full set of time particles for the nominal pronoun. These are prefixed to the forms of the pronoun and are sometimes so closely joined to the pronoun by phonetic changes that it is difficult to separate them from the form of the pronoun. In general, it can be said, that the uncontracted forms are most common among the Mayas as well as among the Lacandones. The uncontracted forms seem to have been earlier than those where contraction has resulted. Among the Mayas near Valladolid the contracted forms were used almost exclusively.

The time particles seen in the 1st person, dual and plural, usually remain unchanged. The contractions of these particles with the pronoun are shown here.

*Contraction of time particles.* Present, **tan**, may contract with the pronoun as follows:

<i>Consonant Stems</i>	<i>Vowel Stems</i>
<b>tan-in</b> into <b>t-in</b>	<b>tan-in w-atan</b> into <b>t-in w-atan</b> , my wife.
<b>tan-a</b> into <b>t-an</b> <sup>2</sup>	<b>tan-a w-atan</b> into <b>t-an w-atan</b> .
<b>tan-u</b> into <b>t-un</b>	<b>tan-u y-atan</b> into <b>tan y-atan</b> .
<b>tan-k</b> remains <b>tan-k</b>	<b>tan-k atan</b> remains <b>tan-k atan</b> .

**Ki** or **k** contracts with the pronoun as follows:

**ki-in** into **k-in**.  
**ki-a** into **k-a**.  
**ki-u** into **k-u**.  
**ki-k** into **q**.

<sup>1</sup> Lopez (§ 72), speaks of the **ki-** used with the pronoun for the present and **ti-** for the past, giving, respectively, **kin**, **ka**, **ku** and **tin**, **ta**, **tu**.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§ 163) makes this contraction **ta** instead of **tan**, **tu** instead of **tun**, resulting in the same forms as the contraction seen in the past tense of **t** or **ti** and the pronoun into **ta** and **tu**. In the 1st person, singular, the resulting forms in the present and past agree, **tan-in**, and **t-in** both giving **tin**. In all the other persons the forms in the present and past do not agree.



Past, **t**, forms with the pronoun the following.

**t-in** remains **t-in** or **t'-in**.

**t-a** remains **t-a** or **t'-a**.

**t-u** remains **t-u** or **t'-u**.

**t-k** becomes **t'**.

**ɔ'ok** may contract with the pronoun as follows:

**ɔ'ok-in** into **ɔ'-in**.

**ɔ'ok-a** into **ɔ'-a**.

**ɔ'ok-u** into **ɔ'-u**.

**ɔ'ok-k** becomes **ɔ'oq**.

Future, **he**, may contract with the pronoun as follows:

**he-in** into **hē-n**.

**he-a** into **h-a**.

**he-u** into **h-u**.

**he-k** remains **he-k**.

A more detailed consideration of these particles will now be attempted.

*Present time.* This is expressed in the pronoun by the Indians with whom I worked by the particle **tan**.<sup>1</sup> The union of this par-

<sup>1</sup> The early Spanish grammars do not recognize these time particles. Beltran, however (§ 262) notes the particle **tan** as expressing present time. He does not speak of the contracted forms. The Motul Dictionary has the following entry under **tan**, "*presencia, tin tan, ta tan, tu tan.*" Perez (1866-1877) has the following, "**Tan**, verbo impersonal: *el acto ó capacidad de hacer ó ejecutar. Tan u tal, está viniendo.*" This would seem to show that the uncontracted forms were employed in early times.

The Ticul dictionary (Perez, 1898) gives the following under **tan**, "*en presencia, con tin, ta, tu, se usa tin tan, en mi presencia, ante mi.*"

San Buenaventura (fol. 19) gives the particle **tan** as always prefixed to the active verb in **ik**:

**tan in kambesik**, I am showing something.

This indicates that the uncontracted form was in good use in his time.

Cruz (1912) frequently uses the uncontracted form of the nominal pronoun with **tan** in his examples of the present tense. He is more inclined, however, to employ it with a negative;

**ma tan a betik**, you are making nothing.

**baas ten tan u kănik**, why does he not learn?

Palma y Palma (p. 177) uses the forms **tin**, **tan**, **tun**, etc., for his transitive verbs in the present tense. These are undoubtedly the contracted forms of **tan-in**, **tan-a**, **tan-u** as he specifically mentions (p. 177) these forms compounded with **taan**. His interpretation of **tin**, however, differs from the one given here. He states that it is formed from **ti** "*cuando se dice al por à el. . . Tin en el*

ticle with the pronoun is seen above. **Tan** seems to convey the idea of continued action in the present:

**tin** (**tan-in**) **šotik tše**, I am now cutting wood or I am now engaged in the act of cutting wood.

**tan-k han-al**, we are eating, we are engaged in the act of eating.

**tun** (**tan-u**) **wen-el**, he is sleeping.

With vowel stems, where **y** is the semi-vowel added only in the 3d person, the form of the pronoun of this person with **tan** shows the dropping of the **u**, the true pronoun, and the **tan** is retained:

**tan yooqot**, he is dancing.

rather than

**tun** (**tan-u**) **yooqot**.

which might be expected.

The use of **tan** with the pronoun to express present time seems to be less common in many parts of the peninsula than the use of the **ki-** or **k-** compounded with the nominal pronoun.<sup>1</sup> This form is

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*presente de indicativo tanto se puede considerar sincopa de ti in, como de taan in. Ti in betik. Esto vale lo hago. Taan in betik. Esto vale lo estoy haciendo."*

Lopez (§§ 158, 163), in writing of synalephe, uses as illustrations forms in **tan**:

**tin bin** for **tan in bin**, I am going.

**tin hanal** for **tan in hanal**, I am eating.

He makes no mention in any other part of his grammar of this use of **tan** in the present tense.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 161) gives the form **ki** as denoting present time when compounded with the nominal pronoun. He often uses his pronoun **t-en**, **t-etš**, etc., with this;

**ten ki-in wal-ik**, contracting to **ten kin walk**, I am saying it.

He repeats the same form (§ 34) in the preterit;

**ten kin yakunah**, I loved someone.

These sentences should more properly be translated;

I am the one who is talking.

I am the one who loved someone.

In § 101 he states that the particle **ki** appears as if it were a pronoun but it is merely used for ornament or for greater signification and denotes present time. Here he uses it without the verbal pronoun compounded with **t**, as above, but notes that it combines with the nominal pronoun into **k-in**, **k-a**, **k-u**, etc.

Palma y Palma uses the forms in **k-**. He states (p. 171) that it indicates accustomed action;

recognized at Valladolid but is far less common than that with **tan**.

The forms in **k-** or **ki-** seem, in some cases, to express the idea of a potential mood when used with the future stem in **-e**:

**k-in putš-e**, I may strike it.

**k-in hant-e**, I may eat it.

**tuuš k-a bin**, where may you be going, where are you going?

The contrast between the use of **tan** and **k** with the nominal pronoun is seen in the following:

**le winik k-u tal**, the man is going to come, the man may come.

**le winik t-un (tan-u) tal**, the man is coming, the man is in the act of coming.

When **k-** or **ki-** is used the idea may in some cases be translated by the Spanish term "*á veces*," sometimes.

*Future time.* This may be expressed by the nominal pronoun compounded with the particle **he**. The uncontracted forms are found in use among the Mayas as well as among the Lacandones. The contracted forms are shown above. Here, as in the case with the present particle, **tan**, the first person, dual and plural, does not show contraction. I have been unable to find the derivation of this particle. Undoubtedly this **he**, as in the case of the **tan** and **ɔ'ok**, is derived from a former stem.<sup>1</sup>

**t-in be-t-ik**, I am doing it.

**k-in be-t-ik**, I am accustomed to do it.

**k-in bin**, I am accustomed to go.

Zavala uses the forms in **k** for the present, both of the transitive and intransitive;

**k-in naak-al**, I am climbing.

**k-in kanan-t-ik**, I am guarding it.

Lopez follows Beltran and uses the forms in **k-** or **ki-** with the nominal pronoun. He uses it always in combination with the verbal pronoun with **t-**; **ten**, **tetš**, etc.

Martínez thinks that the **k-in** is a contraction of **ka-in**.

<sup>1</sup> This particle for future time may be a late development. Whereas **tan**, **t**, and **ɔ'ok** are mentioned by the early writers as having some time significance I have found this future time particle, **he**, given only by several of the later authorities.

Cruz (1912) has the following;

**he in ɔikti**, I shall give it.

Ruz (1844, p. 88) has the following;

**ten he in binel**, I shall go.

**tetš he a binel**, thou wilt go.

**letlé he u binel**, he will go.

**k-toon he k binel**, we shall go.

**teeš he a binel**, you will go.

**leti le-ob he u binel**, they will go.

**hēn** (he-in) bin-[el]-e, I shall go.

**he-k** han-al-e, we shall eat.

**hu** (he-u) han-t-ik-e (han-t-k-e), he will eat something.

*Past time.* This is expressed in the nominal pronoun with the particle **t**. This **t** unites with the pronoun as we have shown above (p. 44). The resulting form for the first person singular **t-in** is the same as that for the present pronoun with **tan**, **tan-in** contracting to **t-in**. The history of the two forms is, however, entirely different. It may be possible that the form expressing past time is pronounced with a slightly more explosive character to the initial **t** than is given to the same form expressing present time. In the first person dual and plural there is an unusual change. The pronominal prefix **k** is dropped and the sign of the past (**t**) is changed to the fortis (**t'**). There is necessarily a slight hiatus in this form before the explosive **t** and the initial consonant sound of the verbal stem.<sup>1</sup>

**t-in** or **t'-in** putš-ah, I hit something.

**t'** (**t-k**) han-t-ah, we ate something.

This **t**, expressing a past, is undoubtedly the same as that found used directly with the intransitive verb (p. 72):<sup>2</sup>

**t-bin-en**, I went.

**t-han-en**, I ate.

The prefix **ɔ'ok** is used with the nominal pronoun to convey the idea of action just completed.<sup>3</sup> This **ɔ'ok** is the root of the verb,

Lopez (§ 107) writes; "*En vez del futuro imperfecto de indicativo se usa frecuentemente el presente, anteponiéndole la partícula he seguida de los pronombres in, a, u, etc. y posponiéndole una e:*

**he in betike**, I shall do it.

Martínez has suggested to me that **he** is a contracted form of **helel**, now, to-day. He does not consider the forms in **he** good Maya.

The Motul and Ticul dictionaries give **he** as meaning "*el que, la que, lo que.*"

<sup>1</sup> Palma y Palma (p. 212) accepts this time particle compounded with the nominal pronoun. In the 1st person plural, however, he gives **k** or **ka** instead of **t'**.

Lopez (p. 50) has **t** in this place but makes no mention of it being the fortis.

Martínez consider this **t** stands for **ten**.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Beltran, § 85. This tense sign, **t**, should not be confounded with **ti** or **t**, meaning "to" and given in the early Spanish grammars as the sign of the dative.

<sup>3</sup> Beltran (§ 85) also uses the verb **ɔ'ok** for a preterit with transitive and in-

"to finish or complete." This is added directly to the forms of the pronoun. Here, again, the Lacandonese and many of the Mayas use the uncontracted forms. The contracted forms used by some are seen above. The only unusual contraction is that for the first person dual and plural where *ɔ'ok-k* becomes *ɔ'oq*, the two *k* sounds making a velar *k* (*q*). The verb is used in the present stem with *ɔ'ok*:

*ɔ'in* (*ɔ'ok-in*) *wen-el*, I have just been sleeping.

*ɔ'oq* (*ɔ'ok-k*) *han-t-ik*, we have just been eating something, or we have finished eating something.

**CASE.** It is only in the pronoun that we have any suggestion of case in Maya and even here there are only three; — subjective, objective, and possessive. The oblique cases are all expressed by prepositions.

**Subjective.** The subject of the verb is always expressed by the pronoun even when there is a noun for the subject. This subject, the nominal pronoun, is really a possessive:

*winik u putš-ik Pedro*, or *u putš-ik winik Pedro*, the man is hitting Peter, literally, the man, his hitting something, Peter.

**Objective.** The forms of the verbal pronoun are used as the object:

*tin putš-ik-etš*, I am hitting you; literally, present time, I am hitting something, present time, you; or, you are the object of my hitting.

In the future the *-e*, the sign of this tense, is placed at the end of the form:

*hu putš-ik-en-e*, he will hit me.

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transitive verbs. He does not mention the contracted forms made with the nominal pronoun;

*ɔ'ok u hantik*, he ate it, (*ya lo comió*),

*ɔ'ok u lubul*, he fell (*ya acabó de caer*).

Coronel and San Buenaventura (fol. 17) show the form *ɔ'ok* in an example which they both give to illustrate the statement that the *-ik* form is used when an active verb follows a neuter and the latter does not denote action;

*ɔ'oki in kanik palaltši*, *acabé de aprender á rezar*.

Lopez (§ 106) states that the form in *ɔ'ok* is used "*con mucha frecuencia*" as a preterit perfect; "*que significa terminar, acabar y ya*";

*han-en*, *yo comí*.

*ɔ'ok in han-al ya comí*.

He has another form with *ɔ'ok* combined with *ili* to form the pluperfect. I did not find this form.

*ɔ'okili in hanal*, I had eaten.

The indirect object is expressed by the particle *t* and the verbal pronoun:

*tin ɔ'ib-t-ik-t-etš*, contracted to *tin ɔ'ib-t-etš*, I am writing something to you.

**POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.** The nominal pronoun is really a possessive and is naturally used to express possession. There is little doubt that the possessive idea is uppermost even in the use of this nominal pronoun with a finite verb.<sup>1</sup>

*tin (tan-lin) šotik tše*, I am cutting wood; literally, in present time, my cutting something, in present time, wood.

The forms of the nominal pronoun used to convey the idea of possession are attached to the name of the object possessed rather than to that of the possessor;

*u-huun Juan*, John, his book.

*u peq winik*, the man's dog.

With nouns beginning with a vowel the nominal pronoun of the third person (*u*) is often dropped when the semi-vowel is added. There is no cause for confusion in this as *y* is only added in the 3d person:

*u-y-ototš*, becomes *y-ototš*, his house.

*Natural possession.* There is another form indicating possession made by prefixing the usual form of the nominal pronoun to the name of the object possessed and, at the same time, suffixing the particle *-il* to the same word. This indicates in most cases, not so much possession, as a natural and often inseparable relationship between the possessor and the thing possessed. The possessor is very often an inanimate object;<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lopez (§ 56) seems to fail to recognize the idea of possession when these forms are used as the subject of the verb. He calls this pronoun "mixed" "*porque se usa indistintamente como pronombre personal y como adjetivo posesivo*."

*In qat in hant in wah*, *quiero comer mi pan*,  
*donde tenemos el pronombre in empleado, en el primer caso, como personal y en el segundo, como posesivo.*"

<sup>2</sup> Seler (p. 115) writes in this connection, "*Im Maya wird dabei, wenn der betreffende Gegenstand zu einer dritten Person gehört und diese dritte Person ausdrücklich genannt ist, das Possessivpräfix der dritten Person als überflüssig nicht gesetzt.*"

u-ha-il tš'en, the water of the well.  
 u-na-il Chichen, the houses of Chichen, more properly, u-na-il-ob.  
 u-na-il winik, the houses for the men.  
 u-o'on-il kě the gun for deer.

**DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.** This is found in three forms. There is no well developed system defining the noun in relation to the speaker, the person addressed, and the person spoken of. The demonstrative roughly corresponds to the Spanish, *este*, *ese*, and *aquel*. I am inclined to think, however, that this similarity is more apparent than real and that there are distinctions in the three sets of forms which will come out later.

The demonstrative is expressed by the suffixes -a, -o, and -e; the first denoting "this one here," the second, "that one there," and the third, "that one at a distance." When one of these is found it is always in connection with the prefix lě, itself a demonstrative or a sort of definite article. The latter is sometimes used alone:

lě winik-a, this man here.  
 lě winik-o, that man there, pointing to the place.  
 lě winik-e, that man at an distance.

The prefix lě-, also found in the form leeti or leti, the demonstrative of the 3d person, is used, in some cases, in place of the personal pronoun with past tenses of the intransitive:

leeti bini, he went (usually written lay ti).

The same form is used redundantly with transitive verbs and the nominal pronoun:

leeti tu putš-ob, he hit them, more correctly, putš-ah-ob.  
 leeti-ob tu putš-ob, they hit them.  
 maš putše, who hit him?  
 leeti putše, he hit him.

The demonstrative particles are also used with tě, as tě-la, tě-lo, and tě-le contracted, in some cases, into t-la, t-lo, t-le.<sup>1</sup>

**REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.** This is made by adding the particle -ba to the usual forms of the nominal pronoun. This is best seen in

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish grammars give only the forms tě-la and tě-lo. Beltran (§ 145) notes the syncopation of the e into t-la, t-lo, and they note that with le an e is added to the noun;

le-peq-e, that dog.

transitive verbs with the nominal pronoun as subject and the same form repeated as the object;

**tin putš-k-lm-ba**, contracted from **putš-ik-in-ba**, I am hitting myself.

The **n** changes for euphony to **m** as **Chilam Balam** for **Chilan Balam**. It should be noted that the verbal pronoun is not used as the object as might be expected. In a past tense we have

**tin putš-lm-ba**, I hit myself.

The normal form does not seem to be used. This would be

**tin putš-ah-in-ba**.

The reflexive is also seen in the form

**tin nač'-k-lm-ba**, I approach, literally, my nearing it, my, myself.

RECIPROCAL PRONOUN. This relation is expressed by the particle **tan-ba** or **ba-tan**:<sup>1</sup>

**u ba-tan-ba-ob**, *entre si mismos*.

**tun putš-k-u-tan-ba-ob**, they are hitting one another.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS. These end in **š** and occur at the beginning of the sentence:

**maš il-etš**, who saw you?

**maš ta-wil-ah**, whom did you see?

**baaš ta-č'ibol-t-ah**, what do you desire?

**tuuš ka-bin**, where are you going?

**maš meya-n-ah-i**, who worked?

**baaš ta-mis-t-ah**, what are you sweeping?

## THE VERB

### CLASSIFICATION.

#### I. Action or state in **-al**, **-el**, **-il**, **-ol**, **-ul**.

(a) Pure action or state.

(b) Causal, **s**.

Root in **be**.

#### II. "Endowed with" in **-tal**.

<sup>1</sup> San Buenaventura states that **tanba** is used as a reciprocal in the 2d and 3d person plural. Beltran (§ 47) correctly adds that it can also be used in the 1st person plural.

Palma y Palma (p. 216) gives the reciprocal pronoun as **tam-ba**;

**tin qol-tam-ba**.

In explaining this form he writes " *No vale, me golpeo á mí, sino me golpeo con otro ó con otros en pelea.*"



## III. Neuter stems.

(a) Stem alone.

(b) Agent, *t*.Roots in **kin** and **kun**.Verbs in **-ankil**.

## IV. Auxiliary "to be" (verbal pronoun).

Root in **yan**.

## V. Irregular and defective verbs.

It does not seem necessary to classify the verbs into the four conjugations according to the methods of the early Spanish grammarians.<sup>1</sup> In place of these conjugations it has seemed more wise to make the following divisions:<sup>2</sup>

*Class I.* Verbs in **-al**, **-el**, **-il**, **-ol**, and **ul**, denoting action or state. The ending in **-l** with a vowel corresponding to that of the root denotes the effect of the action or state upon the subject of the verb:<sup>3</sup>

**tin lub-ul**, I am falling, literally, I am affected by the act of falling, my fall.

**tin kim-il**, I am dying, literally, I am affected by the act of death, my death.

**tin kim-s-il**, I am being killed, literally, I am affected by someone causing me to die, my caused death.

**tin wem-el**, I am descending, literally, I am affected by the descent.

<sup>1</sup> The 1st Conjugation of Beltran and of the other early grammarians is the intransitive verb, and their 2d, 3d, and 4th Conjugations are the active or transitive verb. There is a general correspondence between these conjugations and the classes given here. The 1st Conjugation is my Class I *a*, the 2d is Class I *b*, the 3d, composed of monosyllabic stems, is Class III *a*, and the 4th, made up of polysyllabic stems, is Class III *b*.

For a comparison of the forms given by Beltran, San Buenaventura, and Coronel with forms found today, see p. 286-289. These tables have been taken, for the most part, from the paradigms given by the early grammarians in question. A few forms have been added from the text of the grammars. It should be noted that the forms of the subjunctive, infinitive, and optative have been omitted as forms corresponding with these are not generally found among the present Mayas.

<sup>2</sup> This classification has been briefly outlined in Tozzer, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> For skeleton paradigms of the various classes of verbs, see p. 283-285.

Lopez (§§ 70, 76), following the analogy of the three Spanish conjugations in *ar*, *er* and *ir*, makes five conjugations of the verb in **-l**, corresponding to the five vowels used with it.

These verbs may be further divided into two subclasses:

(a) Pure action or state. The transitive or applicative form is made by dropping the suffix in **-l** and adding **-ik** and other time particles directly to the root:

tin **het-el**, I am performing the act of opening.

tin **het-ik**, I am opening something.

tin **nao'-al**, I am approaching.

tin **nao'-ik**, I am approaching something.

tin **nao'-ah**, I approached something.

(b) Causal verbs. These make the transitive or applicative form by dropping the suffix in **-l** and adding the causal **s** before the time particles of the verbal stem:

tin **ban-al**, I am tumbling down, my being affected by the tumble.

tin **ban-s-ik**, I am causing something to tumble down.

tin **kim-il**, I am dying.

tin **kim-s-ik**, I am causing something to die, I am killing something.

Root in **be**. There is a subdivision in Class I *b*. A large number of verbal stems are made by adding **be**, the root of the verb meaning "to make" before the causal and the transitive endings, **-ik**, **-ah**, and **-e**:<sup>1</sup>

tin **kam-be-s-ik**, I am teaching someone, I cause to make learn someone.

tin **kim-be-s-ik**, I injure someone, I cause to make someone die.

tin **yah-be-s-ik**, I wound someone, I cause to make someone wounded.

tin **qin-be-s-ik**, I sun something, I cause to make something sunned, I warm something.

tin **qis-be-s-ik**, I fill something with thorns, I cause to make something thorny.

Some of these verbs more properly belong in Class III as they are also used with the sign of the agent, **t**:

tin **qin-t-ik**, I warm something, I do something by means of the sun.

tin **qis-t-ik**, I make something thorny, I do something by means of thorns.

<sup>1</sup> These causal verbs with **be** form the 2d Conjugation of the Spanish grammars although they are not recognized as causal. The verb used in the paradigm for this Conjugation is **kambesah** which is described below.

Seler (p. 92, 93) states that **t** and **s** (**z**) are "employed with passive themes to render transitive expressions." His examples of the use of **s** in this connection show the causal relationship although this is not mentioned by him. The following sentences with his translation make this clear;

**kim**, to die, **kim-s-ah**, to kill.

**aak**, fresh, green, **aakesah**, **aksah**, to water, to make fresh.

Lopez (§ 103) has much to say concerning the forms of the neuter verb in **-l** and the corresponding form of the active verb in **-s-ik** but no mention is made that this **s** is a causal.

This same root, **be**, is sometimes used with verbal roots or nouns, the sign of the agent, and the transitive endings to denote an intransitive idea. The root or noun always precedes the nominal pronoun:<sup>1</sup>

**tal tin be-t-ik**, I am making it to come, I am coming.

**qai tin be-t-ik**, I am singing, I am making it by means of song.

These forms are exactly equivalent to the forms:

**tal-in-kah** or **tin tal**,

**tin qai**.

A distinguishing feature of Class I verbs is that the past tense of the intransitive is formed by dropping the **-l** of the present stem and adding the verbal pronoun directly to the root:

**nao'-en**, I approached, literally, I am an approacher.

**em-etš**, he went down.

**kim-i**, he died.

**ooq-on**, we entered, literally, we are enterers.

Thus it will be seen that all verbs of Class I may be used either in the intransitive or transitive or applicative according to the ending employed; the first, denoting simply the effect of the action or state on the subject, and the second, expressing the action or state as directed toward an object. In considering the intransitive and transitive by themselves this subject will be discussed more fully later (p. 64).

*Class II.* This class of verbs are those in **-tal** which have the meaning "endowed with."<sup>2</sup> They are intransitive only and form the past in **-lah** with the verbal pronoun:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Palma y Palma (p. 172, 173) gives these forms and comments on the fact that neither Beltran nor San Buenaventura speak of them. Palma y Palma uses the nominal pronoun compounded with **k** in his form with **be**. He gives three ways of saying, "I am going";

**bin-in-kah**

**tin bin**

**bin kin be-t-ik**.

and he adds "*todas son muy corrientes*." It is quite possible that the form used with **be** shows a late development in the language.

<sup>2</sup> Seler (p. 81) explains these forms as follows; — "*Es liegen hier alte Nomina vor. kuš, das als solches im heutigen Maya nicht mehr existiert, eigentlich k'uš zu schreiben, entspricht dem Qu'iché-Cakchiquel k'uš und heisst 'Herz.' kah ist 'das Gesetzte, Gergründete, die Ansiedlung, das Dorf.'*" He repeats the mistake of limiting the use of these forms with the verbal pronoun. In the present and future tenses the nominal pronoun is used.

<sup>3</sup> Coronel and the other grammarians have a rule that verbs in **-tal** which have an **l** in the root form the past, not in **-lah**, but in **-hi**, as **kul-tal**, **kul-hi**.

**tin kuš-tal**, I am living; literally, my being endowed with a heart.  
**kuš-l-ah-i**, he lived.  
**tin kah-tal**, I am dwelling; literally, my being endowed with a pueblo.  
**kah-l-ah-en**, I dwelt.  
**tin tšul-tal**, I am hanging.

The same suffix, **-tal**, is found with verbs of Class IV and with nouns with the same meaning as above:

**keel-en**, I am cold.  
**keel-tal-en**, I am always cold ("endowed with" cold).  
**kalan**, a drunken man.  
**kalan-tal**, a drunkard.

*Class III.* This class is composed of those verbs formed from stems which are nominal in character and which have been called neutral. These verbs may or may not be monosyllabic and they have no uniform ending in the present of the intransitive as those of the former class. The distinction between this class and Class I is seen in these two examples:

Class 1. **tin lub-ul**, I am falling, my being affected by the act of falling, my fall.

Class III. **tin ɔ'on**, I am shooting, literally, my gunning.

Other examples of Class III follow: <sup>1</sup>

From **nai**, a dream, **tin nai**, I am dreaming, my dreaming.  
**tub**, saliva, **tin tub**, I am spitting, my saliva.  
**qai**, a song, **tin qai**, I am singing, my song.  
**baab**, a crab, **tin baab**, I am swimming, my crabbing.

There are a few noun stems which are shortened when used in the transitive with **-ik**. This may be a case of syncope as the **t** is retained: <sup>2</sup>

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The verb **kul-tal**, to sit, is an early form of **ku-tal**. I found a past in **kul-h-l**, he sat down, but the more common one follows the general rule above and we have **ku-l-ah-i**.

<sup>1</sup> As noted by Beltran (§§ 121, 122), **tšibal**, to bite, to eat meat, from **tšai**, mouth, belongs in this conjugation. The past is formed in the regular way but the passive is irregular;

**tšai-b-il**, I am being bitten.

Beltran also notes (§ 124) the possibility of confusion in the verb **tukul**. This is not a verb of Class I but a noun meaning "thought, idea" and belongs in this conjugation. The past is

**tukul-n-ah-en**, not **tuk-en**.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Beltran, § 124.

p'ulut, smoke, tin p'ulut, I smoke, my smoking.  
 p'ulut-n-ah-en, I smoked.  
 tin p'ul-t-ik, I smoke something, I fumigate; for p'ulut-ik.  
 mulut, a wish, tin mul-t-ik, I am wishing something, for mulut-ik.

The distinguishing feature of the intransitive of these verbs is that the past tense is formed by adding **n-ah** and the verbal pronoun to the root:<sup>1</sup>

nai-n-ah-en, I dreamed.	qai-n-ah-i, he sang.
tub-n-ah-etš, you spat.	baab-n-ah-on, we swam.

As with Class I this class may be subdivided according to the method of making the present and future stems in the transitive or applicative:

(a) Some make the transitive by adding the **-ik** of the present and the **-ah** of the past directly to the stem:

tin c'on-ik, I am shooting something, my gunning something.  
 tin loš-ik, I am hitting something with my fist, my fisting something.  
 tin putš-ik, I am hitting something with my hand.

(b) Verbs of agent. These add a **t** before the ending for the transitive:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Seler (p. 83) calls the verbs of Class I "the intransitive verbs proper" and those of Class III "derived intransitives." He points out that the "intransitives proper" refer to "bodily activity, position in place, changes in time, etc," but he fails to note the main distinction between the verbs of these two classes, namely that those of Class I express actions or states and those of Class III are all derived directly from nouns. Both may be used in the transitive and intransitive.

Lopez (§ 88) fails also to make the proper distinction between verbs of Class I and Class III. He recognizes the past as given here for these verbs and states that all neuter verbs not ending in **-i** make the past in **n-ah**.

<sup>2</sup> These, in general, are the verbs placed by the early grammarians in their 4th Conjugation. Coronel and San Buenaventura (fol. 12) are not consistent in this for they include in their 3d Conjugation some verbs in **t-ik**. Beltran (§§ 118-120) finds fault with this although he places (§ 298) the monosyllabic stems which form the past in **t-ah** in the 3d conjugation. He also places here (§ 59) verbs made up of two nouns. These correspond to the verbs of agent with **t**:

Juan u betš-qab-t-ah u mehen, Juan called with his hand to his son.

He also follows the modern practice by making the intransitive form;

betš-qab-n-ah-i, he called with his hand.

He explains the **t** (§ 296), not as denoting agent, but as added for euphony (*buen sonido*).

**tin mis-t-ik**, I am sweeping something, my doing something with a broom.

**tin latš-t-ah**, I scratched it, from **latš**, finger nail.

**tin qaq-t-ik**, I am roasting it, from **qaq**, fire.

I have not been able to find any rule to determine which nouns made into verbs of Class III take the sign of the agent and which do not. It must be confessed that the idea of the agent is implied in verbs of Class III *a* quite as much as in those of III *b*.

Class III *a*. **tin ɔ'on-ik**, I am doing something with a gun.

Class III *b*. **tin mis-t-ik**, I am doing something with a broom.

Root in **kin** and **kun**. All adjectives and some nouns are made into transitive verbs of Class III by being used with the particle **kin** or **kun**, evidently meaning "to make,"<sup>1</sup> the sign of the agent and the usual tense endings:<sup>2</sup>

Seler (p. 92) states that the **t** denotes compulsion;

**alkab**, speed.

**tšuuk**, coal, live coals.

**in alka-b-t-ah**, I made him run.

**in tšuuk-t-ah**, I warmed something.

These forms are much better explained by considering the **t** as agent;

I made use of speed for something.

I made use of live coals for something.

<sup>1</sup> This root, unlike **be**, is not found in the Spanish dictionaries in this significance. The San Francisco and Perez give the verb **kun**, **kun-ah** meaning "*conjurar hechizando, encantar*." Perez gives **kin-ik** as meaning "*herida reciente*."

<sup>2</sup> Beltran (§ 91) has this form made with **kun** or **yenkun** with vowel stems. He does not, however, give the sign of the agent, **t**. He places these verbs in his 4th Conjugation. I could find no present use of the form in **yenkun** for vowel stems. San Buenaventura (fol. 9b, *ob.*) and Coronel have the form in **kun**. San Buenaventura changes the **kun** to **kin** when the vowel of the stem is **o**:

**t'on-tal**, to lower oneself.

**t'on-kin-ah**, to lower something.

Seler (p. 92, 93) explains these forms made with **kun** or **kin** as a means of deriving a transitive idea from nominal themes in the same way as using **ah** which has already been discussed (p. 56). All his examples are in the past tense, using **ah**:

**in yaab-kun-ah**, I multiplied it.

**in kul-kin-ah**, I established it.

If these were to be written in the present we would have;

**in yaab-kun-t-ik**

**in kul-kin-t-ik**.

and they would, therefore, have to be explained quite differently according to Seler.

Lopez (§ 95) has the form in **kun-s-ik** as well as in **kun-t-ik**. The first is, of course, the causal and the second is that of the agent. He gives only one example of the use of the causal form;

**toh-kun-s-ik**, to erect, literally, to cause to make straight.

**tin pīm-kun-t-ik**, I strengthen something, I make something by means of thickness.

**tin keel-kun-t-ik-etš**, I make you cold, I make someone by means of cold, you.

**tin mul-kun-t-ik**, I pile up something.

**tin kal-kun-t-ik**, I make him drunk.

**tin kal-kin-t-k-lm-ba**, I make myself drunk.

Verbs in **-ankil**. There is a class of verbs made from nouns with the suffix **-ankil**.<sup>1</sup>

**qīq**, blood, **tin qīq-il-ankil**, I am afraid, I am trembling.

**sisit'**, leap, **tin sisit'-ankil**, I am leaping.

**al**, weight, burden, **tun al-ankil**, she is giving birth.

**sakal**, ant, **tun sakal-ankil**, he is crawling.

**eel**, egg, **tun eel-ankil**, she is laying eggs.

The past of these forms is made by dropping the ending **k-il** and adding the sign of the past and the verbal pronoun.

**qīqil-an-ah-en**, I was afraid, I trembled.

**sisit'-an-ah-en**, I leaped.

A second, but seldom used, form of the past is made by dropping the suffix and following the usual rule for verbs of Class III:<sup>2</sup>

**qīqil-n-ah-en**,

**sisit'-n-ah-en**.

The future retains the entire suffix:

**hēn qīqil-an-k-il-e**, I shall be afraid.

*Class IV.* These verbs are intransitive and express a quality or condition, having the idea of the auxiliary "to be." They use the verbal pronoun.<sup>3</sup>

**keel-en**, I am cold.

**winik-en**, I am a man.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 87) states that these verbs are in **-ankal**, not **-ankil**. He finds fault (§ 84) with San Buenaventura for giving the forms in **-ankil** which is the same as that used today. Seler (p. 84) follows Beltran in using **-ankal**. I found both forms with that in **-ankil** more commonly used.

<sup>2</sup> Beltran (§ 87) has these forms and also one where only the **-il** of the suffix is dropped in the preterit;

**qīqil-an-k-ah-i**, he was afraid.

<sup>3</sup> Beltran has the same forms and he points out (§§ 185, 186) the mistake of San Buenaventura in using the verbal pronoun compounded with **t** as

**batab-t-en** for **batab-en**.

There is no doubt that the former is incorrect. San Buenaventura uses the verbal pronoun without **t** when the expression is negative;

**ma en batab** or **men batab**.

The form of the verbal pronoun compounded with *t* may be used pleonastically with the predicative expression with the simple verbal pronoun:

**ten batab-en**, I am the one who is chief.<sup>1</sup>

The past of these verbs is formed by adding an *h* sound before the verbal pronoun:

**keel-h-en**, I was cold.

**kohan-h-etš**, you were ill.

It is interesting to compare these forms with those of verbs in other classes. The past tense of verbs of Class I are identical in form with those of the present tense of Class IV:

**lub-en**, I fell, I am a faller.

**kohan-en**, I am ill.

This *h* or *hi*, the sign of the past, with these verbs may be derived from the same source as the *-ah*, the sign of the past, with the transitive verb of Classes I, and III, and with the intransitive of Class III.

The suffix *-tal*, seen in verbs of Class II, may be used with verbs of this class to denote an habitual condition:

**keel-tal-en**, I am always cold.

**kohan-tal-en**, I am always ill.

The verb *yan* or *yantal* comes in this class.<sup>2</sup> It has the meaning "there is" or "there is present." It forms its present by adding the verbal pronoun directly to the root, its past with *h* or *hi* and the verbal pronoun, and its future by the use of the nominal pronoun, *-tal*, and the sign of the future, *-e*:

**yan-en Ho**, I am in Merida.

**yan-h-en Ho**, or **yan-hi-en**, I was in Merida.

**hën yan-tal-e**, I shall be in Merida.

The future may also be made by use of the particle *bin* and the suffix *-äk* with the verbal pronoun:

**bin yan-äk-en**, or **bin yan-k-en-äk**.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Seler (p. 74). He would translate this as "I am he, I am chief." San Buenaventura (fol. 37) considers the forms, *ten*, *tetš*, etc. as the verb "to be." Seler (p. 79) points out this mistake. It is quite clear that the verbal pronoun alone has the verbal idea.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Beltran (§§ 198-200) who gives the form as *yanhal*. This change from *tal* to *hal* is the same as that seen in the inchoative forms (p. 90). Compare also Seler, p. 82.



This verb may also have the meaning to have, to take, to hold. In this case the particle **t** or **ti** may or may not be used with the verbal pronoun:<sup>1</sup>

**yan-en** or **yan-t-en kě**, I have a deer, literally there is, to me, a deer.

When this verb is used with the negative **ma**, there is a contraction in the present. This is not seen commonly in the other tenses:

**ma-yan** becoming **mi nan**, there is none.

**ma-yan-h-i**, there was none.<sup>2</sup>

*Class V.* This is composed of the irregular and defective verbs of which there is not a great number. Among them are the following:

**Bin-el**, to go. This verb is usually found without its suffix **-el**:

**tin bin** or **bin-in-kah** rather than **tin bin-el** or **bin-el-in-kah**.

Here there is no vocalic harmony between the vowel of the root and that of the suffix. All forms are regular, belonging to Class I, except the future stem **šik**, and the imperative **šen**:

**bin-en**, I went.

**bin šik-en**, or **hēn bin-e**, I shall go.

**Tal-el**, to come. This verb is usually found without the suffix **-el**. All forms are regular, belonging to Class I, except the imperative which is **kot-en**. The imperatives

**kon**, **kon-eš**, **koš**, **koš-eš**.

correspond in meaning to the Spanish "*Vamos*." These forms show the dual and plural endings.<sup>3</sup>

**Qat**, desire. The verb is really a noun meaning, "a wish." It is only found used with the nominal pronoun with no time suffixes.

<sup>1</sup> Both Beltran (§§ 199, 200) and Lopez (§ 111) make a distinction between **yan** meaning "*tener*" and **yan** meaning "*haber*." With the latter meaning **yan** is defective being used only in the 3d person.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§ 113) gives the form for the past as **ma t-an-hi**. I do not recognize this form. For the positive form corresponding to this he gives **yan-hi**, which agrees with the one given here.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Beltran (§§ 204-206) for the forms **tal-el** and **bin-el**. Beltran (§ 207) gives the verb **il**, to see, as an irregular verb. I fail to find any irregularity in its conjugation. In §§ 225, 226, he discusses the forms **kon**, **koneš**, etc. Among several verbs given by Beltran as irregular appears the verb **ken**, I say, **k-en-h-i**, I said. I found this verb very little used. In its place the noun **t'an**, speech or word, is used as a verb of Class III with a past in **t'an[n]-ah** and the verbal pronoun.

This stem should not be confounded with **qat** meaning "question, to question." This latter is found in all forms as a verb of Class III. The verb with **qat** conveys the idea of an optative mode.

in **qat bin(əl)**, I desire to go, my wish to go.  
 in **qat ɔ'ib**, I desire to write,  
 in **qat in wil-e**, I desire to see it.  
 in **qat in wuq ha**, I desire to drink water.

The regular verb **ɔ'ibol** (Class III *b*) is also used as a verb meaning "to desire." In tenses other than the present it is more frequently employed than the verb **qat**:<sup>1</sup>

**tin ɔ'ibol-t-ah ha**, I desired water.

**P'ek**, dislike. This is used with the nominal pronoun. It seems to be found only in the present tense:<sup>2</sup>

in **p'ek bin(əl)**, I dislike to go.

**Tak, taktal**, desire. The verb made from this noun differs from the two preceding forms in the fact that the nominal or possessive pronoun is used with the true verb and also that all tenses can be expressed.<sup>3</sup> The conjugation follows that of verbs in Class IV:

**tak** or **tak-tal in wen-el**, I desire to sleep.  
**tak-hi in wen-el**, I desired to sleep.  
**bin tal-āk in wen-el**, I shall desire to sleep.

There is also a reduplicated form, **tak-i-tak** which expresses the idea of desiring something very much, "*tener gana ó deseo vehemente de hacer algo.*"

**Qabet**, necessary. This is used either with nouns or with verbs. In the first case the verbal pronoun compounded with **t** or **ti** is used:

**qabet t-en wa**, I need tortillas; literally, necessary to me, tortillas.  
**qabet-hi t-en wa**,<sup>4</sup> past tense.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Lopez, § 126.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Lopez (§ 128), in other tenses the regular verb, **p'ek-t-ik**, **p'ek-t-ah**, **p'ek-t-e**, is used.

<sup>3</sup> The Perez dictionary gives the form as **tak-tal**. Beltran (§ 224) has the past in **tal-hi**. Lopez (§ 129) writes "*Apenas se usa más que en presente.*"

<sup>4</sup> Lopez (§ 122) uses the inchoative form in **tāh** for the past. Compare p. 90.

When a verb is used, the form takes the nominal or possessive pronoun as with **tak** and the conjugation follows verbs in **Class IV**. The verbal pronoun with **t** may be omitted:

**qabet in bin(el)**, I need to go, literally, necessary, my going.  
**qabet h-in bin(el)**, past tense.  
**qabet in putš-ik**, I need to hit him.

**Suk**, accustom. This has forms similar to the preceding:

**suk t-en in han-t-ik wa**, I am accustomed to eat tortillas, literally, customary to me, my eating something, tortillas.

The following irregular verbs are impersonal, using, in most cases, the nominal pronoun of the 3d person before the form introducing the expression. The conjugation generally follows that of **Class IV**:

**Pat**, **patal**, ability.<sup>1</sup>

**u pat in bin(el)**, I am able to go, literally, its ability, my going.  
**u pat h-in bin(el)**, I was able to go.  
**hu pat in bin-e** or,  
**bin patāk in bin**, I shall be able to go.

The second verb in each case may take the suffix, **-e** when it is intransitive:

**u pat in han-l-e (han-al-e)**, I am able to eat.  
**u pat in qal-y-e**, I am able to sing.  
**u pat in bin-e**, I am able to go.

**Nama**, obligation:<sup>2</sup>

**u nama in bin(el)**, I ought to go.

**Tuub**, **tuubul**, to forget. I found this verb only in one form:<sup>3</sup>

**tuub ten**, I forgot.

<sup>1</sup> Lopez (§ 123) has this and several of the following forms used in connection with the nominal pronoun compounded with **k**, as **ku**. He gives this form as:

**ku pah-tal**.

He agrees with me in the past as he drops the suffix **-tal** and his stem seems to change from **pah** to **pat**.

He is inclined to use the stem with the suffix in **-l** in the present. My forms usually omit the suffix.

<sup>2</sup> Perez (1898) gives the form **nah**, *necessario*. Compare a corresponding form, **nakma**, given by Beltran (§ 216).

<sup>3</sup> Lopez (§ 118) gives the following forms for this verb:

The active verb is:

tuub-s-ik, tuub-s-ah, tuub-s-e.  
tin tuub-s-ik, I am forgetting something.

**Qaah, qaahal**, to remember. The verbal pronoun in this and several of the following forms takes *t-* or *ti-*:

u qaah t-en, I remember, literally, its memory to me.  
qaah[h]i t-en, past tense.  
bin qaah-äk t-en, future tense.

The active verb is:

qaah-s-ik, qaah-s-ah, qaah-s-e.

**Tšik-pahal**, to appear. This is a reflexive verb from the stem *tšikaan*, visible and has the literal meaning, to appear itself:

u tšik-pahal t-en, it appears to me.  
tšik-pa-hi t-en, past tense.  
bin tšik-pah-äk t-en, future tense.

**Utšul**, to succeed, to happen:<sup>1</sup>

u y-utšul t-en, it happens to me, *me sucede*.  
utš-hi t-en, past tense.  
bin utš-äk t-en, future tense.

VERBS WITH STEMS in *-al, -el, -il, -ol, -ul*. For greater clearness it has seemed best to describe these verbs as a whole although they are taken up under other headings. This ending in *-l* preceded by the vowel similar to that of the root signifies that the subject of the verb is affected by the action of the verb.

These forms in *-l* are found in the following places:

(a) Present of the intransitive in Class I.

tin lub-ul, I am falling, I am affected by a fall.

(b) Present of the intransitive in Class III *a*, showing a passive relationship:

tin ɔ'on-ol, I am being shot, my being affected by a gun.

ku tuubul ten, I forget.  
tuub ten, I forgot.  
bin tuubuc ten, I shall forget.

Beltran (§ 203) has the form:

ma in tubul tetš or ti tetš, do not forget me.

<sup>1</sup> For other irregular forms, see Beltran, §§ 201, 202, 207, 211, 212, 229.

The causal **s** preceding the form in **-l** is found in the following place:

(c) Present of the intransitive in Class I showing a passive relationship:

**tin kim-s-il**, I am being killed, my being affected by someone causing me to die.

(d) Verbs in Class III *b* which form the transitive by using **t**, the sign of the agent, have the form **-tal** regardless of the vowel of the root to show a passive relationship:

**tun mis-t-al in na**, my house is being swept, literally, my house is being affected by means of a broom.

**tin yakun-t-al**, I am being loved, my being affected by love.

It will be seen from the foregoing that syntactically the passive relationship for verbs in Class III is exactly similar to the active forms of verbs in Class I.

**INTRANSITIVE VERB.** The preceding classification, as has been noted, is made up without taking into consideration whether the verb is intransitive or transitive. It is well to consider these forms by themselves and endeavor to show how the intransitive and transitive are built up.

Intransitive verbs are found in all classes of verbs and they are distinguished from the transitive of each respective class by certain differences in the method of conjugation, by different pronouns or different time suffixes.

The simplest form of the intransitive verb is seen in the use of the verbal pronoun with verbs of Class IV, nouns or adjective-like forms:

**batab-en**, I am a chief.

**batab-h-en**, I was a chief.

In the past of verbs of Classes I-III the stem appears with the true personal pronoun, commonly called the objective, but here spoken of as the verbal pronoun. This is the same in form as that used as the object of the transitive verb:

I *a.* **ah-en**, I woke up.

III *a.* **nai-n-ah-en**, I dreamed.

I *b.* **kim-en**, I died.

III *b.* **mis-n-ah-en**, I swept.

II. **kus-l-ah-en**, I lived.

IV. **keel-h-en**, I was cold.

**TRANSITIVE VERB.** This is sharply distinguished from the intransitive. The pronoun used with the transitive is similar to the

possessive and has been called the nominal pronoun. The connection between the possessive and its noun and the pronoun used with the transitive is very close:<sup>1</sup>

*tin c'on-ik kē*, I am shooting with a gun a deer, literally, my gunning a deer.

Two of the classes of transitive verbs may be roughly classified as regards instrument and cause.

The transitive verb is found in Classes I, III, and IV. Class II is not found in the transitive.

**TRANSITIVE TO INTRANSITIVE FORM.** Transitive verbs may pass over to the intransitive form when the combined meaning of the verb and its object represents habitual action:

*tin šul-ik meya*, I am finishing work.

*tin šul-ah meya* (transitive form), I finished work.

*šul-meya-n-ah-en* (intransitive form), I finished work.

*tan šup-ik taqin*, you are spending money.

*tan šup-ah taqin* (transitive form), you spent money.

*šup-taqin-n-ah-etš* (intransitive form), you spent money.

Both of these verbs are in Class I as the intransitive forms are respectively:

*tin šul-ul*, I am finishing.

*šul-en*, I finished.

*tin šup-ul*, I am spending.

*šup-en*, I spent.

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<sup>1</sup> Seler (p. 76) makes this same distinction. He writes, "*nur die absoluten, eines direkten Objekts entbehrenden Verbalausdrücke durch Prädikatskonstruktion mit dem Personalpronomen (my verbal pronoun) gebildet; die transitiven Verba dagegen sind wurzelhafte oder abgeleitete Nomina, die als solche mit dem Possessivpräfix (my nominal pronoun) verbunden werden.*" He fails to state, however, that it is only in the past tenses of the intransitive, with the exception of verbs of Class IV, that the "personal pronoun" is used. The "possessive prefix" is used in the present and future tenses of both transitive and intransitive forms:

*tin lub-ul*, I am falling.

*lub-en*, I fell.

*tin lub-s-ik*, I am destroying something.

*tin lub-s-ah*, I destroyed something.

He elaborates (p. 89) his former statement and writes, "*Die Maya-Sprachen besitzen also transitive aktive Verben in unserem Sinne nicht. Sie kennen nur Nomina und absolute Verba, die einen Zustand des Seins, eine Eigenschaft oder eine Thätigkeit bezeichnen, die als Prädikate zu einem Personalpronomen oder einer dritten Person als Subjekt konstruiert werden, aber kein direktes Objekt zu sich nehmen können.*"

When the verbal stem combines with an object so closely that the whole idea is considered as an action in itself and is intransitive, the verb passes into Class III on account of the method of making the past with **n-ah** and the verbal pronoun.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the few cases where a verb belonging to one class passes over into another. The complete unity of the object with the action of the verb is seen in the fact that the object is infixed, coming before the sign of the past and the verbal pronoun. The intransitive form for the present is practically never found:

**šul-meya-in-kah.**

These compounded forms may remain transitive when an object is expressed. In this case they usually go in Class III *b*, that class using **t** as the sign of the agent:<sup>2</sup>

**tin betš-qab-t-ik** Pedro, I am calling by means of the hand Peter.

**tin tšin-pol-t-ik winik** I am reverencing the man, literally, I am inclining (by means of the head) the man.

**INTRANSITIVE TO TRANSITIVE FORM.** The intransitive verb may pass to the transitive in form but it retains the intransitive meaning by the use of the root, **be** to make, and the sign of the agent:<sup>3</sup>

**tal tin be-t-ik**, I am coming, I am making it to come.

**qai tin be-t-ik**, I am singing, I am making it by means of song.

**TENSE IN THE VERB.** The Spanish grammars have, in addition to the present tense of the Indicative, a *Preterito Imperfecto*, *Preterito Perfecto*, *Preterito Pluscuamperfecto*, *Futuro Imperfecto*, and a *Futuro Perfecto*. The Present, *Preterito Perfecto*, and *Futuro Imperfecto* are the true present, past and future respectively. The *Preterito Imperfecto*, is made from the present by the addition of **kutši** (**cuchi**),<sup>4</sup> the *Preterito Pluscuamperfecto* from the *Preterito*

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 58) has the same form in the past and notes that San Buenaventura makes the past of these forms by the addition of the verbal pronoun to the root compounded with the object:

**tša-hă-n-en**, I carried water.

The correct form is,

**tša-hă-n-ah-en.**

Beltran adds that the form given by San Buenaventura may have been correct at the time the latter studied the language.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Lopez, § 92.

<sup>3</sup> Compare p. 54, and Palma y Palma, p. 172, 173.

<sup>4</sup> The form **kutši** is undoubtedly from **ka** and **utšul**, **utši**, or **utšuk** given by Beltran (§ 222) as an irregular verb meaning "to happen" or "to succeed"

*Perfecto* by the addition of *ili kutši*, and the *Futuro Perfecto* from the *Futuro Imperfecto* by the addition of *ili kotšom*. The forms made by the words *kutši*, *ili kutši*, and *ili koštom* seem to me to be more or less artificial and are the result, in the main, of the desire to present every tense known to the Spaniard in his own language.<sup>1</sup>

I found the form *utši* instead of *kutši* could be used to make a past from the present stem but it was not the common way of expressing this tense.

The tenses in the Maya, as spoken today, are: present, a past, a past denoting action just completed, a past denoting action completed some time ago, a future denoting action just about to take place and a future denoting action to take place some time in the future.<sup>2</sup>

(*acaecer, suceder, acontecer*). The form of the past as given in the early grammars use this verb as a sort of auxiliary with the present tense to form the past; *nak-al-in-kah kutši*, I climbed, literally, I am climbing, it happened.

Coronel and San Buenaventura (fol. 15 ob.) make a distinction, using *kutši* for distant past time and *katši* for time just past.

<sup>1</sup> Palma y Palma (p. 188, 189) expresses the idea of the artificiality of these forms as follows: — "*Los tiempos que aparecen aquí como ejemplos, son tomados de la gramática de Fray Pedro de Beltrán. Observando, sin embargo; el común lenguaje de los mayas, se ve que no todos están en uso. ¿En qué consiste esto? ¿Será que ya no es menester emplearlos? Esto es inadmisibles, porque la misma causa que obró para establecerlos subsiste: la necesidad de expresar acciones que forzosamente tienen que corresponder á tiempo presente, pasado, ó venidero. Y los que indican absolutamente estos, subsisten; los que vienen á ser como intermedios: según la expresión de la Academia, los cuales en castellano se forman con verbos auxiliares solamente, son los que no se usan. Pero la razón está en que hay otros medios de expresar los tiempos correspondientes á estas acciones cuando se relacionan con los de otras para significar respecto de ellas pasado ó futuro, como había hecho, habré hecho, etc. Lo había hecho cuando llegaste. Lo habré hecho cuando llegues. La forma del pretérito pluscuamperfecto, por ejemplo, según el P. Beltrán, es *binen ili katši*, ó *kutši* como pone y se usaba antes. Yo me había ido. En vez de esta forma los mayas usan: "*

*o'ook ilí in bin ka t qutš-etš-e, me había ido cuando llegaste.*

"Si se dijera":

*ka t qutš-etš-e, binen ilí katši.*

"ningún maya lo entendería."

<sup>2</sup> Seler (p. 102) writes, "*Das Maya unterscheidet sich von den verwandten guatemaltektischen Sprachen sehr bestimmt dadurch, dass die Tempuspräfixe in ihm nur eine sehr unbedeutende Rolle spielen. Im Präteritum treten, wie erwähnt, die Präfixe t und c auf. Das ist wichtig, weil es uns beweist, dass das Maya der*



Tense is expressed by means of suffixes added to the root in addition to a time particle used with the nominal pronoun. The former differ in the transitive and intransitive.

An interesting and unusual feature connected with tense in Maya is the fact that the forms of the pronoun vary in the intransitive according to the tense employed.

*Tense in the Intransitive Verb. Present Time.* This is expressed in several ways. The most common is the use of the verbal stem with the nominal pronoun compounded with the pronominal sign of present time, **tan**. This is found in all verbs of Classes I, II, III:

Class I a, **tin het-el**, I am performing the act of opening.

b, **tin k̄m-II**, I am dying.

Class II, **tin t̄si-tal**, I am lying down.

**tin t̄sen-tal**, I am listening.

Class III, **tin ɔ'on**, I am shooting.

**tin slit'**, I am jumping.

**tin ɔ'lib**, I am writing.

With verbs of motion and a few others a second set of forms for the present is found composed of the nominal pronoun and the particle **-k̄a** or **-kah** suffixed to the stem. These may be called "duratives":<sup>1</sup>

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*Mittel, welche in den anderen Sprachen sich Geltung verschafft haben, nicht ganz entbehrt. Aber diese Präfixe treten durchaus nicht bestimmt und regelmässig auf. Und Präfixe, welche es gestatten, die verschiedenen Tempora zu unterscheiden, haben sich nicht herausgebildet. Dieses Sprache ist daher genöthigt, zu anderen Aushilfsmitteln zu greifen, um die nöthige Präzision in der Tempusbezeichnung zu erreichen, und sie findet solche in periphrastischen Konstruktionen."* It seems to me that Seler is quite incorrect in this statement. The Maya has very definite tense signs. Seler fails in several cases to recognize the **ik** and the **ah** of the transitive verb as tense signs. He mentions the prefix **t** as a sign of the past in the intransitive only in the 1st person with **k** for the 3d person. The **t** is used in all persons as a sign for the past and the **k** is never found.

<sup>1</sup> These forms are given by Coronel, San Buenaventura, and Beltran in their 1st Conjugation.

Coronel and San Buenaventura in their paradigms and Seler (p. 102), also give the forms in **-kah** for the present of the transitive verb (2d, 3d, and 4th Conjugations):

**kambes-ah-in-kah Pedro**, I am teaching Peter.

This form in **in-kah** is not used in the transitive. San Buenaventura (fol. 2 ob.) recognizes the proper form in his discussion of the pronoun, **ten**:

**ten yakun-ik** (properly, **yakun-t-ik**), I shall love someone.

Both Coronel and San Buenaventura use the form in **-ik** rather than in **in-kah**

Class I, **lubul-in-kah**, contracted to **lub-l-in-kah**, I am falling.  
**nakal-in-kah**, contracted to **nak-l-in-kah**, I am ascending.  
**bin[el]-in-kah**, I am going.

Class II, **o'on-in-kah**, I am shooting.

It should be noted that in these forms the pronoun has no time particle. This **-kah** is probably the root of a defective verb meaning, "to do." The literal translation of the form **lubul-in-kah** would probably be, "affected by the act of a fall, my doing."<sup>1</sup>

in asking a question when the pronoun is used as the object of the transitive verb:

**maš kambes-ik-etš**, who is showing you?

The **-ik** form is also used by them when one verb follows another, especially is this so (fol. 72) when an active verb follows a neuter and the neuter does not denote an action:

**tal-u-kah in boo-t-ik in p'aš**, I am on the point of paying my debt.

In the discussion of the pronoun **en**, **etš**, etc. (fol. 3) San Buenaventura gives the form in **in-kah**:

**yakun-ah in kah etš**, I love you.

But in fol. 16 *ob.* he states that the form in **-ik** is used if a noun preceded the verb:

**Pedro kambe-s-ik Juan**, Peter is showing John.

There is therefore great inconsistency in these statements. Beltran points out (§§ 153-157) at length why San Buenaventura is wrong in giving the form in **in-kah** as a transitive, thus making no distinction between the transitive and the intransitive. The same criticism also applies to the forms of Coronel and of Seler (p. 102).

The latter (p. 103) writes that he has followed the more ancient authority of San Buenaventura rather than "*sein jüngerer Kollege*," Beltran, and he accepts the use of the form in **in-kah** for transitives as well as intransitive verbs. As pointed out above, San Buenaventura, Coronel, and Seler are incorrect here.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 209) gives **-kah** as the root of the verb meaning "to do." He points out that it is found only in the present stem, the past being made by the addition of **kutšl**. He finds fault with San Buenaventura for giving **kibah** and **kib** for the past and future of the form **kah**. Buenaventura is inconsistent in his forms for the future as these forms in his 3d Conjugation are made with **ib** added to the root.

Seler (p. 102) explains the **-kah** in an entirely different way. He derives it from **kah**, "a village or settlement" and translates it in the verb as "to be stationary." This is probably incorrect as the form is found especially with verbs of motion.

Lopez (§ 132) seems inclined to accept Beltran's explanation that this **kah** is a defective verb, meaning "*hacer*." It is perfectly true, as Lopez points out that the form in **-kah** may be replaced by **be-t-ik** (see p. 54), but in the latter form we find the transitive ending, the sign of the agent, and the root of a regular verb.

The present tense in verbs of Class IV from noun or adjective stems is made by the simple addition of the verbal pronoun;<sup>1</sup>

**keel-en**, I am cold.

**kohan-etš**, you are ill.

**uo-ob**, they are good, or the good ones.

**wink-en**, contracted to **winken**, I am a man.

*Future Time.* In the intransitive of verbs in Classes I, II, and III, future time is expressed in much the same way as in the transitive. The forms of the nominal pronoun are compounded with the future time particle, **he**, and a final **-e** is suffixed to the present stem:

Class I a. **hën (he-in) nak-al-e**, contracted to **nak-l-e**, I shall climb.

Class I b. **hën kim-il-e**, contracted to **kim-l-e**, I shall die.

Class II. **he-k kuš-tal-e**, we shall live.

Class III a. **hën qai-y-e**, I shall sing.

**hën o'on-e**, I shall shoot.

Class III b. **hën mis-e**, I shall sweep.

Indefinite time in the future is expressed by prefixing the root, **bin**, of the verb "to go." When this is used with verbs of Class I the shortened stem without **-l** is employed and the suffix **-āk** added before the verbal pronoun:<sup>2</sup>

Class I a. **bin nak-āk-en**, contracted to **bin nak-en**,<sup>3</sup> I am going to climb.

Class I b. **bin kim-āk-en**, contracted to **bin kim-k-en**, I am going to die.

<sup>1</sup> These are the verbs given by the Spanish grammars which use the auxiliary "to be." Beltran shows the same forms as those given here and he notes (§ 195) that San Buenaventura is incorrect in giving the auxiliary as the verbal pronoun compounded with **t** as **t-en**, **t-etš**, etc. Beltran is entirely correct in noting this mistake. San Buenaventura uses the verbal pronoun alone when a negative expression is employed.

<sup>2</sup> This is the form for the *Futuro Imperfecto* given in the old grammars for the 1st Conjugation. The preceding form in **he** is not mentioned. I was not able to find the form of their *Futuro Perfecto* in **il kutšom**. This seems to me to be an impossible form as the past stem is used with **il kutšom** to express a future.

Palma y Palma (p. 189-190) does not accept this form. He gives as a substitute;

**o'ook in bin** or **o'ook il in bin wal kaan qutšketše**, *me habré ido cuando llegues.*

He writes, "*Si se diiera*

**kaan qutšketšé**, **binen il kutšoom**

*ningún maya lo entendería.*"

<sup>3</sup> Seler (p. 110) has some very significant remarks on the particle **-ak**. He

Class III a. **bin o'on-āk-en**, contracted to **bin o'on-k-en**, I am going to shoot.

Class III b. **bin mis-āk-en**, contracted to **bin mis-k-en**, I am going to sweep.

The future of adjective and nominal verbs of Class IV is not made, as one might expect, simply by using the nominal pronoun and the suffix **-e**, but it is expressed by the inchoative form by adding the suffix **-tšal** or **-tal** and the final **-e**. The nominal future pronoun is used with these forms:<sup>1</sup>

**he-k kohan-tšal-e**, we shall be sick, we shall become sick.

**hu (he-u) keel-tšal-e**, he will be cold.

*Past Time.* In verbs of Class I, this is expressed by the stem alone compounded with the verbal pronoun. This form is really a verbal noun:<sup>2</sup>

**lub-en**, I fell, literally, I am a faller.

**bin-etš**, you went.

**tal-i**, he came.

**kim-ob**, they died.

The form of the imperative is similar to the first person singular of the past tense, as **lub-en**, fall, or I fell. To distinguish between

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translates this form on the basis of a participial meaning as "it goes (will be) raising itself I, i.e. it is in the notion to raise itself, I = I will raise myself."

Compare Beltran (§ 137) for the contraction.

<sup>1</sup> Coronel, followed by San Buenaventura (fol. 7 ob.) gives a future in **om** for neuter verbs. Beltran (§ 96) is entirely correct in pointing out that these forms are not found. By the examples given both by Coronel and San Buenaventura it is clear that they have mistaken the **on** of the 1st person plural, written by them, in this case, as **om** for a sign of the future.

<sup>2</sup> This is given by the Spanish grammars as the *Preterito Perfecto*.

Friedrich Müller (1882, v. 2, p. 309) considers this form and others like it as exhibiting "the predicative power of the true verb." Adam (1878a, p. 155) says, "The intransitive preterit **nak-en** may seem morphologically the same as the Aryan *ās-mi*; but here again, **nak** is a verbal noun, as is demonstrated by the plural of the 3d person **nak-ob**, 'the ascenders.' **Nak-en** comes to mean 'ascender [formerly] me.'" Brinton (1882, p. 31), who quotes these authorities, writes, "I am inclined to think that the French critic is right, and that, in fact, there is no true verb in the Maya, but merely verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*, to which the pronouns stand either in the possessive or objective relations, or, more remotely, in the possessive relation to another verbal noun in apposition, as **kah**, **kutšl**, etc. The importance of this point in estimating the structure of the language will be appreciated by those who have paid any attention to the science of linguistics."

the two an initial *t* sound, usually glottalized, may be used before the verbal stem:<sup>1</sup>

*t'-lub-en*, I fell.

*t'-bin-en*, I went.

*t'-tal-en*, I came.

The *t'* is the same form as that used with the nominal pronoun as a time particle for the past. The *t'* is often retained throughout all forms for the past:<sup>2</sup>

*t'-bin-i*, he went.

*t'-tal-on*, we came.

As has been noted, the Spanish grammars all give a *Preterito Imperfecto* using the form of the present followed by *kutši* (*cuchi*). This is really the past of the verb *utšul*, to happen. It is recognized at the present time but is not commonly used. The *Preterito Pluscuamperfecto* in *ili kutši* I was not able to find.<sup>3</sup>

Past time in verbs of Class II is expressed by adding to the stem

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 85) gives the two forms for the past, *lub-en* and *t-lub-en*. He states that the latter form is the better. He makes no mention, however, of the fact that this *t* is usually glottalized.

Seler (p. 98, 99) seems to limit the use of the *t* as a sign of the preterite to the 1st person. The *t* is used in all persons as a sign for the past in the intransitive. Beltran (§ 81) gives his examples of the use of *t* in the 3d person.

Palma y Palma (p. 185-187) uses an *h* in place of the *t*:

*h-bin-en*, I went.

He writes, "Á *binen* se adiciona una *ache* sin poderse hallar una razón manifiesta. Acoso sea contracción de *hi-binen*, particula que se emplea en el modo optativo para significar irio, según el P. Beltran." On p. 209 he also uses the form in *t*, as given above. In connection with this he writes, "Porc. distinguir el *preterito perfecto de indicativo* del *presente de imperativo* '*nacen*' sube, se antepone una *te* al primero como se ha visto antes, y á veces una *ache* con sonido de jota. Así se dice: "

*t naken* ó *h naken*, subí.

*t naketš* ó *h naketš*, subiste.

<sup>2</sup> Seler (p. 98), as already pointed out, limits the use of *t* as a sign of the past to the 1st person and states that a *k* (*c*) is used for the same purpose in the 3d person. He seems to base this statement on the fact that *kutši*, from *utšul*, begins with a *k*.

<sup>3</sup> Palma y Palma (p. 189) also fails to find this form. He gives as a substitute;

*ɔ'ook ill* in *bin ka t qutšetše*, me había ido cuando llegaste.

Lopez (1914) follows Palma y Palma in giving the same forms in *ɔ'ook ill* (see p. 67).

the sign of the past, **-ah**, as seen also in the past of the intransitive verb, and the verbal pronoun:

**tši-tal-ah-en**, I lay down.

**kuš-tal-ah-en ti Ho**, I lived in Merida.

These forms are usually contracted into:

**tši-l-ah-en**.<sup>1</sup>

**kuš-l-ah-en**.

Past time in verbs of Class III is made by adding to the stem the sign of the past, **ah**, and the verbal pronoun. An **n** is inserted between the stem and the pronoun.<sup>2</sup>

**qal-n-ah-en**, I sang.

**ɔ'lb-n-ah-on**, we wrote.

**baab-n-ah-etš**, you swam.

**ɔ'on-[n]-ah-ob**, they shot.

**tukul-n-ah-l**, he thought.

Verbs of Class III *b*, forming the present of the transitive in **t-ik**, do not show the sign of the agent (**t**) when used in the intransitive:

**tin ɔ'lb-t-ik**, I am writing something.

**ɔ'lb-n-ah-en**, I performed the action of writing.

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<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 93) does not give the uncontracted forms. He gives only the forms in **l-ah**. Beltran follows Coronel in stating that verbs in **-tal** which have an **l** in the root form the past by substituting **h** for **l-ah**. From the verb **kul-tal** he would get the past **kul-hi** instead of **kul-lah-l**. The complete uncontracted form would be **kul-tal-lah-l**. According to the present method of speaking this would be contracted into **kul-ah-l**, not **kul-h-l** according to Beltran. There is, therefore, no need to make an exception to verbs in **-tal** with an **l** in the stem as the rules for contraction would attend to this.

Seler (p. 81) explains this form by saying that a **t** is added in the present and an **l** in the preterit and future.

<sup>2</sup> Beltran (§ 83) gives this same form for his verbs of the 2d, 3d, and 4th Conjugations when they are changed to the intransitive. He points out (§ 53) the mistake of San Buenaventura who (fol. 6 *ob*) makes these forms by using **ah-n** with the verbal pronoun instead of **n-ah** as **kambe-s-ah-n-en** for **kambe-s-n-ah-en**. Beltran (§ 85) speaks of the forms in **n-ah** as the "elegant" (*garboso*) way of expressing the past.

Seler (p. 83) states that the suffix **-n** has the meaning "to be engaged in the activity in question," "to exert the activity in question." Later (p. 110) he states that the **-n** is used to derive intransitive verbal themes from nouns. On p. 119 he gives the forms in **n-ah** for the past of the intransitive. He calls this **-ah** (p. 122) the "second **ah**." He notes that this is the "new formation" as San Buenaventura gives only the **n** for the past. This is the case where San Buenaventura (fol. 6 *ob*) incorporates a noun with the verb as a unit. (See discussion of this, p. 29.) Seler overlooks the fact that in the preceding paragraph San Buenaventura gives the form with **-ah** and **-a**, as noted above, although he states that the past is made with **n**.

This form of the past is the one used when a transitive with its object is turned into the intransitive in form:

**tin šot-ah tše**, I cut wood (transitive form).

**šo[t]-tše-n-ah-en**, I cut wood or I performed the action of cutting-wood.

A form of the distant past with verbs of Class III is expressed by the duplication of the **-ah**, the sign of the past:

**šimbal-n-ah-ah-n-en**, I walked a long time ago.

An **n** is added between the final **ah** and the pronoun for euphony. This form is seldom used.

Past time with verbs of Class IV is made by adding an **h** or **hi** between the stem and the verbal pronoun:

**keel-h-en**, I was cold.

**uo-h-i**, he was good.

**kohan-h-on**, we were ill.

**tšupal-h-i**, he was a boy.

It is quite probable that the actual time particle for the past with these verbs is **hi**, contracting with the pronoun to **h-en**, **h-etš**, and **h-i**. The Mam dialect shows **hi** as this tense sign.<sup>1</sup>

There are a few verbs ending in **-mal** and **-pal** which belong in this Class IV although at first sight they would be placed in Class I:<sup>2</sup>

**tepal**, ruler, king.

**tepal-h-en**, I ruled, I was a ruler, (also **tepal-n-ah-en** possible).

**ol mal**, to coagulate, probably from **olom**, blood.

**ol mal-h-i** or **olma-h-i**, past tense, 3d person.

**nol mal**, to blunt.

**nol mal-h-i**, or **nol ma-h-i**, past tense, 3d person.

**mutš mal**, to fade.

**mutš mal-h-i** or **mutš ma-h-i**, past tense, 3d person.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 193) states that the past is formed by adding **hi** which combines with the pronoun into **h-en**, **h-etš**, and **h-i**. Seler (p. 79) follows San Buenaventura and Beltran in this but he states that the sign of the past and the future really belong with the noun. The verbal character of the pronoun is sufficiently clear to justify the statement that the time particles belong, not with the noun, but with the verb.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§ 89) gives **nol-mal** and **mutš-mal** as exceptions to the rule that all verbs in **-i** make the past by dropping last syllable and adding the verbal pronoun. He recognizes that most verbs in **m-al** form the past in the regular way;

**ulm-al**, **ulm-en**

**o'am-al**, **o'am-en**

**lam-al**, **lam-en**.

There is a tense representing completed action made with the root of the verb *ɔ'ok*, to finish. This is found in the transitive as well as the intransitive in all classes of verbs:<sup>1</sup>

*ɔ'in* (*ɔ'ok-in*) *hanal*, I have finished eating.

*Tense in the Transitive Verb.* In addition to the time particles attached to the nominal pronoun, tense in the transitive verb is expressed by suffixes.

*Present Time.* This is shown by the suffix *-ik* which represents the object in present time or something directed toward something in present time.<sup>2</sup> When there is a pronominal or nominal object, this object is in apposition to the idea contained in *-ik*.<sup>3</sup>

Class 1 a. *tin putš-ik*, I am hitting something.

*tan tsul-ik*, you are wetting something.

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<sup>1</sup> I failed to find the forms of the pluperfect in *ɔ'okilil* given by Lopez (§ 77); *ɔ'okilil in hanal*, I had eaten.

It is interesting to note that this form is also given by Palma y Palma (p. 189) in place of the artificial form in *ili katšil* of the early grammars.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Beltran, § 235.

<sup>3</sup> Seler (p. 80, 120, 121) regards the *-ik* as showing a relative or an infinitive idea. It is certainly true that in some cases the relative idea seems to be present as when *ik* is compounded to make a form like *likil* (p. 93). But as *ik* is found only with transitives it seems to denote an objective relation. One of the forms given by Seler, *ten-ɔlk-ik*, "I obey him or I am the one who obeys him," shows the relative idea but this is probably expressed in the *t* or *ti* combined with the verbal pronoun *-en*, making *ten*, and not by the *-ik* in *ɔlkik*. On page 74 he comments as follows on the form in *ik*, "*die Formen auf -ik sind echte gerundivische Formen, die die zu Bedeutung eines ganzen Relativsatzes oder Umstandssatzes haben.*"

Beltran (§ 172) gives the form in *-ik* but uses the verbal pronoun compounded with *t* or *ti*:

*t-en kambes-ik* Pedro, I am teaching Peter.

The forms of the pronoun compounded with *t* or *ti*, giving *ten*, *tetš*, *toon*, *te-eš*, are used in answer to the question, "Who is doing this?" The verbal idea is brought out in the answer as in the sentence above, "I am the one who is teaching Peter." A more usual way to express this idea, however, is the use of the verbal pronoun compounded with *t* together with the nominal pronoun compounded with *k*:

*t-en k-in kambes-ik* Pedro, I am the one who is teaching Peter or I am the one who is about to teach Peter.

Beltran (§ 168) also gives this form.



Class I b. **tan-k lub-s-ik na**, we are destroying the house; literally, in present time, our causing something, in present time, to fall, the house.

**tun kim-s-ik kě**, he is killing the deer, literally; in present time, his causing something, in present time, to die, the deer.

Class III a. **tin ɔ'on-ik kě**, <sup>I am</sup> ~~he is~~ shooting the deer; literally, in present time, <sup>by</sup> ~~he~~ gunning something, in present time, the deer.

Class III b. **tun mis-t-ik na**, he is sweeping the house; literally, in present time, his doing something with a broom, in present time, the house.

When the verbal pronoun is used after the suffix **-ik**, there is an elision of the *i* in **-ik**:<sup>1</sup>

**tun kam-be-s-ik-en** becomes **tun kam-be-s-k-en**, he is showing me something.

*Future Time.* In the transitive this is much the same as the imperative. It is expressed by the present stem in **-ik** with the final **-e** together with the usual forms of the nominal pronoun compounded with the sign of the future, **he-**. The causal **s** and the instrumental **t** are retained in Classes I b and III b respectively.

Class I a. **hěn het-ik-e**, I shall open something.

Class I b. **hěn kim-s-ik-e**, I shall kill something.

Class III a. **hěn ɔ'on-ik-e**, I shall shoot something.

Class III b. **hěn ɔ'ib-t-ik-e**, I shall write something.

The omission of the sign of the present transitive, **-ik**, is often made, or the *i* of the suffix **-ik** is lost by syncope:

**hěn kim-s-e**, or **kim-s-k-e**,

**hěn ɔ'on-e**, or **ɔ'on-k-e**,

**hěn ɔ'ib-t-e**, or **ɔ'ib-t-k-e**.

When there is an object expressed, either by a pronoun or a noun, the final **-e** may be added after the object:

**hu (he-u) putš-ik winik-e**, or **wink-e**, he will hit the man.

**hu putš-ik-en-e**, or **putš-k-en-e**, he will hit me.

Indefinite future is expressed by prefixing the root of the word **bin**, "to go," to the forms of the nominal pronoun and suffixing the final **-e** to the root.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Beltran, § 140.

<sup>2</sup> Beltran gives the form in **bin** as the regular future in the transitive;  
**bin-in-kambes**, 2d Conjugation.  
**bin-in-ɔik-e**, 3d Conjugation.  
**bin-in-kanan-t-e**, 4th Conjugation.

It should be noted that the stem in **-ik** is never used with **bin** nor does the pronoun have a time particle:

Class I *a*. **bin in het-e**, I shall open something, I am going to open something.

Class III *a*. **bin in ɔ'on-e**, I am going to shoot something.

Class III *b*. **bin in ɔ'ib-t-e**, I am going to write something.

The final **-e** of the future may be lost by apocope when a noun or pronoun is used as the object. If it is retained it is added at the end of the form:

**bin in yakun-t-etš** or **bin in yakun-t-etš-e**, I am going to love you.

**bin a hant-wa** or **bin a hant-wa-e**, you will eat the tortilla.

In verbs of Class I *b*, using the causal **s**, the future sign **-e** may occur either before or after the **s**. The latter is more common at the present time.<sup>1</sup>

**bin a nak-s-ē** or **nak-e-s**, you are going to climb something.

**bin a kim-s-e** or **kim-e-s**, you are going to kill something, you are going to cause death to something.

Beltran's forms in the 3d and 4th Conjugations agree with corresponding forms given here, using the final **-e** as the sign of the future. He shows the **-e** before the causal **s** in the 2d Conjugation which corresponds to our rule as the verbs in this conjugation belong to our Class I *b*.

Coronel and San Buenaventura show forms similar to those of Beltran in the 2d and 4th Conjugations. In the 3d all give a form in **b** preceded by a vowel similar to that of the root:

**bin-in-tal-ab**,

**bin-in-ɔik-lb**.

I was not able to find this form used at the present time. Beltran (§ 112) notes that the form in **-b** is found but the more common form for the future is that in **-e** for verbs of the 3d Conjugation.

Seler (p. 104, 107) follows San Buenaventura in giving the future in **-b**. He explains the more common future in **-e** as having been derived from **-eb**. I see no justification for this as Beltran distinctly states that the form in **-b** is not common and he limits it to the 3d Conjugation. Seler (p. 109) makes the following literal translation for the future;

**bin-in-kambes**, it goes (it is in the work, it will be) that by me is taught =  
I shall teach him.

<sup>1</sup> The early Spanish grammars give as the form of the 2d Conjugation

**bin in kam-be-s**.

This probably corresponds to the alternate forms above. It might possibly be explained as formerly,

**bin in kam-be-s-e**,

the **e** being lost after the **e** of the root **be**.

Palma y Palma (p. 185) gives the form agreeing with the latter:

**bin in kam-be-s-e**.

Lopez (§ 91) recognizes the two forms of the future in these verbs.

These forms in **bin** may be used in the subjunctive sense, showing a future possibility.

I was not able to find the forms in **ili kotšom** given for the *Futuro Perfecto* in the early grammars. I question them as they are made from the past stem in **-ah** and are used to express a future.

*Past Time.* In the transitive this is expressed in several ways according to the degree of the distance in the past when the action took place. The idea of past time is brought out by the particles **t** or **ɔ'ok** attached to the forms of the nominal pronoun or by suffixes on the verbal stem or by both. The usual suffix expressing past time is **-ah** which is added to the stem.<sup>1</sup> This **-ah** for the past takes the place of **-ik** for the present and is the same form as that used for past time in the intransitive for verbs of Classes II-III. With this form in **-ah** the nominal pronoun is usually compounded with **t**:<sup>2</sup>

Class I a. **t-in šul-ah in-meya**, I finished my work; literally, in past time, my finishing something, in past time, my work.

Class I b. **t-a kim-s-ah in yum**, you killed my father.<sup>3</sup>

Class III a. **t-u ɔ'on-ah kē**, he shot the deer.

Class III b. **t-a ɔ'ib-t-ah huun**, you wrote the letter.

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<sup>1</sup> It has already been pointed out (p. 68) that Coronel and San Buenaventura make no distinction in the present between the form of the transitive and that of the intransitive. In the past tense, however, both make the same distinction between the transitive and intransitive as that made here and in Beltran. Coronel changes the **-ah** of the past to **l** when a question is asked; **mak kambesi palalob**, who showed (it to) the boys?

Seler (p. 91, 92) has much to say about this **-ah**. He considers this is used with the original passive nominal roots to express a transitive idea. He fails, it seems to me, to recognize that this **-ah**, as a sign of the past, is exactly equivalent to the **-ik** as the sign of the present with transitive verbs, although later in his paper (p. 118) he recognizes the **-ah** as used "in the preterite of the transitive root conjugation."

<sup>2</sup> In a few cases when the verbal pronoun is used as an object this sign of the past is omitted:

**tu putš-en**, he struck me.

As will be pointed out later (p. 94) the **-ah** is usually omitted in response to questions.

<sup>3</sup> Seler (p. 86) gives this form excepting the time particle of the pronoun and translates it literally, "thy dead one is my father." He writes, "*Immerhin kann man sich der Anschauung nicht verschliessen, dass den transitiven und den passiven Verbalausdrücken dieselben Nominalthemata passiver Bedeutung zu Grunde liegen, die zur Bildung der passiven Ausdrücke nach den Regeln der*

As in the present there is a syncopation of the *a* of the ending *-ah* when the verbal pronoun beginning with a vowel is used as the object:

tu kam-be-s-ah-en becomes tu kambe-s-h-en, he showed something to me.

Action just completed is expressed by the nominal pronoun compounded with the root of the verb, *ɔ'ok*, to finish. The verbal stem takes the *-ah* for the past:<sup>1</sup>

*ɔ'ok-a putš-ah-en*, contracted to *ɔ'a putš-h-en*, you have just finished hitting me.

*ɔ'ok-k kim-s-ah kě*, contracted to *ɔ'oq kim-s-ah kě*, we have just finished killing the deer.

There is a form of the past in *-ki*. This is used in clauses with the idea of "since" or "after."<sup>2</sup>

Distant past in the transitive is expressed by the suffix *m* compounded with the usual sign of the past, *-ah*.<sup>3</sup> In most cases the temporal sign with the pronoun is omitted in these forms:

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*prädikativen Aussage mit dem Personalpronomen verbunden werden, zur Bildung der transitiven Ausdrücke mit dem Possessivpräfixe versehen werden.*" I readily admit the passive relationship shown in verbs of Class I (p. 63) but this form is to be explained as follows; — my causing (s) someone in past time (ah) to die (kim) my (in) father (yum). The use of the causal emphasizes the activity of the subject.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 85) gives the form in *ɔ'ok*. He also uses it with the intransitive verb.

Ruz (1844) has the form in *ɔ'ook* for the future perfect, the preterit perfect and the pluperfect tenses.

Lopez has the form in *ɔ'ok* uncontracted with pronoun and a form in *ɔ'okill* for the pluperfect.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Seler (p. 121, 122). Beltran (§§ 174, 175), notes the statement of San Buenaventura regarding variations in his 4th Conjugation in using the *-ki* and not *-ah* for the past. Beltran states that the form in *-ki* may be used with all verbs but he limits the use to the meaning, "*despues que ó desde que.*"

*kim-ki in yume oqomuol*, after my father died, I was sad.

Coronel uses the *-ki* form for the past with reservation regarding clauses. He also has the form *iki* when the verbal root has two consonants preceding this ending;

*kokint-iki*.

The forms of the past made by adding *kutši* to the forms of the present which are given in all the Spanish grammars are not commonly employed at the present time. I was unable to find the forms given in the early grammars for the *Preterito Pluscuamperfecto* in *ili kutši*.

<sup>3</sup> Ruz (1844, p. 81, 82), in his preterit perfect and pluperfect, has a form in *-ma* following the *-ah* of the past rather than preceding it as above;

in **putš-m-ah-etš**, I hit you a long time ago.  
 u **ɔ'on-m-ah-en**, he shot me a long time ago.  
 a **kim-s-m-ah**, you killed it a long time ago.  
 u **het-m-ah-ob**, they opened it a long time ago.  
 u **yal-m-ah tan-il-ob**, he spoke these words a long time ago (Xiu ms.).

**MODES.** There is no sharp distinction between the different modes in Maya. The Spanish grammarians in their endeavor to find corresponding forms for everything in the Latin grammar give forms for the different modes which are, in many cases, most artificial.

*Indicative Mode.* There is no occasion to comment on this.

*Subjunctive Mode.* This is really lacking in Maya.<sup>1</sup> The idea of a future possibility is expressed by certain forms of the future and

**ten in sah-t-ah-ma**, I have feared.  
**ten in sah-t-ah-ma katšl**, I had feared.

Lopez (§ 98) has the same forms as Ruz, calling them a *pretérito indefinido*. He gives examples for both intransitive and transitive verbs;

u **hant-ma-ob**, *lo han comido*.  
 in **hant-ah-ma-wah**, *yo he comido pan*.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran and his predecessors use the form of the *Futuro Imperfecto* with various modifications for all tenses of the Subjunctive. The **bin** is dropped, as observed in my form, and Beltran gets the following forms;

<b>ten nakaken</b> , 1st Conjugation.	<b>ten in olke</b> , 3d Conjugation.
<b>ten in kambes</b> , 2d Conjugation.	<b>ten in kanante</b> , 4th Conjugation.

It will be observed that he prefixes the verbal pronoun compounded with **t**. This verbal pronoun is quite unnecessary. As the form stands with Beltran the meaning of **ten nakaken** would be, "I am the one who may ascend." For the *Preterito Imperfecto* of the Subjunctive Beltran uses **hi** or **hiwil** as a prefix to the forms for the present;

**hi** or **hiwil nakaken**.

These forms for the past of the subjunctive are the same as those given by Coronel and San Buenaventura for the present of this mode, Coronel using **hi** for **hi**. The use of this form in **hi** or **hi** is clearly incorrect as **h** conveys the meaning of past time.

Beltran in his text (§§ 73, 74) states that the better form of the subjunctive of transitive verbs adds a final **-e**. This seems to agree with my statement that the subjunctive is a future. He also gives forms for the subjunctive in **-ina**:

**naka-k-en ina**, or **in nah nakal**, *yo subiera*.  
**in kambes ina**, or **in nah in kambes**, *yo lo enseñara*.

It should be noted that Coronel and San Buenaventura give forms in **ka-ina**

I have regarded these forms as belonging to a potential mode. A conditional statement is usually introduced by the particle **wa**, if. The verb has no special form in the conditional clause. The future is usually employed in the main clause:

**wa** (or **wai**) **yan taqin, hën bin-e**, if I had money I should go.

*Potential Mode.* The idea of a future possibility is expressed by certain forms of the future. The most common is the use of the nominal pronoun compounded with **k-** (p. 46). The suffix of the future, **-e**, may or may not be retained in intransitives: <sup>1</sup>

**k-in putš-e**, I may strike him.

**k-in qal** or **k-in qal-y-e**, I may sing.

**k-in ɔ'on** or **k-in ɔ'on-e**, I may shoot.

The defective verb, **utšak**, has the meaning, "it is possible, perhaps" and it is sometimes used in connection with the preceding forms. <sup>2</sup>

The future in **āk** and the verbal pronoun are also used to express a future possibility. The prefix, **bin**, is usually omitted: <sup>3</sup>

**lub-n-āk-en**, I may fall.

**bin-n-āk-etš**, you may go.

**ɔ'on-[n]-āk-l**, he may shoot.

*Imperative Mode.* In the intransitive this is usually formed by adding the suffix **-en** to the shortened stem or root: <sup>4</sup>

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for the Optative. I consider all these forms in **hi**, **hiwil** and **ina** alone or combined with **kutšl**, **ill kutšl**, and **ill kotšom** as artificial in their formation.

Coronel and San Buenaventura give only the present and the imperfect of the subjunctive. Beltran has, in addition, the preterit and two futures.

Palma y Palma (p. 190) in criticizing these forms of Beltran writes very truthfully, "*Y así formas del subjuntivo. Yo no sabré decir de una manera fija cual es la causa de esto; pero sospecho que consiste en el afán de calcar las formas verbales de los tiempos mayas á las de los verbos castellanos y latinos empleando para esto partículas del futuro, del pasado ó del futuro y pasado para hacer los tiempos llamados mixtos como habré ido.*"

<sup>1</sup> These forms correspond to those given by Lopez (p. 51) for the subjunctive of active verbs.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Lopez (§120).

Coronel and San Buenaventura (fol. 18 ob.) give the form **utšak** or **utšuk** with the meaning "to be able";

**utšuk in beeltk, lo**, I am able to do this.

**utšuk a binel**, you are able to go.

<sup>3</sup> These forms correspond to those given by Lopez (p. 39, etc.) for the subjunctive of neuter verbs.

<sup>4</sup> The Spanish grammars have the imperative in **-en** for verbs of their 1st

Class I. **nak-en**, climb.  
**lub-en**, fall.  
**ah-en**, wake up.  
**em-en**, come down.

These forms for verbs of Class I are the same as the first person singular of the past tense of the intransitive. It has previously been pointed out (p. 71) that the latter may be preceded by a **t** or **t'** to distinguish it from the imperative. This similarity is not seen in the imperative in verbs of Class III which form their past in **n-ah**:

Class III. **o'on-en**, shoot.  
**sut-en**, jump.  
**qai-y-en**, sing.  
**mis-en**, sweep, broom.

It should be noted that the causal sign or the sign of the agent is not found in the imperative of the intransitive in Class I *b* and III *b* respectively.

In verbs of Class II in **-tal**, the same rule holds, to add **-en** to the stem. The typical ending for verbs of this class, **-tal**, is contracted to **l**:

Class II. **tši-tal-en** becomes **tši-l-en**, lie down.  
**kuš-tal-en** becomes **kuš-l-en**, live.<sup>1</sup>

This contraction of the stem in **-tal** suggests the possibility that the imperative of verbs of Class I above was formerly made from the stem in **-l**:

<b>nak-al-en</b> becoming <b>nak-en</b> .	<b>ah-al-en</b> becoming <b>ah-en</b> .
<b>lub-ul-en</b> becoming <b>lub-en</b> .	<b>em-el-en</b> becoming <b>em-en</b> .

conjugation. Beltran gives nothing but the present tense of the imperative. Coronel and San Buenaventura give a future imperative compounded with the root of the verb **qat**, to desire.

Seler (p. 111) in his interpretation of the imperative in **-en** writes, "*Ich bin also in der That geneigt, auch der zweiten Person des Imperativs der Verba neutro-passiva die ursprüngliche Bedeutung eines Participii Perfecti zuzuweisen, welche imperativische Bedeutung in derselben Weise bekommen hat, wie etwa unser Kavalleriekommando 'Aufgesessen!' — Eine Differenzirung des Imperativs und des Partizipium kommt in einfacher Weise durch den Accent zu Stande, indem der Imperativ in eindringlicher Weise die letzte Silbe betont, das Participium den Ton auf der Stammsilbe behält.*" In this he tries to trace a similarity between the **-en** of the imperative and the **-an** of the past participle.

<sup>1</sup> Seler (p. 106) gives the imperative of this form as **kuš-l-ah-en**.

The imperative in the transitive, as already pointed out, is very similar to the future. It ends in **-e** when no pronominal object is expressed. The sign of the present **-ik** is never found as it is sometimes in the future:<sup>1</sup>

Class I a. **putš-e**, hit it.

Class I b. **kim-s-e**, kill it, cause something to die.

Class III a. **ɔ'on-e**, shoot it.

Class III b. **mis-t-e**, sweep it.

**mis-t-e na**, sweep the house.<sup>2</sup>

It should be noted that the **-e** is not attached to the object as in the case of the future tense expressed with the same suffix. This **-e** is lost by syncope when a pronominal object or the sign of the plural is used.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This form is similar to those used with the 4th Conjugation of the Spanish grammars and of the 3d of Beltran as well. In the latter conjugation Coronel and San Buenaventura use a vowel corresponding to that of the root explaining this as formed from the future stem in **-ab**, **-eb**, **-ib**, **-ob**, **-ub** with the loss of the final **b**. Beltran (§ 112) does not accept this form and makes the imperative of his 3d Conjugation as is done here.

Seler (p. 104) follows San Buenaventura and gives the imperative of monosyllabic roots ending in the vowel corresponding to that of the root. He recognizes (p. 104, 105) the imperatives of some verbs as ending in **-e** but incorrectly derives these from a future in **eb**.

In the 2d Conjugation of the early grammars the imperative ends in **es** (**ez**). This conjugation corresponds to Class I b, the **s** being causal. It is probable that the imperative of these verbs formerly followed the rule of the transitive and added an **e**. This **e** was then elided, as stated before, in connection with the future of these forms;

**kambe-s-e** becoming **kambe-s**.

Seler (p. 106) in his attempts to explain all transitive forms as passives gives the following translation;

**u kambe-s Pedro Juan**, John shall teach Peter or by him taught Peter (namely by) John.

<sup>2</sup> Palma y Palma (p. 179) drops the **e** when an object is used;

**kanan-t-e**, *cúidalo*.

**kanan-t le ɔlmno**, *cuida ese caballo*.

He adds "*Nunca se dice*."

**kanan-t-e le ɔlmno**.

<sup>3</sup> Beltran (§§ 114, 144) also notes this and gives the form;

**ɔlk-en** for **ɔlke-en**.

Seler (p. 87, 109) gives the imperative in **ɪ** after San Buenaventura. He explains the preceding form as follows;

**ɔlki-en** or **ɔlk-én**, derived from **ɔlki-b-en**, obey me, or "that one to whom (by thee) obedience shall be, am I."



*Optative.* The idea expressed by the Spanish, *Ojala*, forming an optative, is shown in Maya by the root of the verb **qat**, to desire with the future stem.<sup>1</sup> This form is considered under the irregular verbs (p. 60).

**THE PASSIVE.** It has already been pointed out (p. 63) that syntactically many of the forms expressing the passive relationship cannot be separated from those expressing the active voice.<sup>2</sup> It has seemed best to consider the passive voice here as a whole however.

*Present Time.* In the sense of action still going on, this is expressed by the suffix in **-al, -el, -il, -ol, -ul** which gives the idea of the subject as being affected by the action of the verb. This suffix in **-l** is found either alone, with the causal **s**, or with the instrumental **t**.

Class I *a* and I *b* both use the causal **s** with the suffix **-l** to express a passive relationship:

Class I *a*. **tun het-s-el**, it is being opened, literally, its being affected by someone causing it to open.

● **tin nao'-s-al**, I am being approached, literally, my being affected by someone causing a nearness to me.

**tin ah-s-al**, I am being awakened, literally, my being affected by someone causing me to wake.

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I cannot agree with him in this as the passive relationship is in no way expressed by the simple root of the verb nor can this form be derived from **siki-b-en**.

Coronel and San Buenaventura give forms for a future imperative with the root of the verb **kat**, possibly from the root **qat**, "to ask";

1st Conjugation, **kat a nak-äk-etš**.

2d Conjugation, **kat a kambes**.

3d Conjugation, **kat a sik-ib**.

4th Conjugation, **kat a kanant-e**.

These forms are similar to the future exchanging the **bin** for **kat**. Seler (p. 106) seems to recognize these forms in **ak** only in the 3d person.

<sup>1</sup> Coronel in his paradigms makes an optative by prefixing **kahi** to the future stem. This is undoubtedly the root of the verb **qat**. In his text he states that the optative is made by prefixing **kaina** to the *Futuro Imperfecto*. San Buenaventura gives the form in **kaina** for the optative in addition to the form in **kahi**. Beltran does not show the optative in his paradigms.

<sup>2</sup> Seler endeavors to make out, as previously shown, that all transitive expressions are passive in construction. I think he is incorrect in making this sweeping statement. He admits (p. 86, 90) there are various features which upset this theory.

Class I *b*, **tun ban-s-al**, it is being thrown down, literally, its being affected by someone causing it to tumble down.

**tin kim-s-il**, I am being killed, literally, my being affected by someone causing me to die.

It is interesting to note that, whereas in the passive both subdivisions of Class I use the causal, in the active, transitive, of verbs of Class I *b* the causal is still retained but in Class I *a* it is not found:

Class I *a*. **tun het-ik**, he is opening something.

**tin naɔ'-ik**, I am approaching something.

**tin ah-ik**, I am awakening someone.

Class I *b*. **tun ban-s-ik**, he is destroying something.

**tin kim-s-ik**, I am killing something.

There are some cases in the passive where the vowel of the root does not agree with the vowel of the suffix. There is a tendency to use **-al** as the suffix even where the vowel of the root is not **a**:<sup>1</sup>

Class III. These verbs from neuter stems express the passive relationship by adding **-l** either directly to the stem in Class III *a* or to the stem with the sign of the agent, **t**, in Class III *b*:<sup>2</sup>

Class III *a*. **tin loš-ol**, I am being hit, literally, my being affected by a fist.

**tin haɔ'-al**, I am being whipped.

Class III *b*. **tun mis-t-al**,<sup>3</sup> it is being swept, literally, its being affected by means of a broom.

**tun han-t-al**, it is being eaten.

When the stem ends in a vowel **a** **b** is prefixed to the suffix:<sup>4</sup>

**tun ɔa-b-al**, it is being given.

**tan-k tšl-b-il**, we are being bitten.

**tin tš'a-b-al**, I am being taken.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 56) makes the passive of verbs of his 1st Conjugation by adding **-sal** or **-tal** to the root. He makes no mention in these verbs of an agreement between the vowel of the root with that of the suffix. The **s** of his suffix **-sal** is undoubtedly the causal and the **t** of the suffix **-tal** is the instrument.

Palma y Palma (p. 180) has the same rule.

<sup>2</sup> Beltran (§ 57) gives these same forms for the passive and notes the agreement between the vowel of the stem and that of the suffix. All state that verbs in the passive go in their 1st Conjugation.

<sup>3</sup> The same tendency to use the suffix **-al** even when the vowel of the stem is not **a** is seen here as with verbs of Class I.

<sup>4</sup> Coronel and his followers have this same form. Beltran (§ 57) has the form in **-bal** for the passive for verbs of his 2d and 4th Conjugations;

From **kambesah** he gets the passive, **kambesabal**.

From **kanantah** he gets **kanantabal**.

*Future Time.* In the passive this is expressed by the same stems as in the present with the time particle of the future used with the nominal pronoun and the sign of the future, **-e**:

Class I *a.* **hu** (he-**u**) **het-s-el-e**, it will be opened.

Class I *b.* **hên** (he-**in**) **kim-s-il-e**, I shall be killed, literally, in future time, my being affected by someone causing me to die in future time.

**hên kam-be-s-al-e**, I shall be shown.

Class III *a.* **hên kat-al-e**, I shall be asked.

**hên wal-al-e**, I shall be mentioned.

**hên o'on-ol-e**, I shall be shot, literally, I am affected by a gun

Class III *b.* **hu o'ib-t-il-e**, it will be written.

**hu han-t-al-e**, it will be eaten.

There is a second form for the future in the passive corresponding to the form in **bin** in the active:

Class I *a.* **bin man-s-al-äk-en**, contracting to **bin man-s-äk-en**, I am going to be passed (on the road).

**bin nak-s-al-äk-en**, contracting to **bin nak-s-äk-en**, I am going to be climbed.

Class I *b.* **bin kim-s-al-äk-en**, contracting to **bin kim-s-äk-en**, I am going to be killed, literally, I am going to be affected by someone causing me to die.

Class III *a.* **bin kat-al-äk-en**, I am going to be asked.

**bin al-al-äk-en**, I am going to be awakened.

**bin o'on-ol-äk-en**, I am going to be shot.

Class III *b.* **bin mis-t-al-ak-l**, contracted to **bin mis-t-äk-l**, it is going to be swept, it will be swept.

It should be noted that verbs in Class III *a*, if contracted in these forms, would have the same forms in the future of the passive as in the intransitive active. There is no chance of confusion in the contracted forms of verbs in the other classes as the causal **s** is not found in the intransitive active in verbs of Classes I *a* and I *b*, and the agent **t** is not found in the corresponding forms in verbs of Class III *b*.

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I consider the passives of these verbs should be **kambe-s-al** and **kanan-t-al**. The form **kambesabal** is the passive participle.

Beltran (§ 116) objects to some of the forms of San Buenaventura in the passive of verbs of the 3d Conjugation where the latter states that a **b** is added together with a vowel similar to that of the root;

San Buenaventura gives **yey-b-il**, Beltran gives **yey-al**.

San Buenaventura gives **nuk-b-ul**, Beltran gives **nuk-al**.

The forms of Beltran agree with those given here.

*Past Time.* This is expressed in the passive in all verbs which have a passive by adding a **b** to the sign of the past and the verbal pronoun directly to the stem in verbs of Class III *a*, to the stem with the sign of the agent in Class III *b*, and to the stem with the causal **s** in verbs of Class I:

- Class I.    **ah-s-ah-b-en**, I was awakened.  
               **naɔ'-s-ah-b-en**, I was approached.  
 Class III *a*. **natš-ah-b-en**, I was bitten.  
               **ɔ'on-ah-b-en**, I was shot.  
 Class III *b*. **han-t-ah-b-i**, it was eaten.

It is not clear how these forms have been derived. The usual sign of the past is **ah**. The **b** is seen in the present tense of the passive between two vowels, as already pointed out (p. 85).

The **b** is often exchanged for a **n** and we get other forms expressing the same ideas as above:

- natš-ah-n-en**, I was bitten.<sup>1</sup>  
**ɔ'on-ah-n-en**, I was shot.  
**ah-s-ah-n-en**, I was awakened.

This form in **n** is seen in the past participle:

- natš-an**, a thing bitten.  
**ɔ'on-an**, a thing shot.  
**kim-s-an**, a thing killed, literally, a thing caused to die.

There is another form expressing distant past in the passive made by duplicating the sign of the past, **-ah**:

- ɔ'on-ah-ah-n-en**, I was shot a long time ago.

**VERBAL NOUNS.** There is a large class of verbal nouns made directly from the stem by the use of the verbal pronoun. This pronoun always carries with it the verbal idea, "the one who does something" or "the one affected by the action of the verb." It is never found in the present tense with verbs. It is used with no sign of the past in verbs of Class I to express past time. These forms are really verbal nouns;

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare these forms with the intransitive, active, past tense;

- natš-n-ah-en**, I performed the action of biting.  
**natš-ah-n-en**, I was bitten.  
**ɔ'on-[n]-ah-en**, I shot, literally, I was a gunner.  
**ɔ'on ah-n-en**, I was shot, literally, I was gunned.

- Class I. **lub-en**, I fell, I am a faller, I am one who falls.  
**man-en**, I bought, I am a buyer, I am a merchant.  
**han-en**, I ate, I am an eater.  
**nak-en**, I climbed, I am a climber.  
**kim-s-en**, I am a matador, I am one who causes something to die.

With verbs of Class III verbal nouns are made in the same way;

- ɔ'on-en**, I am a gunner.  
**qai-y-etš**, you are a singer.  
**ooqot-en**, I am a dancer.

It should be noted that, unlike verbs of Class I, these forms in Class III are not the same as those used for the past tense. The past of verbs in Class III is made by infixing **n** and the sign of the past, **-ah**, between the root and the verbal pronoun:

- ɔ'on-[n]-ah-en**, I shot.  
**qai-n-ah-etš**, you sang.  
**ooqot-n-ah-en**, I danced.

The prefixes of gender, **H** for male, and **š** for female, are used with the verbal nouns:

- H-man-en**, I am a male merchant.  
**š-qai-etš**, you are a female singer.

There is a chance for confusion in the 1st person of the verbal pronoun especially with verbs of Class I as the same form is used for the imperative of the intransitive as well as for the past tense. As already pointed out (p. 72), the form for the past usually has an initial **t** or **t'** and the verbal noun has the sign of the gender.

There is a class of nouns made from verbs by means of the suffix **-b** preceded by the vowel corresponding to that of the stem.<sup>1</sup> This suffix denotes the instrument with which the action is performed. This **b** undoubtedly is the same as that found in the past tense of the passive.

- bah-ab**, a hammer, from **bah**, to nail.  
**he-eb**, a key, from **he**, to open, the instrument by which something is opened.

*Past Participle.* Verbal nouns having the meaning usually assigned to the past participle end in **-an**.<sup>2</sup> This is added to the root;

<sup>1</sup> Compare Seler, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§ 101) states that this participle is formed in **aan** or **ahan**:  
**mentaan** or **mentahan**, *hecho*.  
**p'ooan**, *lavado*.

neither causal sign nor that of the agent appear in Classes I *b* and III *b* respectively. In verbs of Class II the *t* of the suffix *-tal* may be retained, giving *-tan*, or the form may be made in *-lan*.<sup>1</sup>

Class I *a*. **nak-an**, a thing fallen.

Class I *b*. **kim-an**, a thing dead.<sup>2</sup>

Class II. **kuš-t-an** or **kuš-l-an**, a thing living.

Class III *a*. **ɔ'on-an**, a thing shot.

Class III *b*. **mis-an**, a thing swept.<sup>3</sup>

The plural of the participle follows the same rule as that for the adjective, adding the suffix, *-tāk* or *-āk*. This may be used with or without the regular plural ending *-ob*. The latter may also be used alone:

**ɔ'iban-āk**, **ɔ'iban-āk-ob**, **ɔ'iban-ob**, things written.

*Passive Participle.* The passive idea in verbal nouns is brought out by means of the suffixes *-bal* or *-bil* added to the passive stem.<sup>4</sup> When the stem ends in a consonant an *a* is added for euphony between the consonant of the stem and that of the suffix:<sup>5</sup>

Class I *a*. **nak-s-a-bal**, a thing to be climbed.

Class I *b*. **kim-s-a-bal**, a thing to be killed.

Class III *a*. **ɔ'on-a-bal**, a thing to be shot.

Class III *b*. **mis-t-a-bal**, a thing to be swept.

*Infinitive.* There is no infinitive in Maya.<sup>6</sup> The infinitive construction, used in English, after verbs denoting purpose, desire,

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 126) and Lopez (§ 101) give the participle of these verbs as ending in *-lan*. I am rather inclined to agree that this is a better form than the one in *-tan*.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§ 101) gives this form as **kim-en**.

<sup>3</sup> Beltran (§ 179) states that the participle of verbs corresponding to those of Class III *b* may have the *t* as well as the *-an*:

**ɔ'ib-t-an** or **ɔ'ib-an**, a written thing.

<sup>4</sup> These forms correspond to the future passive participle of the Spanish grammars;

**nak-s-a-bal.**

**kam-be-s-bil** or **kam-be-s-bal.**

<sup>5</sup> In verbs of Class I the stem would always end in a consonant as the passive stem takes the causal *s*. In verbs of Class III *b*, it also ends in a consonant as this class takes the sign of the agent, *t*, as a part of the stem in the passive.

<sup>6</sup> Much is made in the early Spanish grammars of the infinitive. In their 1st Conjugation the present of the infinitive is the stem in *l* (**nakal**). The past infinitive in Beltran (**nakil**) is undoubtedly incorrect as it is inconsistent with the past forms he gives in the other conjugations. Coronel and San Buenaventura have a past in **nakijl** which shows the *h* (*j*) sound which is the usual

ability, etc. is expressed in Maya by a future and is really in the nature of a clause introduced, in many cases, by the particle *ka* (p. 92).

**INCHOATIVE OR INCEPTIVE VERBS.** These are made by adding the suffix *-hal* or *-tal* to the verbal stem with the nominal pronoun.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that these inchoative verbs are probably distinct from verbs of Class II in *-tal* which make their past in *l-ah*, although the suffix *-tal* is common to both forms;

*tin winik-tal* or *winik-hal*, I am becoming a man.

*tin kana-tal*, I am increasing in height.

*tun yek-tal*, it is growing dark.

The future is formed in two ways, by using the time particle of the future with the nominal pronoun and the suffix *-e*, retaining the *-tal*, or changing the sign *ah* of the past in the particle *tš-ah* to *al*, obtaining the form *tš-al*:

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method of showing past time. In the 2d Conjugation, Coronel and San Buenaventura have forms ending in *-ah*. These are clearly incorrect for the present, as pointed out by Beltran (§ 105), and San Buenaventura seems to recognize this as he gives a second form for the present which corresponds with that of Beltran. In the 4th Conjugation, Coronel and San Buenaventura are probably incorrect as they give the past participle, *kanan*, for the present of the infinitive. Beltran in this conjugation gives for the past infinitive a passive form, *kanan-tabil*. Martínez says there is an infinitive in *-al*, *-el*, *-il*, *-ol* and *-ul* when "taken in a general sense":

*u tanlah-il Dios*, *el servir a Dios*,

*u han-al pišan*, *el comer de los almas*.

*u o'on-ol ke*, *el cazar venados*.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§ 90) uses the term neuter in describing these verbs in *-hal*. He does not mention the corresponding form in *-tal* but gives a form in *-hil*. He states that the past is made in *bi*, the future in *ak*.

Coronel and San Buenaventura (fol. 9b, ob.) have only the forms in *-tal*. This is one of the cases where the two older authorities agree with the modern usage.

Seler (p. 80) states that the forms in *-hal*, used by Beltran, are older than the forms in *-tal*. It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the fact that Coronel and San Buenaventura give the forms in *-tal*. Furthermore Seler endeavors to connect the form in *-tal* with the *t* or *te* used as a demonstrative with the verbal pronoun. He correctly points out the limitations of meaning when *-tal* is used as that of an inchoative. He uses the form in *kah* with these verbs;

*winik-hal-in-kah* or *winik-tal-in-kah*.

I did not find this form in common use. The nominal pronoun with the time particle is used as shown below.

**hën winik-tal-e** or **winik-tš-al-e**, I shall become a man.  
**hek kohan-tš-al-e**, we shall become ill.

The past tense seems to be seldom used with these verbs. When found the suffix **-tal** changes to **tš** and the sign of the past, **ah**, with the verbal pronoun is used:

**winik-tš-ah-etš**, you became a man.  
**kana-tš-ah-en**, I increased in height.

There seems little doubt that, originally, both **-tal** or **-hal** and **-tš** were used to express the inchoative idea with no distinction as now observed between the use of **-tal** in the present and **-tš** in the past. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that both **-tal** and **-tšal** are found in the future.<sup>1</sup>

Attention may be called again to the nouns denoting accustomed state or condition in **-tal** (p. 38).

**ITERATIVE OR FREQUENTATIVE VERBS.** These are made by duplicating the first syllable:<sup>2</sup>

**tin bi-qab**, I tap with the fingers.  
**tin bi-bi-qab**, I tap frequently with the fingers.  
**tin la-k-etš**, I strike you with the palm.  
**tin la-la-k-etš**, I strike you several times with the palm.

**REFLEXIVE VERBS.** There is a class of verbs used with the particle **-pahal**, which are reflexive:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Seler (p. 81) gives both the forms in **-hal** or **-tal** and **-tšahal** for the present; **winik-hal** or **winik-tal** to be a man, to prove himself a man.

**winik-tšah-al**, just now to be a man, to become manly, attain a position. I consider that the **-ah** of his infix **-tšah** is the sign of the past and should not be used in the present tense. The proper form would be;

**tin winik-tš-al.**

Seler (p. 84, 85) has much to say regarding the use of **h** which "added to nouns forms neutral themes with the meaning 'made for this and that,' 'being this and that,' e.g.;

**eeq-ha-al**, to be black, to become black."

This is really the inchoative verb and the more usual form is not **-hal** but **-tal**.

<sup>2</sup> Beltran (§ 127) states that this type of verbs almost always is found in the 4th Conjugation. He adds that the adverb **ɔ'eo'etak**, signifying *a menudo ó con frecuencia* is used with verbs of his 1st Conjugation;

**lubul**, to fall.

**ɔ'eo'etak lubul**, to fall frequently.

Palma y Palma (p. 163-167) describes these forms very clearly.

<sup>3</sup> See also verbs used with the reflexive pronoun, p. 50.



tšun, begin.  
 tun tšun-pa-hal, it begins itself.  
 tšun-pa-hi, it began itself.  
 tun tšun-pa-hal qin, the day is beginning.  
 tun lotš-pa-hal, it bends itself.

RECIPROCAL VERBS. See under Reciprocal Pronoun, p. 51.

CLAUSES. *Final clauses expressing purpose or motive.* These are made by using a future construction. The nominal pronoun takes no time particle but the -e of the future is retained:<sup>1</sup>

tin bin in bet-e, I go to make something, literally, in present time, my going, my making something in future time.

The form in -kah can also be used to express the same idea;

bin-in-kah in bet-e, contracted to bin-in-k-in bet-e. I am going to make it.

bin-in-kah utial in wil-e, I go in order to see it.

bin-in-kah in wil-e, contracted to bin-in-k-in wil-e, I go to see it.

When the object is expressed, the -e of the future is usually dropped;

bin-in-kah in bet na, I go to build a house.

*Object clauses expressing ability, knowledge, desire, fear, compulsion, command, etc.* These also take the future construction. In some cases the time particle is omitted with the nominal pronoun;

in qat in wil-e, I desire to see it.

u pat in ɔ'lb-t-e, I am able to write it.

in wohel in be-t-e, I know how to do it.

As in the preceding examples, when the object is expressed by a noun, the -e is usually dropped:

in qat in hant wa, I desire to eat tortillas.

u pat in ɔ'lb-t huun, I am able to write a letter.

The particle *ka* often introduces these clauses especially with the form of the indefinite future in *āk* and the verbal pronoun:

in qat ka uɔ-s-āk-etš, I desire you to be good.

leeti u qat qai-n-āk-en, he (demonstrative) wishes me to sing.

in qat tetš ka wal-ik-t-en, I wish you to tell me.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§§ 99, 100) notes that the future forms are used in some cases after the verb, to desire, where one would expect the infinitive to be used.

or in qat tetš ka wal-t-en.  
 tin al-ik ka alkaab-n-äk-en, I say that I shall run.  
 saken ka kohan-(n)-äk-en, I fear I shall be ill.  
 tin al-t-etš or al-ah-t-etš ka sik-etš, I told you to go.

*Relative clauses.* There is no special difference between the verb in a relative clause and that in any other place:

lë winik qai-n-ah-i kim-i, the man who sang is dead, literally, the man  
 he sang, he died.

There is a relative relation introduced by the particle **lik** or **likil** denoting in which, by which, for which, etc.:<sup>1</sup>

likil in wenel, (the object) in which I sleep, my hammock.  
 likil in meya, (the object) with which I work, my pencil.  
 likil q kuš-tal, (the object) by which we live, maize.  
 likil in putš-ik, (the object) with which I strike, my stick.

There is a relative idea conveyed in the compound formed of the particle **t** or **ti** and the verbal pronoun:

maš putš-ah-en, who hit me?  
 t-en putš-etš, I am the one who hit you.

*Temporal Clauses.* These are usually introduced by the particle **ka**:

tin wal-ah-t-etš ka kutš-en, I told it to you when I arrived.  
 k-in qai k-en sik-en-e, I may sing when I arrive.

Sometimes the particle is repeated before the main clause as well as before that of the temporal:

ka tal-etš-e ka kohan-h-en, when you came, I was ill.  
 le ka ɔ'ok in qai-y-e ka bin-en, after I had sung, I went.

*Conditional Clauses.* These are usually introduced by the particle **wa**, **if**, or **keš**, although. The verb in these clauses does not differ from that in the main part of the sentence:

<sup>1</sup> Beltran (§§ 94, 95) has the form in **lik** or **likil** and states that it denotes *en que, con que, de que, por donde, porque*, etc., also "*que suele hacerse lo que el verbo significa*." :

uo yaab qan likil á wenel, good is the hammock in which you are accustomed to sleep.

uo luum kuš lik in yum, good is the land in which my father lives.

Beltran (§ 240) has another *mutanza* with intransitive verbs in the past when used in a clause meaning "*en que*" etc. In his example he adds a **k** in the 3d person;

lai ts'en lub-k-i, Juan, this is the well into which John fell.

Seler (p. 120, 121) identifies this suffix, **-lik** as a combination of **-ik**, our sign of the present transitive verb, and the suffixes **-al**, **-el**, **-il**, **-ol**, **-ul**.

**wa ka al-ik-t-en k-in bin**, if you tell it to me, I shall (may) go.

**keš tal-i bin-en**, although he came, I went.

**keš tun qai sut-on t'-na-i**, although he is singing, we returned to our house.

**INTERROGATIVE.** In general there seems to be no particular form of particle marking the interrogative. The rising voice alone seems to indicate a question. This may be a convention of later times. The particle **wa** is sometimes used as an interrogative with the meaning "by chance" or "perhaps" and comes as the final suffix:<sup>1</sup>

**ooqot-n-ah-etš-wa**, did you, by chance, dance?

**t-a-putš-ah-wa**, did you, by chance, strike him?

When the interrogative is used with the transitive verb in the past tense the sign of the past is sometimes omitted both in the question and in the answer. A final **-e** is found in the 3d person in these forms:

**maš putš-en**, who struck me?

**t-en putš-etš**, I was the one who struck you.

**maš putš-e**, who struck him?

**t-en putš-e**, I struck him, I am the one who struck him.

**maš mis-t-e na**, who swept the house?

**t-en mis-t-e na**, I swept the house.

When the answer to a question is in the negative the suffix **-i** or **-il** is usually found with the negative **ma**. The use of this same suffix is noted (p. 104) with the adverbs:

**bin-etš**, did you go?

**ma bin-en-i**, no, I did not go.

**kohan-ob**, are they ill?

**ma kohan-ob-i**, no, they are not ill.

The interrogative pronouns, **maš**, **tuš**, **baš**, etc. are considered under the pronoun (p. 51).

In questions asking permission which are expressed in the future an affirmative answer is given in the imperative:

**mis-nāk-en**, may I sweep?

**mis-n-en**, yes, sweep.

**kul-āk-en**, may I sit down?

**kul-en**, yes, sit down.

**mis-(t-e) na**, may I sweep the house?

**mis-t-e**, yes, sweep it.

When permission is not given and the answer is negative the root alone is used in the transitive with the proper ending and the root alone in the intransitive:

**mis-nāk-en**, may I sweep?

**ma, mis**, no, do not sweep.

**mis-(t-e) na**, may I sweep the house?

**ma, mis-t-ik**, no, do not sweep it.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Palma y Palma, p. 178, 179.

## THE ADJECTIVE

There is no real adjective in Maya. Words which have usually been considered as adjectives are really intransitive verbs. The term adjective has however been retained as describing these forms:<sup>1</sup>

**keel**, he is cold, it is cold, or something cold.

**keel winik**, the man is cold or the cold man.

**kohan winik tun tal**, the man is sick, he is coming, or the sick man is coming.

The attributive and predicate relationship are not distinguished;<sup>2</sup>

**le na boš**, this house is black or the black house.

These adjective-like forms have been put into a class by themselves in the treatment of the verb as their past tenses are made in a different way from that used in the regular intransitive forms. This is one of the many places where an arbitrary ruling must be made in regard to the place where forms should be considered which are on the dividing line between two categories.

It has been thought best to retain the heading "adjective" for the sake of clearness and to consider number and comparison here rather than under the verb. The idea of time, however, is taken up under Class IV of the verbs (p. 59).

**ORDER.** The adjective usually precedes the noun but there are many exceptions to the rule;

**u lak winik**, the other man.

**u winik šan**, the same man.

**NUMBER.** The plural ending is usually expressed only in the noun used with the adjective. Some cases, however, occur where both the adjective and the noun have the sign of the plural. Plural in the adjective is not usually shown by the same form, **-ob**, as with nouns, but by the suffixes **-ăk**, **-tăk**, or **-lăk**, the same as those used for participles:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a good discussion of the adjective, see Palma y Palma (p. 160-162.)

Lopez (§§ 30-33) has two classes of adjectives: — qualifying and determinative.

Martínez insists that there is an adjective and, like the English adjective, it precedes the noun.

<sup>2</sup> Seler (p. 77) makes an attributive expression by means of the suffixes **-al**, **-el**, **-il**, **-ol**, **-ul**:

**uc-ul winik-ob**, the good men.

**oak-il na**, the white house.

<sup>3</sup> Coronel notes the plural in **-tăk** as used for participles.

Seler (p. 114) is inclined to interpret the plural ending **-lak** as related to the

uc na, a good house, or the house is good,  
uc-tāk na-ob, the good houses, or the houses are good.

*Reduplication.* This is sometimes employed to express the plural in adjectives:

taš be, a smooth road.                      ta-taš be-ob, smooth roads.

There are a few adjectives which have different forms for the singular and plural:

nohotš tunitš, a large stone.                      nukutš tunitš-ob, large stones.

*COMPARISON. Comparative.* The comparative is made by adding the suffix -il to the adjective form:

uc, good, uc-il or u-yuc-il, better.  
natš, far, natš-il, farther.

This may be a case where there was at one time a vocalic harmony between the vowel of the stem and that of the ending in -il.<sup>1</sup>

*Superlative.* This is formed by prefixing the word hātš meaning "much, very, or many" to the comparative:<sup>2</sup>

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passive or intransitive stem in -al, -el, -il, -ol, -ul, the suffix vowel of which is elided with the collective or plural suffix -ak, -ik. As a matter of fact the -lak suffix for the plural is very uncommon. -ak or -tak are much more common. Seler (p. 122, 123) considers the suffix -ak as identical with -ah as a sign of the past. His authority for this is evidently Perez who gives the forms and translations noted by Seler;

alabil, what is or shall be said.	bahun-ak, how much were they?
alabil-ak, it was said.	biqin, biqinš, when?
bahun, how much?	biqinš-ak, when was it?

The Motul dictionary seems to make no distinction between bahun and bahun-ak. It does not give the form biqinš-ak and distinctly states that biqin is used for the present and past. The San Francisco dictionary gives bahun and bahunš using them in both the present and past. It does not give bahun-ak. I am rather inclined to consider the -ak in these forms of Perez as denoting a plural although the Motul gives an example of the use of bahun with a plural noun.

<sup>1</sup> Strength is given to this supposition by the fact that Beltran (§ 27) gives the form yuc-ul (yutzul) for better, nohol, greater, qasal, worst, but he also notes that the Indian in talking usually uses the suffix -il.

Lopez (§ 36) does not accept this way of making the comparative at the present time. He writes, "Antiguamente, según asegura el P. Beltrán, se formaba el comparativo repitiendo la última vocal y añadiéndole una ele . . . pero actualmente no se usa. También, dice que se forma añadiendo al positivo la partícula il; pero a mi modo de ver, mejor se le llamaría superlativo relativo." Lopez forms the comparative by using the particles, asab, mas, or masab with the positive.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§ 37) also uses sem or semketš, lem or lemketš, het, bahan and kalam to form the superlative degree.

**hătš** uo-il **na-ob**, the best houses.

**hătš** natš-il, the farthest.

The form **hătš** is often used directly with the adjective to form the comparative:

in **na hătš** uo **ket a na**, my house is better than your house.

*Diminutives or diminution of the idea.* This is expressed by reduplication:

**noh** or **nohotš**, great.

**sak**, white.

**no-noh** or **no-nohotš**, *grandecillo*.

**sa-sak**, *medio blanco*.

A more common way of expressing a diminution or an increase of the idea expressed by the adjective is by the words, **hătš**, very, and the word **qas** meaning bad.<sup>1</sup>:

**tătšan**, small.

**qas tătšan**, rather small, *medio chico*.

**hătš tătšan**, very small.

**NUMERALS.** The numeral system is vigesimal.<sup>2</sup> There is a consistent treatment so that there is practically no number that cannot be expressed in Maya.

*Terms given by the early Spaniards.* These are as follows:

20 units = 1 **qal**,  $1 \times 20 = 20$ .

20 **qal** = 1 **baq**,  $20 \times 20 = 400$ .

20 **baq** = 1 **pik**,  $20 \times 20 \times 20 = 8,000$ .

20 **pik** = 1 **kalab**,  $20 \times 20 \times 20 \times 20 = 160,000$ .

20 **kalab** = 1 **qintšil**,  $20 \times 160,000 = 3,200,000$ .

20 **qintšil** = 1 **alaw**,  $20 \times 3,200,000 = 64,000,000$  (?).

*Terms used in the hieroglyphic writing.* It is clear from a study of the hieroglyphic writing that the early Mayas were accustomed to deal with very large number series, numbers running into the millions, especially the long number series in the Dresden Codex.<sup>3</sup>

The system now commonly used in the hieroglyphic writing is as follows:

20 **Kin** = 1 **Uinal**, 20 days.

18 **Uinal** = 1 **Tun**, 360 days.

20 **Tun** = 1 **Katun**, 7200 days.

20 **Katun** = 1 Cycle, 144,000 days.

13 or 20 Cycle = 1 Great Cycle, 1,872,000 or 2,880,000 days.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Palma y Palma, p. 161, 162, and Lopez, § 38.

<sup>2</sup> For a complete discussion of the numerals, see Thomas, 1897-1898. See also Part III, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of these number series, see Bowditch, 1910, Chapter VI.

It is not certain regarding all the names given by the early Mayas to the different divisions. The numbers were expressed very simply in the hieroglyphic writing by a system of super-imposed bars and dots.

There is a certain unity between the numeral system now used and that on which the ancient calendrical reckoning was based. In the latter, however, 18 units of the 2d order made one of the 3d. There is also a question whether in the stone inscriptions 20 of the 5th order made one of the 6th or 13 of the 5th made one of the 6th. The change in the 2d order from 20 to 18 was probably due to a desire to bring about some degree of accord between the actual length of a year and a unit of the 3d order, a **Tun** being 360 days.

*Terms used at present time.* The Mayas of the present time naturally have little occasion for large numbers although some are capable of counting up into the thousands. The Lacandones, on the other hand, seem entirely unable to use numbers higher than three or four. They point to the fingers and toes when they desire to signify higher numbers.

Taking into consideration the ancient Maya method of expressing numbers by bars and dots, a bar representing five and a dot one, we might expect a quinary system with multiples of five up to twenty. This is not so, however, as the change in nomenclature is made at ten. There are different words used for the numbers from 1 through 9. The word for 10, **la hun**, probably means "all of one count." **La** is the particle denoting totality.<sup>1</sup>

The word for 11, **buluk**, is quite different from the word for one. It is to be noted that in the face numerals the hieroglyph for 11, as far as can be made out at present, does not show any of the characteristics of the number for one.

The words for the numbers 12 to 19 correspond in meaning with the words for 2 to 9 with the addition of the particle **lah**, signifying "all":

**lah ka**, all of 2.

**lah oš**, all of 3, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Thomas, 1897-98, p. 891. He points out that Henderson in his manuscript Maya-English dictionary has as the meaning of **lah**, "whole hands."

It is suggested, as another possibility, that *la* is to be derived from *laq* meaning "the other" or "the accompanying," giving the idea of first counting the fingers up to 10 and then starting with the toes up to 20. This suggestion would have more value if *la* was found with the number 11 and not with 10.

## NUMERATION

Tozzer	Beltran
1. hun-	hun-
2. ka-	ka- (ca)
3. oš-	oš- (ox)
4. kăn-	kan- (can)
5. ho-	ho-
6. wāk-	wak- (uac)
7. wuk-	wuk- (uuc)
8. wašak-	wašak- (uaxac)
9. bolon-	bolon-
10. la hun-	la hun-
11. buluk-	buluk- (buluc)
12. la ka-	lah ka- (lah cá)
13. la oš-	oš la hun- (ox la hun)
14. la kăn-	kan la hun- (can la hun)
15. la ho-	hol hun-
16. la wāk-	wak la hun- (uac la hun)
17. la wuk-	wuk la hun- (uuc la hun)
18. la wašak-	wašak la hun- (uaxac la hun)
19. la bolon-	bolon la hun-
20. hun qal-	hun qal- (hun kal)
21. hun qal yete hun-	hun tu qal- (hun tu kal)
22. hun qal yete ka-	ka tu qal- (ca tu kal)
30. hun qal yete la hun-	la hu ka qal- (la hu ca kal)
31. hun qal yete buluk-	buluk tu qal- (buluc tu kal)
32. hun qal yete la ka-	lah ka tu qal- (lah ca tukal)
40. ka qal-	ka qal- (ca kal)
41. ka qal yete hun-	hun tu yoš qal- (hun tu yox kal)
50. ka qal yete la hun-	la hu yoš qal- (la hu yox kal)
60. oš qal-	oš qal- (ox kal)
70. oš qal yete la hun-	la hu kan qal- (la hu can kal)
80. kăn qal-	kan qal- (can kal)
90. kăn qal yete la hun-	la hu yo qal- (la hu yo kal)
100. ho qal-	ho qal- (ho kal)
101. ho qal yete hun-	hun tu wak qal-
110. ho qal yete la hun-	la hu wak qal-
111. ho qal yete la hun yete hun-	buluk tu wak qal-
120. wāk qal-	wak qal-



NUMERATION (*continued*)

Tozzer	Beltran
130. wāk qal yete la hun-	la hu wuk qal-
140. wuk qal-	wuk qal-
160. waśak qal-	waśak qal-
180. bolon qal-	bolon qal-
200. la hun qal-	la hun qal-
220. buluk qal-	buluk qal-
240. la ka qal-	lah ka qal-
260. la oś qal-	oś lahu qal-
280. la kăn qal-	kan lahu qal-
300. la ho qal-	hol hu qal-
320. la wāk qal-	wak lahu qal-
340. la wuk qal-	wuk lahu qal-
360. la waśak qal-	waśak lahu qal-
380. la bolon qal-	bolon lahu qal-
400. hun baq-	hun baq-

*Beltran's numeration.* There is little doubt that the Maya numeration for the higher numbers has fallen into disuse at the present time.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that practically all late grammars give the numeration of Beltran rather than the numbers used at the present time.<sup>2</sup>

The reader is given a chance on p. 99-100, to compare the numbers as given by Beltran with those collected by the writer. I have given the numbers only to 400.<sup>3</sup> I present these with some hesitation.

Beltran has the same form for 12 as that given here but for the numbers 13 to 19 he gives:

oś la hun, 13 (3 and 10).

kan la hun, 14 (4 and 10), etc.

The form for 10 is thus carried through all the numbers from 13 to 19. Attention should be called to the analogy here between these

<sup>1</sup> Compare Cruz (1912, p. 110) who writes, "*El sistema de numeración maya puede decirse que ha caído en desuso, ¿será posible volverlo á su primitivo estado hoy que está mezclado con el español? Es de dudarse. Día ha de llegar en que hasta el propio idioma quede sepultado eternamente. Nosotros no auguramos á la lengua maya, que fué gloriosa, ningún porvenir, y si presentimos que tarde ó temprano caiga en desuso eterno. Pueda que fracasemos en nuestros pronósticos pero lo dudamos.*"

<sup>2</sup> See Lopez § 180. Note, however, the numbers given in Appendix IV, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> For the numbers above 400, the reader is referred to the list in Beltran, "*Artículo Undecimo*," Thomas, 1897-1898, p. 861, 890-893, or Lopez, § 180.

forms using 10 as a foundation and the face numerals in the hieroglyphic inscriptions for the numbers 13 to 19. These latter show, in most cases, a fleshless lower jaw signifying 10 in addition to the glyph for the numbers from 3 to 9.

In the forms given here *yetel*, with, is used with all numbers not multiples of 20:

*hun qal yete hun*, 21 (one 20 with one).

These correspond to forms given by Perez (1866-1877) and Brinton (1882, p. 39) in *katak*. Both *yetel*, and *katak* have the meaning "and," "with." Brinton uses the form in *katak* as an alternative in numbers above 40:

*ka kal katak ka*, 42 (2 score and 2).

Perez gives the example:

*hun qal katak ho*, 25 (one score and 5).

Beltran's numbers for 30 and 35:

*la hu ka qal*

*hol hu ka qal*.

and all numbers above 40 use the unit of *qal* *above* rather than *below* the number expressed:

*hol hu ka qal*, 35, literally, 15, 2 *qal* or, freely, 15 toward the 2d *qal* (40).

The numbers from 31 to 34 and 36 to 39, on the other hand, use the unit of *qal* *below* the number expressed:

*wak la hun tu qal*, 36 (16 on the [one] *qal*).

All numbers above 40 correspond in form with those for 30 and 35, using the unit of *qal* *above* the number expressed:

*hun tu yoš qal*, 41 (one on the 3d *qal*).

It seems clear that there is some mistake here in Beltran's numeration, although all writers have followed him in giving the same forms. The same particle, *tu*, is used both in those forms for numbers below 40 which add the number to the *preceding* unit of *qal*, and also in the forms for 30, 35 and those above 40, where the number is really added, if we accept the meaning of *tu*, to the *ucceeding* unit of *qal*:<sup>1</sup>

*ka tu qal*, 22 (2 to *qal*).

*ka tu yoš qal*, 42 (2 to 3 *qal*, not 2 to 2 *qal*).

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<sup>1</sup> In this connection, Thomas (1897-1898, p. 891) writes, "Perez, as quoted by Dr. Brinton, says, in an unpublished essay in the latter's possession, that Beltran's method of expressing the numbers is erroneous; that 41 should be

Under the same rule, after 380 is reached, Beltran starts with 381 counting towards the next higher unit of **baq**, 400:

**hun tu hun baq**, 381 (1 to [1] **baq**).

**ho tu hun baq**, 385 (5 to [1] **baq**), etc.

A point, not previously mentioned in connection with Beltran's numeration, is that **tu** is not used with the forms adding 10 and 15 to each **qal** unit, namely, 30 and 35, 50 and 55, 70 and 75, etc.:

**la hu ka qal**, 30.

**la hu yoš qal**, 50.

**hol hu ka qal**, 35.

**hol hu yoš qal**, 55.

This omission of the **tu** is to be noted in the same relative places<sup>1</sup> until 190 is reached when it is found again:

**la hu tu la hun qal**, 190.

**hol hu tu la hun qal**, 195.

The **tu** is then found in the same relative places until 370 is reached when it is dropped again:

**la hu bolon la hu qal**, 370.

It is found with the next number when 15 is added to the unit:

**hol hu tu bolon la hu qal**, 375.

and it is dropped again for the next 10 added to the **qal**:

**la hu hun baq**, 390.

and added for the next 15:

**hol hu tu hun baq**, 395

I cannot explain this irregularity in these two places in the numeration. The fact that, with the exception of the even **qal** and

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**hun-tu-kaqal**; 42, **ka-tu-kaqal**; 83, **oš-tu-kanqal**, etc. Nevertheless, as Dr. Brinton has pointed out, the numerals above 40 are given in Perez's Dictionary of the Maya Language according to Beltran's system, which appears from other evidence to be correct. Léon de Rosny suggests that **hun-tu-yošqal** should be explained thus:  $60 - 20 + 1$ . However, the correct rendering appears to be 1 on the third score, or third 20. It is possible that an old and a new reckoning prevailed among the Mayas, as apparently among the Cakchiquels. According to Stoll the latter people had an old and a more recent method of enumerating. . . . Perez says that **tu** is an abbreviation of the numeral particle **tul**, but Rosny says, '*Je crois que ce n'est point, comme il [Bancroft] le suppose, la simple conjonction et, mais une phrase des mots ti-u, dans son, à lui, sien; u est un pronom appelé par les grammairiens Espanols mixte et qui forme la copulation, comme en Anglais l's du genitif.*' Dr. Berendt adopts the same opinion, which is probably correct."

<sup>1</sup> That is, 70 and 75, 90 and 95, 110 and 115, 130 and 135, 150 and 155, 170 and 175.

**baq**, **tu** is always found except in some of the forms adding 10 and 15 to the units seems to show some definite purpose when it is omitted.<sup>1</sup>

The unit above **qal** is **baq** which is equivalent to  $20 \times 20$ , 400. This word has the meaning "to roll up, to tie around." It has already been noted that the **baq** unit comes in first with 381.

Beltran's numbers above 400, except even multiples of this unit, **baq**, are evidently abbreviated. Otherwise they are unintelligible.

**ho tu baq**, 500 = **ho qal tu baq**.

**la hu tu baq**, 600 = **la hun qal tu baq**.

Above 800, in the same way as before, the next higher unit is used:

**ho tu yoš baq**, 900 = **ho qal tu yoš baq** (100 on 3d **baq**).

The unit of the 3d place ( $20 \times 20 \times 20$ , 8000) is **pik**, meaning "cotton cloth or a kind of petticoat." As pointed out by Thomas (1897-1898, p. 893), Henderson gives the significance of **pik** as "a bag made out of a petticoat" which corresponds with the Mexican term for 8000.

Beltran points out (§ 312) that the Mayas in his day used the term **pik** as meaning 1000 rather than 8000.

The unit of the 4th place ( $20 \times 20 \times 20 \times 20$ , 160,000) is **kalab** and that for the 5th place ( $20 \times 20 \times 20 \times 20 \times 20$ , 3,200,000) is **qintšil**, and that for the 6th place is **alaw**.<sup>2</sup>

*Numeral Classifiers.* There is a large number of classificatory suffixes in use with the numerals. The latter can never stand alone. These suffixes qualify the term and show into what class the objects counted fall. At the present time all nouns are broadly classified into two classes, animate and inanimate, by the two suffixes **-tul** and **-p'el**:

**oš-tul winik**, three men,

**oš-p'el na**, three houses.

Apart from a few other classifiers there is not much attention paid by the Mayas of the present time to the finer distinctions formerly made by these suffixes. Some, however, are always used.

<sup>1</sup> There is one exception to this rule. Beltran's form for 171, **buluk bolon qal**, omits the **tu**.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of these terms, see Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 894.

A list of suffixes used as classifiers for the numeral as given, for the most part, by Beltran (§ 313) and translated by Nuttall (1903) <sup>1</sup> is given in Appendix III, p. 290-292.

### THE ADVERB

**POSITION.** Adverbs, especially those formed from the intransitive verb-adjective, have two positions in regard to the verb and its subject. They may be placed either at the beginning before the nominal pronoun or between the nominal pronoun and the verb:

*seeb tin konil*, I sell it easily.

*tšambe tin ɔ'ib*, I write slowly.

*gas tin ɔ'ib*, I write badly.

*tin tšitš šimbal*, I walk fast.

I cannot state any rule for the position of the adverb in these forms. Some seem always to be placed before the pronoun and others after the pronoun.

In verbs where the verbal pronoun rather than the nominal is used the adverb comes at the beginning;

*tšambe ɔ'ib-n-ah-en*, I wrote slowly.

Forms used with the verbal pronoun may have the particle *-il* or *-ik* inserted between the root and the pronoun:

*tšitš šimbal-n-ah-il-en*, I walked fast, or *tšitš šimbal-n-ah-ik-en*.

*tšitš šimbal-n-ah-ah-n-il-en*, I walked fast a long time ago.

*suk kohan-il-en*, I am always ill.

*suk keel-il-en*, I am always cold.

The adverbial particles are very numerous in Maya. No attempt has been made to exhaust the list.<sup>2</sup> The most important are as follows:

**NEGATION.** This is shown by the particle *ma* which precedes the nominal pronoun and comes immediately before the verb when the verbal pronoun is used:

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Nuttall makes a very pertinent "suggestion to Maya scholars" as to the identity between the significance of some of these classificatory particles and portions of the hieroglyphic writing appearing with the series of numbers. These number series, worked out up to the present time, all relate to periods of time. There is no reference whatever to objects of various classes being counted. It is especially desired that something may be done in this line of research.

<sup>2</sup> The reader is referred to the lists given in Beltran and in San Buenaventura. See also Lopez, Chapter VIII.

**mi-nan**, contracting from **ma-yan**, there is none.

**ma-in bin**, I am not going.

**ma-bin-etš**, you did not go.

The particle **-il**, noted above, may be used with the negative coming, however, after the verbal pronoun:

**ma sak-en-il**, I was not afraid.

The final **l** is often lost and we get: <sup>1</sup>

**ma sak-en-l**.

**ma bin-en-l**, I did not go.

It will be noted that the forms of the nominal pronoun are not compounded with a time particle in these examples. The sign of the past, **-ah**, may also be omitted with the negative. The nominal pronoun usually contracts with the negative and the final **-l** is lost as noted above: <sup>2</sup>

**ma-in** into **min**.

**ma-a** into **ma**.

**ma-u** into **mu**.

**ma-u putš-ah-en-il**, becoming **m-u putš-en-l**, he did not hit me.

**ma-in putš-ah-il**, becoming **m-in putš-l**, I did not hit him.

REPETITION. This may be expressed in the action of the verb by the particle **-ka**:

**tin ka-bin** or **ka bin-in-ka**, I am going again.

**ka tal-etš**, you came again.

TOTALITY. This idea is shown by the particle **la** or **lah**, probably derived from the word **tulakal**, all:

**tin la-uk-ik** or **tin la wuk-ik**, I am drinking all of it.

**tan la-hant-ik wa**, you are eating all of the tortillas.

**tun la-qai-ob**, they are all singing.

<sup>1</sup> Lopez (§ 172) has this final **l** with the negative forms;

**ma in qati**, I do not desire.

**ma in qat hanali**, I do not desire to eat.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez (§§ 97, 99) makes a negative preterit expression by means of the future form without **bin** and a negative future expression by means of the present form with **tin**, **ta**, **tu** in place of **kin**, **ka**, **ku**:

**ma tal-ak-en**, I have not gone.

**ma tin han-al**, I shall not eat.

I cannot understand these forms.

The **la** seems to modify either the subject or the object of the verb. I cannot find that there is any differentiation in the forms according to the thing modified.<sup>1</sup>

A repetition of the particle **la** is sometimes noted after the root. This intensifies the meaning:

**tin la-hant-la-n-t-ik**, I am eating absolutely everything.

This particle is also used with the idea of totality with adjectives:

**kohan-ob**, they are ill.

**kohan-täk-ob**, many are ill.

**la-kohan-täk-ob**, all are ill.

**tun la-kohan-tal-ob**, they all become ill.

**tun la-kohan-ob**, they are all ill.

**MANNER OR STATE.** The particle denoting these ideas is **bē**. This adverb takes the **-il** or **-ik** forms noted above (p. 104).

**bē tin putš-ah-il-etš** or **bē tin putš-il-etš**, thus, I hit you.

**bē tal-il-en** or **bē tal-ik-en**, thus I came.

**DEMONSTRATIVE.** Suffixes similar to the demonstrative pronoun, **a** and **o**, with the meaning "this or that way" are often used with the adverb **bē** (usually written **bey**):<sup>2</sup>

**bē tal-il-en-a**, thus I came this way.

**bē tal-il-en-o**, thus I came that way.

The form in **a** is used when the method of coming is shown by some action, the form in **o** when the method of coming is described by words:

**bē putš-il-en-a**, thus I was hit (showing how).

**bē putš-il-en-o**, thus I was hit (telling how).

When these forms take the nominal pronoun the suffix **-il** is not used:

**bē-in wal-ik-a**, I say it like this.

**bē-in wal-ik-o**, I say it like that.

**bē-in beet-ik-a**, I make it like this.

**bē-in beet-ik-o**, I make it like that.

<sup>1</sup> Seler (p. 81) includes the particle **-la** with the inchoative forms in **-hal**, **-tal**, and **-tša-hal** and infers that **la** is used only with intransitive verbs.

<sup>2</sup> Perez (1866-77) makes much the same distinction between the suffixes **-a** and **-o** in the following examples;

**he le cimn-a**, aquí esta el caballo.

**he le cimn-o**, allí esta el caballo.

## PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

These are interesting as they are used in place of the oblique cases in Maya. When used with nouns all are prefixed:

**yalan poq**, below the hat.

**yetel winik**, with the man.

A distinction is seen, however, when these forms are used with the pronoun. They are then divided into two classes, those prefixed to the forms of the verbal pronoun and those suffixed to the nominal pronoun. It is not clear how this distinction is governed.

To the first class belong:

**yetel**, with, **yetel-en**, with me.

**nao'**, near, **nao'-etš**, near you.

**yoqol**, above, **yoqol-l**, above him.

To the second and larger class belong:

**men** or **menel**, by, **t-in-men**, by me.

**tial**, for, **in-tial**, for me.

**ael**, beside, **a-ael**, beside you, literally, <sup>you are</sup> ~~my~~ side.

**walan**, below, **in-walan**, or **t-in walan**, below me.

**ti**, **in**, from, and to, **tin bin t-in na**, I am going to my house.<sup>1</sup>

**tin tal t-in na**, I am coming from my house.

It seems clear that the idea of a noun with its possessive pronoun is uppermost here but this does not explain why we have,

**in walan**, below me and **yoqol-en**, above me.

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<sup>1</sup> The **t** or **ti** corresponds to the forms given in the early grammars as the dative case.





**PART II**  
**MAYA TEXTS**



## PART II

### MAYA TEXTS

#### INTRODUCTION

**MATERIAL AVAILABLE.** The reader will gain some idea of the vast amount of literature in the Maya language from the discussion of the Maya texts available for study (Part III, p. 182). These documents date from the days following the Conquest and continue down to the present time. They vary much in content and in value as faithful transcriptions of the language as spoken at the time when they were written.

**GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.** It is pertinent to ask how much help in translating the early texts is to be derived from a grammar such as the present work. The thesis has been advanced in this paper that it is probable the grammatical structure of the language has not changed appreciably from early to late times. If this is the case, and the ancient as well as the modern texts were written grammatically, there would be little difficulty, as far as the grammar is concerned, in understanding the early examples of written Maya. Observations have led me to believe, however, that the early texts were not written with much regard for grammar, even the Maya grammar built upon a Latin model. It is unusual to find in the early texts examples of the greater part of the expressions given by Beltran and the other early grammarians. Their illustrations are, of course, in most cases grammatical but they are not taken from texts but are isolated sentences made up to illustrate the special points to which references are made.

It seems probable that the early Maya texts are generally lacking in the finer shades of meaning which it is possible to express in Maya and, furthermore, it is not to be expected that forms not recognized by the early grammarians would always find expression in the texts.

The Books of Chilam Balam, that most fertile source of texts in Maya, furnish examples of this lack of precise grammatical struc-

ture. As I have written elsewhere (1917, p. 183), "It must be remembered that the manuscripts themselves are, no doubt, copies of earlier works, collected from different individuals and often copied by several different hands. Some of the manuscripts seem to have been the work of those who did not know Maya. Several different spellings of the same word occur and common Maya words are frequently misspelled. On the other hand, some of the pages seem to show a surprising ignorance of Spanish — *Iglesia*, for example, is spelled in one place "*Iglayci*." As for the Latin words occurring sporadically in the text, one is not surprised to find forms difficult to recognize."

It seems safe to say that these famous texts are often illiterate in the sense that they are probably copies of copies and have been garbled in passing from hand to hand to say nothing of the fact that in the beginning they probably did not express precisely in every case all the forms of the spoken Maya. We return then to the question asked at the beginning of the section, how much help is a grammar in the translation of these texts. It seems to me that a grammar renders surprisingly little aid in deciphering the documents.

LEXICOGRAPHY. It is in respect to the vocabulary that the Maya has changed most. Words have become obsolete. New words have been coined and Spanish words have been introduced in greater or lesser numbers.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the tremendous advantage of possessing three early Maya dictionaries it is often not possible to determine accurately the meaning of many of the words in the early texts. Several of the vocabularies give examples of Maya construction. These forms are helpful in many cases in determining homonyms.

Even where there are parallel texts in Spanish and Maya as in the *Doctrinas*, there is often little help in elucidating the Maya as these translations are usually poorly done, not necessarily because of an ignorance of the proper words but from a general lack of forms in Maya to express properly the ideas contained in the "*hipérboles y alegorías*" of ecclesiastical Spanish or Latin.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Palma y Palma, p. 145, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Perez (1844) writes very pertinently on this point as follows, "*Si consideramos igualmente que los antiguos escritores de doctrina y pláticas eran unos serviles*

On the other hand, the Xiu Chronicles, the Libro de Calcalchen and other secular texts furnish some excellent examples of parallel accounts in the Maya and Spanish of wills and other legal documents. Martínez Hernández writes substantially as follows in a personal letter concerning the collection of documents in the Libro de Calcalchen, "The Maya is very old and is a splendid specimen of Maya literature. Some expressions are unusual and are to be translated only after very diligent research. As we are familiar to a certain extent with the forms of the *Ordenanzas*, they would help us to translate properly and pave the way for other future translations. I am fully convinced that the Books of Chilam Balam can be translated after translating all these documents. Before this literature came into my hands there were many words in the vocabularies the use of which I did not know."

The later Maya texts are naturally far easier to translate on account of the fewer changes in the vocabulary.

The "particles of adornment" are many in Maya.<sup>1</sup> They add to the pleasure of the spoken Maya but they cause no little confusion in deciphering the written language.

There is a large number of words in Maya with a comparatively large number of onomatopœic words.<sup>2</sup>

ORTHOGRAPHY. The spelling of the Maya words is often far from consistent. This is especially true of words with the glottal-

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*traductores de las hipóboles y alegorias de la lengua castellana y latina, vendrémos en conocimiento que estos modos de decir no podian generalizarse entre los indios, como ajenos y distintos á los que el genio de su lengua demandaba; así es que la expresion figurada de llamar á este mundo un 'valle de lágrimas,' no es usada entre los indios, y cuando la encuentran traducida literalmente en la Salve, la encuentran pesada y no hacen de ella aplicacion alguna, y si alguno muy ladino quiere aplicar la idea, lo hace como muchas veces lo he oido, con las palabras de ucahal numya (pueblo ó lugar de miserias ó trabajos), que para ellos tienen igual fuerza, es el mismo sentido, y diferentes las voces. Hay algunas figuras castellanas que no pueden traducirse literalmente al idioma sin ridiculez."*

<sup>1</sup> Compare Palma y Palma, p. 144 who writes, "No obstante, las partículas compositivas que no modifican el sentido, son muchísimas, las cuales, efectivamente, sólo contribuyen á la variedad de las formas de la expresión constituyendo así, como el indicado padre Beltrán dice, 'partículas adornativas' que facilitan giros de estilo de que resulta un lenguaje elegante y artístico cuando se habla bien el idioma."

<sup>2</sup> Compare Palma y Palma, p. 133-134, 258-269, 307.

See discussion of the various dictionaries in Part III (p. 169).

ized consonants and those with doubled vowels. In several cases *ç* is used for *z* or *s* and in these instances the omission of the cedilla with the *c* is a cause of great annoyance, changing, for example, *çical* (*sisal*) to *cical* (*kikal*). The omission of the bar with the *h* and *p* also adds to the confusion. In the early texts there is no proper division into words and sentences. Just as a word may be spelled in several different ways on the same page so a word may be divided in many different ways in succeeding lines.<sup>1</sup> This lack of consistency in writing and spacing the Maya is a cause of great confusion.<sup>2</sup> The Berendt copies of many of the Chilam Balam texts are very useful in this respect.<sup>3</sup> The punctuation as used in the early documents is of no value whatsoever and the very common failure to capitalize proper names is still another cause of difficulties.

**CHIROGRAPHY.** The handwriting in these early texts is often very difficult to make out. There is usually a complete failure to distinguish between *v* and *b*. Several different varieties of handwriting are often seen in the same manuscript.

**POSSIBILITY OF TRANSLATION.** I have already discussed in another place the possibility of a faithful translation of the ancient Maya texts, especially those of the Chilam Balam Books (Tozzer, 1917). I am still of the opinion that many parts of the early documents will defy translation.<sup>4</sup> These portions are, for the most part,

<sup>1</sup> On a single page in the Chumayel manuscript within six lines the following varieties of spelling and spacing are found:

uhool u poop	u hol pop
uhol u pop	u holpop
u hol u poop	

Compare the different versions of the same prophecy as given in the Tizimin, the Chumayel and the Lizana texts (p. 122).

<sup>2</sup> In the Chumayel version of one of the prophecies (Chilam Balam de Chumayel, p. 106) there is found, for example, the following division of words: *ytzam* = *nakaull* for *ytzamna kaul*. As *Ytzamna* is a main god of the Mayas, one would think that the copyist would have known how to write this name properly.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Tozzer, 1917, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> I have submitted this portion of the manuscript, as well as a great part of the remainder, to Señor Juan Martínez Hernández and he agrees with me in all the statements contained in Part II. He writes, "The parts dealing with their ancient mythology and the esoteric language of the Maya priests may

those dealing with Maya ritual and, in a figurative way, with the coming of the new religion and the change to the worship of the true God.<sup>1</sup>

Many parts are translatable but only after the most careful study. There is a great opportunity for mistakes and there are many places where more than one rendering of the text is possible. It is in such places that time and patience are needed.

There follow some examples of Maya texts with translations, starting with the modern Maya and going back to the Maya of the Prophecies and of the Books of Chilam Balam.

### 1. THE INDIANS OF CHAN SANTA CRUZ<sup>2</sup>

Tu	haab-il	1847	liqil	u-ka-pul	le-wink-ob	leeti
In	the year	1847	arose	for second time	these men (Indians)	this
u-haab-il	tal-ob	u-took-ob	Sáki	tan	nohotš	kah:
its year	they came	to burn	Valladolid	in the midst of	a large	pueblo:
yaab	pal-al	tu-kim-s-ob:	bé-šan	tulakal	kah-ob	tu-took-
many	boys	they killed:	thus also	all	the habitations	they
ah-ob	ku <sup>4</sup>	ʔok-ol	ka-bin-ob	Santa Cruz	u-qaba	
burned	when its	completion	again they went (to)	Santa Cruz	its name	
tak	helae	ti-an-ob <sup>5</sup>	ti	buk-ah	haab	yaab: yet wink-il-ob
until	now	there they are	there	so many	years	many: and men
ʔoki	u-kim-s-ik-ob:	luum	utšuk	man-ob	nohotš:	
they have just finished	killing:	the land	where	they pass	is great:	
yaab-ob	šan:	helae	u-yum	ɔik	bénil	Mexico
(there are) many	(of) the same ones:	now	their lord,	his Honorable	Mexico	
tun šup-ik	u-taqin	yetel	u-meq-tan-ob	yoklal	u-ʔok-s-ik	
he is spending	his money	and	his dependents	so that	they cause to end	

prevent or defy translation. . . . It is by the abundance of these examples (Maya constructions given in the vocabularies) that we can find our way in ascertaining so many homonyms of the brief and concise monosyllabic Maya. Compound verbs are difficult to make out. These are often conjugated as simple verbs with additional words completing the same."

<sup>1</sup> Compare in this respect the variation in the Maya of the same text (p. 122) as well as the different possibilities in translating the Maya.

<sup>2</sup> This text was collected by the author in 1900 at Uayma, near Valladolid, Yucatan, from an Indian named Marcelino Tas.

<sup>3</sup> Or *tu-kim-s-ah-ob*, they caused to die.

<sup>4</sup> *Ku*, a contraction of *ka-u*.

<sup>5</sup> This is really a contraction of *ti-yan-ob*.



**lê-batel-o:**      **utlal**      **lê-wink-ob-o**      **hu-hum-p'it-il**      **tun o'ok-ol:**  
 that war: in order that those men one by one may be exterminated:  
**tan**      **šan**           **u-boot-k-ob**           **tulakal**      **baš**      **u-meya-m-ob**  
 they also are paying (the penalty for) all which they worked  
**ti Yucatan:**      **yan**      **u-o'ok-ol**      **tumen**      **o'u-qutš-ul**      **tu haab-il**  
 in Yucatan: there is its ending because it has arrived the year  
**u-o'ok-ol:**      **lê-buk-ah**      **luum**      **yan-il-ob**      **bin-u-kah**      **p'atal**  
 its completion: all that land where they are they are coming to leave  
**yalan**      **u-qab**      **yum**      **halatš**      **winik**      **tu sēbal:**      **behelae**      **yaab**  
 under his arm the lord great man as quickly: now many  
**mak**      **o'ok**           **u-kah-al**      **te Santa Cruz:**      **u-tšikul**      **tu o'oko[l]**  
 persons finished (making) their town in Santa Cruz: its sign of its ending  
**tumen**      **mi-nan**      **u-o'on**      **lê-wink-ob**      **hebiš**      **lê bin-s-ah**  
 because there are no guns the men like (the ones) they raised  
**yoqol-ob**      **leeti**      **utšben**      **baal:**      **kin sut-in-wal-e**      **utšben**      **o'on-ob**  
 above them this (in) former custom: I return to say the former guns  
**ma tan**      **u-pat-al-ob**      **ma bē**      **utši:**      **qutš**      **tu haab-il**  
 they are not serviceable (it was) not thus formerly: there came the year  
**tu yalkab-an-s-ob**      **o'ul**      **tumen masēwal**      **ku**      **o'ok-ol**  
 they caused to run the strangers for the Indians after the completion  
**ka-sut-n-ah-i**      **yoqol-ob**      **ma tu met-h-ob**      **mišbal**      **tak**      **behelae:**  
 when they returned above them they did not do anything until now:  
**u**      **šan**      **yoqal**      **u-yan-tal**      **ka-p'el hol-be**      **utlal**      **yookol**      **koon-ol**  
 it is well also because they have two doors in order to enter to sell  
**tile wai**      **laqin:**      **tak**      **behelae**      **oo-o-il**      **u-kah-il-ob**      **utšik**  
 by here the east: until now are the poor the ones of the pueblo formerly  
**u-took-(l)k-ob**      **yaab**      **baal:**      **utši**      **qas-ob**      **tumen**      **tu**  
 they burn many things: formerly they are bad because they  
**qas-kun-t-h-ob**      **behelae**      **tune**      **tun**      **yil-k-ob**      **baš**      **u-o'ok**  
 bad things they did now finally they see it what its end  
**lobil-il**      **biša wa**      **u-o-h-oob**      **mišma**      **bin**      **me-t-ik**      **šan**  
 to the wickedness how if they are good nothing comes to cause the same  
**lob-ti-ob:**      **behelae**      **mišun**      **noq-ob**      **mišun**      **han-l-ob:**      **yan**      **tšen**  
 evil things: now nothing clothes nothing to eat: there is only  
**tu tšun-tše**           **ku wen-l-ob**      **tēl**      **yahal-kab-ti-ob:**  
 the branches of the tree where they sleep there they wake up in the morning:  
**bē-ku-kāš-t-ob**      **ha**      **yuq-ob**      **bē**      **tēl**      **ku-kim-l-oob**      **u-hutš**  
 thus then they seek water to drink thus there they die in the greater  
**yaa-h-il**      **leeti**      **lê-oo-o-il**      **pal-al**      **ku-kim-l-ob**      **tak**      **tun**      **leeti-ob**      **boo-t-ik**  
 misery these poor children they may die until they these pay

u-sipll	u-tata-ob	u-han-l-ob	tšen	u-moc'-tše	yetel
their sins	their fathers	they eat	only	the roots of the trees	with
yitš-tše	mi-nan	šim:	utlal	u-man-s-ik	u-kuš-tal-ob
the fruit of the trees	there is no	maize:	in order	to carry on	their lives
yetel	tutši	.qaanab	tši-	ku-kš-t-ik	u-kuš-tal-ob.
and	gifts	of the sea	there	they seek it	their lives.

## FREE TRANSLATION

For the second time, in the year 1847, these Indians rose in arms. That is the year in which they came to burn Valladolid, the large city. They killed many people. They also burned all the houses. After they had finished, they returned to the place called Santa Cruz where they are now and where they have been for many years. They have just been killing men of their own race. The land where they live is large. There are many of them there. Now their master is the President of Mexico. He is spending his money and his people also in order to put an end to the war, in order that these men, one by one, may be exterminated. They are paying the penalty for all they did in Yucatan. It has to end because the time for the ending has come. All that land where they are is about to come under the rule of the President. Many persons have already gone to live in Santa Cruz. This is a proof of the ending of the war because those Indians do not now have guns like the ones they formerly carried. I repeat, the old guns are now good for nothing, nothing like the former ones with which they put to flight the Spaniards (strangers). After the Indians had finished the attack, they have done nothing up to the present time. This is also well because they have two avenues to sell their wares here in the east. Even to-day the villagers are poor because they formerly burned many things. Formerly they were bad because they did bad things. Now, finally, they see the result of their wickedness; now, if they are good, nothing comes to cause the same evil things.<sup>1</sup> Now they have neither clothes nor food. They have only the branches of the trees under which to sleep where morning

<sup>1</sup> Martínez, who has been good enough to offer many suggestions, has translated this still more freely as follows:—"Formerly they were bad because they had bad examples set before them, now, then, they can discriminate better what is right and what is wrong and will no longer do any harm to them."

awakens them. They seek water to drink. They thus die in the greatest misery, this poor people. They may die until they pay for the sins of their fathers. They eat only the roots of the trees and the fruit of the trees. There is no maize to nourish them. In order to find nourishment they go to the shores of the sea.

## 2. LACANDONE CHANT

Fifty-one chants were collected by the writer in 1902 and 1903 among the Lacandones of Chiapas, Mexico. These people, as already pointed out, speak practically the same dialect of the Maya stock as that of the natives of Yucatan. The language of these chants is generally simple. Syllables are often added at the end of words to preserve a rhythm. The single chant given here has already been published (Tozzer, 1907, p. 171-172). I have given a more literal translation than that previously printed. The reader is referred to the former paper (p. 169-189) for the other chants.

### WHEN COPAL AND POSOLE ARE DISTRIBUTED IN THE CEREMONY OF RENEWING THE INCENSE-BURNERS

<b>Tan</b>	<b>in kub-ik</b>	<b>in pom</b>	<b>k-etš</b>	<b>tiala</b>	<b>kub-ik</b>
I am	restoring it	my offering of copal	to you	for you	to restore it
<b>t-ik</b> <sup>1</sup>	<b>yum</b>	<b>tiala</b>	<b>nas-ik</b> <sup>2</sup>	<b>t-ik</b>	<b>yum.</b>
	to	the father, for you	to raise it	up to	the father.
					I will pay it to you
<b>in</b>	<b>tšula</b>	<b>t-etš</b>	<b>uhel</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>kunya</b>
my offering of posol	to you	again (for)	your	welfare	for you
					to restore it
	<b>yum.</b>	<b>Hën boo-t-ik-etš</b>	<b>in</b>	<b>tšula</b>	<b>t-etš tiala</b>
	to the father.	I will pay it to you	my offering of posol	to you	for you yourself.
<b>Tan</b>	<b>in mee-t-ik</b>	<b>in sil t-etš-ki</b>	<b>uhel</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>kunya.</b>
I am making it	my gifts to you	again (for)	your welfare.	I am about to dry	
<b>in sil</b>	<b>t-etš</b>	<b>ma tu buh-ul</b>	<b>ma u</b>	<b>lak-al</b>	
my gifts to you,	may they not be affected by crumble	may-they not separate			
	<b>u-hol</b>	<b>in sil t-etš.</b>	<b>Ma tu</b>	<b>wak-al</b>	<b>in sil t-etš.</b>
(as to) their heads	my gifts to you.	May they not crack	my gifts to you.		
<b>Ma tu</b>	<b>paš-al</b>	<b>in sil t-etš.</b>	<b>Il in</b>	<b>mee-t-ik</b>	<b>in sil t-etš,</b>
May they not break	my gifts to you.	See my making them	my gifts to you,		

<sup>1</sup> Kub-ik t-ik is equivalent to kub-t-ik.

<sup>2</sup> nas-ik is the same as nak-s-ik.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, I am going to.

yume. Ma tu lub-ul tsak-wil-ki. Bin-in-k-in pul-ik etš  
 oh father. May not be affected by a fall fever. I am about to place you  
 yoko tumu lāk. Il in mee-t-ik in sil t-etš uhel  
 (the idol) in the new *braseiro*. See my making them my gifts to you again  
 a kunya. Il in mee-t-ik in sil t-etš tia yol  
 (for) your welfare. See my making them my gifts to you for the health  
 in pal-al. Ma u nāk-tan-t-ik yah-il, ma u  
 my children. May not trample them under foot harm, my not trample  
 nāk-tan-t-ik keel, ma u nāk-tan-t-ik tsak-wil. Ooken  
 them under foot cold, may not trample them under foot fever. Enter,  
 ta šimbal a wil-ik in pal, a-kun-e in pal.  
 walk you see my son, cure my son.

## 3. A MAYA WITCH STORY

The original text was collected by Berendt in Peten in 1866. The manuscript is now in the Berendt Linguistic Collection (Br. 498. 21. M. L. 545). The text and an English translation of Berendt's German translation were published by Brinton (1883 and 1890). A few changes have been made and a literal translation has been added. The simple tale shows certain features which seem to be of European origin.

Hun-tul H-šib o'ook-u-bel yetel hun-tul š-tš'up ma tu-yohel-t-ah wa  
 One man married with one woman not did he know her as  
 š-wai. Hun-p'e qin tu yal-ah-ti, "Hutš'e ka-p'el mut taab."  
 a witch. One day he said to her, "Grind two measures of salt."  
 Tu hutš'-ah paibe ka tu qat-ah, "Baaš tial tetš?"  
 She ground them first when she asked him, "Why [do] you [wish it?]"  
 Hun-p'el aqab pišaan H-šib-e ka tu yil-ah u-hoq-ol u-yatan.  
 One night awoke the man when he saw she goes out his wife.  
 Ka tu-tša-ah u maskabe, ka tu mukul t'ul-bel-ah tu patš ti  
 When he took his axe, when he secretly followed her behind to  
 qaš. Ka qutš-i-ob ti tšitšan tšaqan, yan u sas-il  
 the wood. When they arrived at a little pasture, there is its brightness  
 uh. Ka tu muk-u-b-ah H-šib tu booy nohotš yaš-tše.  
 a moon. When he hid himself, the man, in the shade of a great seiba tree.  
 Ka tu pul-ah u noq š-tš'up tu patš waan  
 When she threw her clothes, the woman, behind her standing

š-ma-buk tu tan uh; ka tu ɔ'ip-ah u-yot'el,  
she without covering in its face the moon; when she stripped off her skin,

ka kul-hi tšem-bak: ka nak-i ti kaan: ka  
when she remained mere bones: when she arose to the sky: when

em-i tu-ka-ten, ka tu-yal-ah-i: "Ša'aba šta-kaan?"  
she descended again, when he said to her, "stretch yourself to the sky?"

Hemak ma utšak u nak-al tu-ka-ten tumen tu t'oot'-al taah.  
But not possible her ascending again because he sprinkled salt.

#### FREE TRANSLATION

A man (once) married a woman. The man did not know that his wife was a witch. One day, he said to her, "Grind two measures of salt." She ground them and then she asked him, "Why do you wish this?" One night he awoke and saw his wife go out. Taking his axe, he secretly followed her to the wood. They arrived at a little pasture in the bright moonlight. The man hid himself in the shadow of a great seiba tree. The woman threw her clothes behind her, standing naked in the moonlight. When she stripped off her skin she appeared mere bones. Then she arose into the sky, returning again (to the earth). Then the man said to her, "Would you reach the sky?" But she could not ascend a second time as he sprinkled salt.

#### 4. PROPHECY OF CHILAM BALAM

This is one of the Maya prophecies which are discussed in Part III (p. 192).<sup>1</sup> The text is given of the Chumayel version (Chilam

<sup>1</sup> This prophecy is undoubtedly the one referred to by Cogolludo (1688, p. 199) and also in the *Relación de la Ciudad de Merida*, dated 1579 and signed by Gaspar Antonio Xiu among others. This *Relación* is reprinted in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, v. 11, p. 37-75. As Martínez Hernández has pointed out, this statement in the Merida report is so very important that I reprint it here.

"Ubo algunas provincias que nunca dieron guerra, sino que rrescibieron a los españoles de paz, en especial la provincia de Tutulxiu cuya cabecera era y es el pueblo de Mani, catorce leguas de esta ciudad al sueste, donde ubo pocos años antes que los españoles viniesen a conquistar esta tierra un yndio principal, que era sacerdote, llamado Chilan-balam, que le tenían por gran profeta y adivino, y este les dixo que dentro de breve tiempo vernia de hazia donde sale el sol una jente blanca barbada, y que traerian levantada una señal como esta ☒, ala qual no podian

Balam de Chumayel, p. 105-107), the Tizimin version (Chilam Balam de Tizimin, Gates reproduction, p. 17, 18), and the Lizana version (Lizana, 1633; ed. 1893, p. 38-39). I have added a reading of the Maya text as interpreted by Martínez Hernández.

The variations in the four versions should be noted, not only in the spellings but in the words themselves. The Chumayel version has frequent interpolations by the author of the copy. The translation of Lizana which, in general, is that followed by Carrillo y Ancona and many others is given in English together with the Spanish text.<sup>1</sup> I have attempted a new translation, following in the main the Martínez text. In a few cases a rendering of portions of the text into English by Martínez is given.

It will be noted that there are several passages which still remain far from clear in spite of the different authors who have worked upon them. Lizana's translation, which is very good as a free rendering, does not follow the text at all closely in several places. He has left out many words and particles.

This passage is given in order to illustrate some of the difficulties spoken of in the introduction to this section. It should be remembered that these Maya texts are transcribed into the system of writing Maya adopted in this work. The division into syllables is the work of the author.

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*llegar sus Dioses, y huyan della, y que esta jente avia de señorear la tierra, y que a los que los rrecibiesen de paz no les harian mal nynguno, y a los que les hiziesen guerra los matarian, y que los naturales de la tierra dejarian sus ydolos y adorarian un solo Dios, que ellos adoraban y avian de predicar, y les serian tributarios, e hizo tejer una manta de algodón y les dixo que de aquella suerte avia de ser el tributo que les avian de dar, y mando al señor de Many, que se llamaba Mochanzú, que ofreciese a los ydolos aquella manta para que estubiese guardada y quedase por memoria, y aquella señal de cruz y otras hizo hazer de piedra labrada y ponerlas en los patios de los templos donde pudiese ser vista de todos, y dixo que aquel era el árbol verde del mundo, e yvan aberla mucha jente por cosa nueva, y parecia que la beneraban desde entonzes, y despues quando vinieron los españoles y supieron que trayan la señal de la santa cruz, que era como la que su profeta chilam balam les avia figurado, tuvieron por cierto lo que les avia dicho, y determinaron de rrecebir a los españoles de paz y no les hazer guerra, sino ser sus amigos, como siempre lo han sido despues que poblaron estas provincias, y les ayudaron con mantenimientos e jente de guerra de servicio para conquistar e pacificar otras provincias."*

<sup>1</sup> For bibliographical notes on editions of this Prophecy, see p. 192-194.

Tizimin: u profesia Chilam Balam tiš kayom<sup>1</sup> kabal tšen Man:  
 Chumayel: u profeciado de Chilam Balam de siš koyom ka-wi tšen Mani:  
 Lizana: profecias de Chilam Kalam de siš kayon ka-wi tšen Mani:  
 Martínez: u profecia Chilam Balam tiš kayon ka-witš tšen Mani:  
 Tozzer: His prophecy Chilam Balam of singer Cawich Chen<sup>2</sup> of Mani  
 Martínez: Kayom

Tiz.: ošlahun Ahau u-heo'i-wil Qatun walak-wil  
 Chu.: ošlahun Ahau u-hihr'-wil Qatun-e walak-wil  
 Liz.: ošlahun Ahau u-heo'i-wil Qatun walak-wil  
 Mar.: ošlahun Ahau u-heo'i-wil Qatun walak-wil  
 Tozzer: In 13 Ahau its established Katun at this time  
 Lizana: At the end of the 13th epoch being in power  
 Martínez: it may be

Tiz.: Itza walak-wil tan-kahe yum u-tšikul hunab  
 Chu.: Itza walak-wil tan-kah-e yum-e u-tšikul hunab  
 Liz.: Itza walak-wil tan-katš-e yum u-tšikul hunab  
 Mar.: Itza walak-wil tan-kah-e yum-e u-tšikul hunab  
 Tozzer: the Itzas at this time in Tancah oh Father his sign the only  
 Lizana: the Itzas (and )Tancah<sup>3</sup> the sign of a  
 Martínez: ye Itzas it may be ye citizens<sup>4</sup> Sirs,

Tiz.: qu kanal u-lom u-aom-tše  
 Chu.: qu kanal hu-lom u-aom-tše  
 Liz.: qu kanal hu-lom u-alom-tše  
 Mar.: qu kanal hu-lom u-ahom-tše<sup>5</sup>  
 Tozzer: God on high his cross his cross of wood  
 Lizana: God (who is) on high (will come) the cross  
 Martínez: will come from heaven (to us) the cross

Tiz.: etsah-om ti kah-e u-tšebal u-sas-hal yoqol  
 Chu.: etsah-an ti bal-kah-e u-tšebal u-sas-hal yoqol  
 Liz.: etkah-an ti katš-e u-tšewal u-kas-hal yoqal  
 Mar.: etsah-an ti bal-kah-e u-tšebal u-sas-hal yoqol  
 Tozzer: a demonstration to the world with which day breaks above  
 Lizana: will show itself to the world with which was lighted  
 Martínez: will be shown to the world so that be enlightened the

<sup>1</sup> The verb, to sing, is *qal*. The text is clearly *kay* which is translated by Martínez as a proper noun.

<sup>2</sup> There is a town of this name near Mani.

<sup>3</sup> Lizana interpolates. See his translation, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Martínez translates this *ciudadano ó el que vivo en el centro ó medio del pueblo* (Ticul, p. 164). He notes that Tancah had been destroyed with Mayapan many years previously.

<sup>5</sup> Martínez writes, "u-ahom-tše is the tree of life, *arbol de nuestra subsistencia* and wa-om-tše is *picota, horca*, the cross of Jesus, his punishment."

Tiz.:	kab-e	yum			ɔ'uni
Chu.:	kab-e	yum-e	utš		ɔ'uni to
Liz.:	kab-e	yum			ɔ'uni
Mar.:	kab-e	yum	utš		ɔ'uni
Tozzer:	the earth, oh Father a long time ago there began				
Lizana:	the earth, there will be				
Martínez:	world,	Sirs,	for a long time	there has been	
Tiz.:	mok-tam-ba				ɔ'uni
Chu.:	mok-tan-ba		utš		ɔ'uni
Liz.:	mok-tan-ba				ɔ'uni
Mar.:	mok-t'an-ba		utš		ɔ'uni
Tozzer:	fighting with one another a long time ago there began				
Lizana:	a division				
Martínez:	political divisions		for a long time	there has been	
Tiz.:	sawinal	ka tal-on	ti pul	tšikul	
Chu.:	sawinal	ka tal-on,	ti pul	tšikul	
Liz.:	kawinal <sup>1</sup>	ka tal-om	ti pul	tšikul	
Mar.:	sawinal	ka tal-on	ti pul	tšikul	
Tozzer:	confusion	when we came	carrying	the sign:	
Lizana:	among the wills <sup>2</sup>	when is brought		the sign (in the future)	
Martínez:	discord				
Tiz.:	quutšmal	ah qin winik-e	yum	hun-awat <sup>3</sup>	hun
Chu.:	utšmal-e	ah qin-l winik-e	yum-e	hun-awat	hun
Liz.:	utšmal	ah qin winik-e	yum	hun-awat	hun
Mar.:	utšmal-e	ah qin winik-e	yum-e	hun-awat	hun
Tozzer:	at another time the priest of the men the Father one quarter (of) one				
Lizana:	before arriving	the priests, men		a quarter (and) a	
Martínez:	in that time	ye priests of the idols			
Tiz.:	lub-l	wil	u-tal		
Chu.:	lub-l	wil	u-tal	a-wil-ik-eš	mut-e u-tip'il yetel
Liz.:	lub-l	wil	u-tal	a-wil-k-eš	mut-e u-t'ipil yetel
Mar.:	lub-l	wil	u-tal	a-wil-k-eš	mut-e u-tip'il yetel
Tozzer:	league so that	it comes	you will see	fame	appearing with
Lizana:	league		you will see		appearing
Martínez:				quetzal bird <sup>4</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> This reading of Lizana is doubtless due to the omission of the cedilla under the c making it k instead of s.

<sup>2</sup> The Spanish is *voluntades*.

<sup>3</sup> This is literally, one *grito*, a numeral suffix used to count miles and quarters of a league.

<sup>4</sup> The idea, as interpreted by Martínez, is that the quetzal will appear with the Maya cross as it is represented on the bas-reliefs at Palenque.



Tiz.:		ahom <sup>1</sup>	will kab	hun	šaman	hun	tšiqin
Chu.:	u-aom-tše	a ho-hom	kab	hun	šaman	hun	tšiqin
Liz.:	u-aom-tše	ahom	will kab	hun	šaman	hun	tšiqin
Mar.:	u-ahom-tše	ahom	will kab	hun	šaman	hun	tšiqin
Tozzer:	his cross of wood	illuminate	the earth	one	south	one	west
Lizana:	the cross	illuminate		from pole	to pole		
Martínez:	the Maya cross will illuminate the world in the four cardinal points.						

Tiz.:	ahom	Itzamna qawil:	tal-el u-kah
Chu.:	ahom	Itzamna qawil	tal-el u-kah
Liz.:	ahuom	Itzamna qawil:	tal-el u-ah
Mar.:	ahom	Itzamna qabwil:	tal-el u-kah
Tozzer:	illuminate	Itzamna, Kabwil <sup>2</sup> ;	he is coming
Lizana:		(the worship of) vain gods will cease;	he is coming

Tiz.:	a yum Itza	tal-el u-kah	u	sas-kun
Chu.:	ka yum Itza	tal-el u-kah	ka	su-kun
Liz.:	ka yum Itzaa	tal-el u-kah	a	su-kun
Mar.:	ka yum Itza	tal-el u-kah	a	su-kun
Tozzer:	your father, Itzas	he is coming		your brother,
Lizana:	your father, oh, Itzas	he is coming		your brother
Martínez:		they are coming		your brothers

Tiz.:	tan tun-e:	qam	a-wula	ah-meš-ob
Chu.:	ah tan tun-e:	qam	a-wula-ob	ah-meš-ob
Liz.:	tan tunk:	qama	a-wula	ah-u-meš-ob
Mar.:	ah tan kun-e:	qam	a-wula	ah-meš-ob
Tozzer:	place him ahead of others;	receive	your guests	the bearded ones
Lizana:	oh, Tantunites;	receive	your guests	the bearded ones

Tiz.:	liqin	kab-ob	ah-pul-ob	tu tšikul
Chu.:	ah liqin	kab-ob •	ah-pul	tu tšikul
Liz.:	liqin	kab-ob	ah-pul	tu tšikul
Mar.:	liqin	kab-ob	ah-pul	tu tšikul
Tozzer:	the east,	the villagers	the carriers	his sign
Lizana:	(of) the east		(who come) to carry	the sign (of)

<sup>1</sup> ahom from ahal.

<sup>2</sup> Martínez has pointed out in Lizana (1633 ed. 1883, f. 4 ob) the following quotation in reference to this place in the text, "*Falso Dios Ytmat vl, donde pusieron la figura de la mano, que les servia de memoria; y dicen que alli le llevaban los muertos, y enfermos, y que alli resucitaban, y sanaban tocandolos la mano, y este era el que está en la parte del Puniente, y assi se llama y nombra Kal ul, que quiere decir, mano obradora.*"

Tiz.:	qu yum	uɔqa	u-t'an	qu ku-tal-el
Chu.:	qu-e yum-e	uɔqa	u-t'an	qu ku-tal-el
Liz.:	qu-e yum	uɔqa	u-t'an	qu ku-tal-el
Mar.:	qu-e yum	uɔka	u-t'an	qu ku-tal-el
Tozzer:	God the Lord	to arrange	his word	God who may come
Lizana:	God			(It is) God who comes,

Tiz.:	qiknale	tal-el u-kah	u-t'an-il	u-qin
Chu.:	kiknale	tɔl-el u-kah		u-qin
Liz.:	kiknale	tal-el qa-u-kah		u-qin
Mar.:	yiknale	tal-el u-kah	u-t'an-il	u-qin
Tozzer:	in (your) company,	he is coming	(to bring) order	the time
Lizana:	(he is) gentle and pious,	he is coming		the new
Martínez:			to establish	the day

Tiz.:	ka kuš-tal-e	ma a sah-t-ik <sup>1</sup>	yoqol-kab-e <sup>2</sup>	yum
Chu.:	ka kuš-tal-e	ma a sah-t-ik	yoqol-kab-e	yum-e
Liz.:	ka kuš-tal-e	ma ak a sah-t-ik	yoqol-kab-e	yum
Mar.:	ka kuš-tal-e	ma ah sah-t-ik	yoqol-kab-e	yum
Tozzer:	again living:	you do not fear him above the earth	Father,	
Lizana:	in our life: <sup>3</sup>	you have nothing to fear from	the earth	
Martínez:	of resurrection			

Tiz.:	tetš	hunab qu	tš'ab-t-l	koon uɔ-tum-ba
Chu.:	tetš	hunak qu	tš'ab-t-l	kon uh-tun-bak
Liz.:	tetš	hunak qu	tšab-t-l	kom u-uɔ-tun-bak
Mar.:	tetš	Hunab qu	tš'ab-t-ik	koon uɔ-tan-ba
Tozzer:	you	the only God	created	us good for themselves
Lizana:	you (are)	the only God (who)	created	us good

Tiz.:	u-t'an qu-e	yum		
Chu.:	u-t'an qu-e	yum-e y(etel)	ah-kan-ul	ka
Liz.:	u-t'an qu-e	yum		
Mar.:	u-t'an qu-e	yum	ah-kam-ul	ka
Tozzer:	his words, God,	Father and	the caretaker (of)	our
Lizana:	(are) the words of God <sup>4</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> Martínez suggests that this may be read, *a despertar ó iluminar al mundo*, He thinks the rendering given here by Lizana and by the author is more probable however.

<sup>2</sup> Martínez thinks that *yoqol-kab* is simply "the earth" for those who live in it.

<sup>3</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1883, p. 530) translates this, "*ya viene el tiempo de nuestra vida*."

<sup>4</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1883, p. 530) gives this as the translation here. Lizana omits it, probably by mistake.

Tiz.:							
Chu.:	píšan	hemak	bin	qam	u-hatš	okan-ti	yole ti kaan
Liz.:							
Mar.:	píšan	hemak	bin	qam	u-hatš	okan-ti	yole ti kaan
Tozzer:	souls	he who	goes to	receive	very	true	faith to heaven

Tiz.:							
Chu.:	u-bin	tu-patš	hewak	u-tšun	ka	qin	winik-il. <sup>1</sup>
Liz.:							
Mar.:	u-bin	tu-patš	hewak	u-tšun	ka	bin (?)	winik-il.
Tozzer:	goes	ahead	but	begins	our	day	of men.
Lizana:							

Martínez: *porque es que fueron los indios, en su compañía el día de nuestra re-división, or sea cuando principiemos por la gracia division a ser hombres nuevamente.*

Tiz.:	ka	wakunto	u-tšikul	kanal	ka	a wakunto	ka
Chu.:	ka	wakunto	u-tšikul	kanal	ka	wakunto	
Liz.:	ka	wakunto	u-tšikul	kanal	ka	wakunto	ka
Mar.:	ka	wakunto	u-tšikul	kanal	ka	wakunto	ka
Tozzer:	We	extol	his sign	on high,	we	extol,	we
Lizana:	(Let) us	praise	his sign	on high	(let) us	praise it	by

Tiz.:	pak-te	helee	ka	wakunto	u	u-aom-tšē	
Chu.:					yetel	ua-om-tšē	
Liz.:	pak-te	hele	ka	wakunto	yu	a-om-tšek	
Mar.:	pak-te	hele	ka	wakunto		ua-hom-tšē	
Tozzer:	see (it) now		we	extol	his	cross of wood	
Lizana:	seeing and adoring it,	we	must	praise		the cross:	

Tiz.:	num-te	tah	u-qeš-ah	oqol	helee	u-hel-tu-patš	
Chu.:	num-te	tah	uqaš a	u-hoqol	hele	u-hel-tu-patš	
Liz.:	num-te	tah	uqeš a	tšoqol	hele	u-hel-tu-patš	
Mar.:	num-te	tah (tak)	uqeš a	wolah	hele	u-hel-tu-patš	
Tozzer:	misery		it changed	discord	now	restore	
Lizana:	falsehood		in exchange		to-day	will appear against	

Tiz.:	u-yaš	tšeel	ka	et sah-om	helel		
Chu.:	u-yaš	tšeel	kab	et sah-an	helel		
Liz.:	u-yah	tšeel	kab	et kah-an	hele		
Mar.:	u-yaš	tšeel	kab	et sah-an	hele		
Tozzer:	the first	tree	of the world:	a demonstration	now		
Lizana:	the first	tree	of the world	a demonstration	to-day (is made)		

<sup>1</sup> These words, given only in the Chumayel, are an interpolation by the copyist of the Chumayel manuscript.

Tiz.:	ti	bal-kah-e	la	u-tšikul	hunab	qu	kanal	tal	ome
Chu.:	ti	bal-kah-e	la	u-tšikul	hunab	qu	kanal-e		
Liz.:	ti	bal-kal-he	la	u-tšiquil	hunab	qu	kanal		
Mar.:	ti	bal-kah-e	la	u-tšikul	hunab	qu	kanal	tal	emel
Tozzer:	to	the world:	this	his sign	only	god	on high	come,	lower
Lizana:	to	the world:	(there is a)	sign	of a	god	on high		
Tiz.:	laa	qul	teš	ah-Itzacš	ka	a-qul-te	hele	u-tšitš-il	
Chu.:	lae	a-qul	teš	ah-Itzac	ka	a-qul-te	helel	u-tšikul	
Liz.:	laak	a-qul	teš	ah-Itzaao	ka	a-qul-te	hele	u-tšiquil	
Mar.:	la	a-qul	teš	ah-Itzac	ka	a-qul-te	hele	u-tšikul	
Tozzer:	all	reverence	you	oh, Itzas	and	reverence	now	his sign,	
Lizana:		worship	it	oh, Itzas	we				
Tiz.:	quliquil	kanal-e	kak	qul-te	to		tu	hah-il	
Chu.:		kanal-e	ka	a-qul-te	to		tu	hah-il	
Liz.:		kanal	ka	a-qul-te	to		tu	hah-ik	
Mar.:		kanal-e	ka	qul-te			tu	hah-il	
Tozzer:	reverence	on high	and	reverence			with	true	
Lizana:				shall	reverence		with	true	
Martínez:							with	all your	
							or with	true	
Tiz.:	qol-ah	ka	a-qul-te		to	ka	hah-al	qu-e	
Chu.:	kol-ah	ka	qul-te				hah-al	qu	hehelae
Liz.:	kol-ah	ka	a-qul-te			ka	hah-al	qak	
Mar.:	wol-ah	ka	a-qul-te			ka	hah-al	qu-e	
Tozzer:	good-will:	and	adore	him	our	true	God	now	
Lizana:	good-will:		we shall adore		our	true	God		
Martínez:	heart or good faith								
Tiz.:		okestaba	u-t'an		hunab		qu-e		
Chu.:	yum-e	okestaba	u-t'an		hunab		qu-e yum-e		
Liz.:		okestaba	u-t'an		hunab		qu-e yum		
Mar.:		okestaba	u-t'an		hunab		qu-e yum		
Tozzer:	oh, Father:	receive	his word		only	God			
Lizana:		receive	the word (of)		the true	God			
Martínez:		believe	the commandments	of the only	God				
Tiz.:	tal-i		kanal	a-wah t'an <sup>1</sup>		ul-e	kuš-kin		
Chu.:	tal-i	ti	kaan	a-wah t'an be			kuš-kin		
Liz.:	tal-i	ti	kaan	a-wah t'an		u-e	kuš-kin		
Mar.:	tal-i	ti	kaan	a wah-t'an-e			kuš-kin		
Tozzer:	he came	from	on high	the commandments:			invigorate		
Lizana:	(who) comes	from	heaven	to you speaks:			recover		

<sup>1</sup> These two words are difficult to translate. I suggest *halmah-t'an*, commandments.

Tiz.:	ta-wol-ah	Itza	ahom <sup>1</sup>
Chu.:	ka-a-wol-ah	Itzae	ahom
Liz.:	qa-a-wol-ah	Itzaa	ah hom
Mar.:	ka wol	ah Itzae	ah hom
Tozzer:	your good-will	Itzas	illuminate
Lizana:	your will	(and be one) of the Itzas	will be enlightened
Tiz.:	wilkab-ti-ob	ok-s-ik ti yol itšil	u-yan-al
Chu.:	wilkab-ti-ob	ok-s-ik-ob ti yol-e itšil	u-yan-al
Liz.:	wilkab-ti-ob	ok-k-ik-ob ti yol itšil	u-yan-al
Mar.:	wilkab-ti-ob	ok-s-ik-ob ti yol itšil	u-yan-al
Tozzer:	the earth for them	cause to enter the spirit within	its other
Lizana:		those who believe in	to come
Tiz.:	Qatun	wale	yab tuba in t'an
Chu.:	Qatun-e yum-e		yoq tuba in t'an
Liz.:	Qutun		yoq tuba in t'an
Mar.:	Qatun	wale	yok tuba in t'an
Tozzer:	Katun,	afterwards:	believe (in) my words
Lizana:	the age:	Note	if you care (for what) I say (to you),
Tiz.:	ken	Chilam Balam ka in	ool-ah u-t'an
Chu.:	ken	Chilam Balam ka in	ool-ah u-t'an
Liz.:	ken	Chilan Balan kan in	ool-ah u-t'an
Mar.:	ken	Chilan Balam ka in	ool-ah u-t'an
Tozzer:	I am	Chilam Balam and I	interpreted his word
Lizana:	I charge	Chilam Balam	your interpreter; I say (that which)
Tiz.:	hahal	qu	in bin
Chu.:	hahal	qu tu sin-il-e	yoqol-kab-e yabi
Liz.:	hahal	qu	in bi
Mar.:	hahal	qu tu sin-il-e	yoqol-kab-e yubi
Tozzer:	the true	God among all	above the earth to know I go
Lizana:	the true	God	ordered
Tiz.:	hunak	ouk ti kab.	
Chu.:	hunak	ouk ti kab-e.	
Liz.:	hunak	ouk ti kah.	
Mar.:	hunak	ouk ti kah-e.	
Tozzer:	many	portions of the pueblo.	
Lizana:	porque dello	sea el mundo sabedor.	

<sup>1</sup> The text from here to the end, according to Martínez, forms the "esoteric Maya invocation at the end of the Katuns."

## FREE TRANSLATION

The Prophecy of Chilam Balam, the singer of Cawich Chen of Mani. In the Katun beginning in Ahau 13, the Itzas were in Tancah at this time. Oh, Father, the sign of the only God on high is the cross, the wooden cross. This will be shown to the world so that the world will be enlightened. Oh, Father, a long time ago, there began wranglings and confusion when we came bringing the sign. At another time, the priest of the Indians arrived. From a quarter of a league away you will see fame coming with the cross lighting up all parts of the world, also Itzamna Kabwil. Your Father, oh Itzas, is coming. Your brother is coming. Place him ahead of all. Receive your guests, the bearded men, the villagers from the East, the bearers of the sign of God, the Father. The Lord is coming in your company to promulgate his commandments. He is coming to arrange the day of resurrection. You do not fear him who is above the earth. Oh, Father, you are the only God who created us. Good are the commandments of God, the Father, the caretaker of our souls. He who accepts the true faith, goes upwards to heaven. Our time has come (?). We extol his sign above, we extol it by looking at it, we extol his cross. In exchange for misery and discord restore the first tree of the world. Show this now to the world, the sign of the only God on high. You, oh Itzas, reverence all, reverence the one on high, reverence with true good-will and worship him, our true God. Now, oh Father, receive the commandments of the only God who came from on high. Invigorate your good-will, oh Itzas, the earth is enlightened. The spirit enters in another Katun. Believe my message. I am Chilam Balam. I interpreted the commandments of the true God among all the places of the earth. I go to all parts of the country.

## LIZANA TRANSLATION

"La interpretacion es esta muy á la letra y sentido."

"En el fin de la decima tercia edad estando en su pujanza Ytza y (la ciudad nombrada) Tancah, (que está entre Yacman y Tichaquillo, que oy se llama Ychpaa, que es fortaleza o castillo) vendra la señal de Dios que està en las alturas, y la Cruz se manifestará ya al mundo con la qual el orbe fue alumbrado, avrá division entre las voluntades quando esta señal sea trayda en tiempo venidero,

los hombres Sacerdotes antes de llegar una legua, y aunque un cuarto de legua no mas vereis la Cruz que se os aparecerá y os amanecerá de Polo a Polo, cessará luego el culto de vanos dioses ya vuestro padre viene o Ytzalanos, o Tantunites ya viene un hermano, recibid a vuestros guespedes, guespedes barbados del Oriente que vienen a traer la señal de Dios, Dios es que nos viene manso y poderoso, ya viene la nueva de nuestra vida. No teneis que temer del mundo tu eres Dios unico que nos criaste, eres Dios amigable y piadoso, ea ensalcemos su señal en alto ensalcemosla para adorarla y verla, la Cruz emos de ensalçar en oposicion de la mentira se aparece oy en contra del arbol primero del mundo, oy es hecha al mundo demonstracion, señal es esta de un Dios de las alturas, esta adorad o gente Ytzalana, adoremosla con voluntad recta adoremos al que es Dios nuestro y verdadero Dios, recibid la palabra de Dios verdadero que del cielo viene el que os habla cobrad juicio y ser los de Ytza los que creyeren seran alumbrados en la edad que está por venir mirad si os importa lo que os digo y advierto, y encargo yo vuestro interprete y maestro de credito Balam por nombre.<sup>1</sup> Y con esto dixe lo que Dios verdadero me mando, porque dello sea el mundo sebedor."

##### 5. CHILAM BALAM DE CHUMAYEL

PASSAGE, p. 77, 78

This text is to be found in the original document (Gordon, 1913) on p. 77, 78. The translations printed here are to be found in Brinton (1882, p. 180, 181) and in Martínez Hernández (1910). This passage is given to show the differences in the two translations of the same text. The original is obviously incorrect in several places, in one of which Brinton changes it to read in one way and Martínez to read in another. A second point should be noted, the difference in the translation of proper names. Martínez makes a proper name of words which are translated by Brinton. This text, therefore, illustrates some of the difficulties met with in rendering the ancient Maya into English. For purposes of verification I have added the Spanish translation of Martínez.

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<sup>1</sup> From here to the end, the translation of Carrillo y Ancona (1883, p. 532) reads as follows: "*Y con esto he acabado de decir lo que el Dios verdadero me mandó para que lo oiga el mundo.*"

**Kan Ahau u-qaba Qatun utš-ki u-sih-il-ob**  
 Brinton: (The) 4th Ahau (was) the name (of) the Katun took place the births

Martínez: Four Ahau is called the Katun in which were born

**pawaha<sup>1</sup> en<sup>2</sup> kuh u-y-ahau-ob:**  
 Brin.: were taken possession of the towns by the rulers:  
 Mar.: the Pawah they began the rulers of the years:

**oš-(la)-hunte ti Qatun lik u-tepal-ob lai**  
 Brin.: (It was) the 13th Katun in which they ruled these  
 Mar.: 13 periods of the Katun thus elapsed<sup>3</sup> thus

**u-qaba-ob tamuq u-tepal-ob lae.**  
 Brin.: (were) their names while they ruled.  
 Mar.: they were called in the course of time.

**Kan ahau u-qaba Qatun em-ki-ob**  
 Brin.: (The) 4th Ahau (was) the name (of) the Katun in it they arrived  
 Mar.: (The) 4th Ahau (was) called the Katun in which they arrived

**noh-he-mal o'ee-mal u qaba-ob lae.**  
 Brin.: the great arrival the less arrival as they are called.  
 Mar.: the great descent, the small descent, they were called thus.

**Oš la hunte ti Qatun lik u-tepal-ob lik u-**  
 Brin.: (It was) the 13th Katun in which they ruled in which  
 Mar.: 13 periods of the Katun thus elapsed thus

**qaba-tik-ob tti walak u-kut-ob lae<sup>4</sup> ošlahun**  
 Brin.: they took names at that time while they resided here in the 13th  
 Mar.: they were called at that time they took root 13 periods

**kut hi u-kut-ob lae.**  
 Brin.: the residence was continued they resided here.  
 Mar.: lasted their permanency.

**Kan Ahau u-Qatun-il utš-ki u-kašan-tik-ob**  
 Brin.: (The) 4th Ahau Katun (then) took place the search  
 Mar.: In the 4th Ahau Katun it happened that they found

<sup>1</sup> Brinton writes this **patš-ah u kah**.

<sup>2</sup> Martínez changes this to **em-kutš**.

<sup>3</sup> In several places Martínez has translated **tepalob** in two ways. In the translation line by line he translates the word as *gobernaron* whereas in his version given as a whole he translates it as *transcurrieron*. In his line by line translation this sentence reads, *Trece períodos del katun, así gobernaron; así se llamaron mientras gobernaron*. The Martínez translation given here follows that given by him on p. 35-38 (1910).

<sup>4</sup> This word is crossed out in the original MS.



	<b>u-Chich'een Itzae.</b>	<b>Til</b>	<b>u-kinnabi</b>	<b>mak-til-ti-ob</b>
Brin.:	for Chichen Itza.	At that time	they were improved	marvelously
Mar.:	Chichen Itza.	There	was modified	their religion
	<b>tumen</b>	<b>u-yum-oobe:</b>	<b>kan zuk</b>	<b>luq-ki-ob</b>
Brin.:	by	the fathers:	in four divisions	they went forth
Mar.:	by	their Lords:	four tribes	set out
	<b>kan-zukul-kab</b>	<b>u qaba-ob.</b>	<b>Liqui</b>	<b>ti liqin</b>
Brin.:	the four territories	which were called.	From	the east of
Mar.:	Cantsuculcabs	called.	From	the east side
	<b>Qin-kolah-peten</b>	<b>bini</b>	<b>hun zuki.</b>	<b>Kul saman</b>
Brin.:	Kin Cola Peten	came forth	one division.	From the north of
Mar.:	to Kin Cola Peten	went	one tribe.	To the sacred north
	<b>nakok-ob</b>	<b>hoq</b>	<b>hun zuk[k]i.</b>	
Brin.:	Nacocob	came forth	one division.	
Mar.:	ascending	set out	one tribe.	
	<b>He is</b>	<b>hoqi</b>	<b>hun zuki-e</b>	<b>hol-tun</b>
Brin.:		Came forth	one division	(from the) gate of
Mar.:	This other	set out	one tribe	(from the) entrance of
	<b>ti tsiqin.</b>	<b>Hoqi</b>	<b>hun zu[k]ki-e</b>	<b>kan heq</b>
Brin.:	to the west.	Came forth	one division	from Can hek
Mar.:	to the west.	Went	one tribe	to the place of the four
	<b>uio,</b>	<b>bolonte</b>	<b>uio</b>	<b>u-qaba</b>
Brin.:	the mountains,	the nine	mountains	(as) is called
Mar.:	hills,	that of the nine	hills	was called
	<b>Kan</b>	<b>Ahau</b>	<b>u-Qatun-il</b>	<b>utš-ki</b>
Brin.:	(The) 4th	Ahau	Katun	then took place
Mar.:	(The) 4th	Ahau	Katun	it happened
	<b>u-payal-ob</b>			
				the calling together
				that they were called
	<b>tu kan-zuk-[k]i-ob</b>	<b>kan-zuk-kul-kab</b>	<b>u-qaba-ob.</b>	<b>[Ka</b>
Brin.:	of the four divisions,	the four territories	as they were called.	
Mar.:	the Cantsuciles	the Cantsuculcabs	called.	<b>When</b>
	<b>emi-ob ti</b>		<b>yum-tal-ob.]<sup>1</sup></b>	
Brin.:				
Mar.:	they arrived there	(they were received)	as Lords.	
	<b>Ka</b>	<b>emi-ob</b>	<b>tu Chich'een Itzae,</b>	<b>ah Itza</b>
Brin.:	And	they arrived	at Chichen Itza,	men of Itza
Mar.:	When they arrived	at Chichen Itza,	the Itzas	they were called.

<sup>1</sup> The words within the braces are omitted in the Berendt copy of the MS which was used by Brinton.

	<b>Ošlahunte ti</b>	<b>Qatun</b>	<b>lik</b>	<b>u-tepal-ob-i</b>	<b>ka</b>
Brin.:	[It was the] 13th	Katun	in which	they ruled	then
Mar.:	Thirteen periods of the	Katun	thus	elapsed	and
	<b>oki</b>	<b>u-qeban-t'an-ob-i</b>	<b>tumen</b>	<b>Hun nak keeli</b>	<b>ka</b>
Brin.:	were introduced	the plottings	by	Hunnac Ceel	and
Mar.:	took place	the treachery	of	Hunac Ceel	and
	<b>pašl (paš-ki)</b>	<b>u-kab-ob.</b>	<b>Ka bini-ob</b>	<b>tan</b>	
Brin.:	were destroyed	the territories.	Then they went	in the midst of	
Mar.:	was abandoned	their towns.	And they went	to the wilderness	
	<b>yol-tše</b>	<b>tan</b>	<b>Šuluk-mul</b>	<b>u-qaba.</b>	<b>Kan Ahau</b>
Brin.:	the forests	in the midst of	Xuluc mul	so called.	(The) 4th Ahau
Mar.:	forest	to a place	Xuluc mul	called.	In the four Ahau
	<b>u-Qatun-il</b>	<b>utš-ki</b>	<b>yawat</b>	<b>pišan-ob-l.</b>	
Brin.:	Katun	(then) took place	singing	for their happiness.	
Mar.:	Katun	took place	the cries	of the blessed.	
	<b>Ošlahunte ti</b>	<b>Qatun</b>	<b>lik</b>	<b>u-tepal-ob-i</b>	<b>yetel</b>
Brin.:	(It was the) 13th	Katun	in which	they governed	and (had)
Mar.:	Thirteen periods of the	Katun	thus	elapsed	with
	<b>u-numya-ob-l.</b>	<b>Wašak</b>	<b>Ahau u-Qatun-il</b>	<b>utš-ki</b>	
Brin.:	heavy labor.	The 8th	Ahau Katun	thus it took place (that)	
Mar.:	their exile.	In the eight	Ahau Katun	thus it took place	
	<b>yulel-ob</b>	<b>yala-ob</b>	<b>ah Itza</b>	<b>u-qaba-ob</b>	
Brin.:	there arrived	the remainder	of the Itza men	as they were called;	
Mar.:	arrived	the remainder	of the Itza men	so called	
	<b>ka</b>	<b>ul-ob</b>	<b>ti</b>	<b>ka walak</b>	<b>u-tepal-ob</b>
Brin.:	then	they arrived;	and	about that time	they governed
Mar.:	as soon as	they arrived			they took root
	<b>Chakanputune.</b>	<b>Ošlahun</b>	<b>Ahau</b>	<b>u-Qatun-il</b>	<b>u-heč'-k-ob</b>
Brin.:	Chakanputun.	In the 13th	Ahau	Katun	founded
Mar.:	at Chakanputun.	In the thirteen	Ahau	Katun	they founded
	<b>kah</b>	<b>Mayapan</b>	<b>Maya</b>	<b>winik</b>	<b>u-qaba-ob.</b>
Brin.:	the city of	Mayapan	the Maya	men	those called.
Mar.:	the pueblo of	Mayapan	Maya	men	they were called.
	<b>Wašak</b>	<b>Ahau</b>	<b>paš-ki</b>	<b>u-cab-ob-l</b>	<b>ka</b>
Brin.:	(In the) 8th	Ahau	were destroyed	the towns	then
Mar.:	(In the) eight	Ahau	were abandoned	the towns	and
	<b>wektsabi</b> <sup>1</sup>	<b>ti peten</b>	<b>tulakal.</b>	<b>Wak</b>	<b>Qatun-i</b>
Brin.:	they were driven out	of the province	wholly.	(In the) 6th	Katun
Mar.:	they disappeared	from the region	whole.	(In the) six	Katun

<sup>1</sup> The original text has *wek tša hl*. Brinton has *wak tša bi*.

<b>paš-ki-ob</b>	<b>ka hawi</b>	<b>u Maya</b>	<b>qaba-ob.</b>	
Brin.: they were destroyed and	it was ended	with Maya	those called.	
Mar.: they were dispersed and	they ceased	Maya	calling themselves	
<b>Buluk</b>	<b>Ahau</b>	<b>u-qaba</b>	<b>u-Qatun-il</b>	<b>hau-ki</b>
Brin.: (It was the) 11th	Ahau	Katun.	in which it ended	
Mar.: In the eleven	Ahau	Katun	they ceased	
<b>u-Maya</b>	<b>qaba-ob.</b>	<b>Maya</b>	<b>winik-ob</b>	<b>Christiano</b>
Brin.: with Mayas	those called.	The Maya	men	Christians
Mar.: Maya	calling themselves.	Maya	Indians	Christians
<b>u-qaba-ob</b>	<b>tulakal</b>	<b>u-kutš-kabal</b>	<b>coma</b>	<b>San Pedro</b>
Brin.: were called	all	came under control	of Saint Peter	
Mar.: they called (now) all	those of the province,	sons	of Saint Peter	
<b>yetel Rey</b>	<b>ah-tepal-e.</b>			
Brin.: and the king	the rulers.			
Mar.: and the king	his Majesty.			

## MARTÍNEZ TRANSLATION

"El cuarto *ahau* se denomina el *katun* en que nacieron los *Pauah*. Comenzaron los regentes de los años. Trece períodos del *katun*; así transcurrieron;<sup>1</sup> así fueron designados en su transcurso. El cuarto *ahau* se llama el *katun* en que llegaron: la gran bajada, la pequeña bajada, así fueron designadas. Trece períodos del *katun*; así transcurrieron; así fueron designados, allí se radicaron; trece períodos duró su permanencia. En el *katun* cuarto *ahau* sucedió que hallaron Chichén Itzá. Allí fué compuesto lo divino en ellos por sus señores. Cuatro tribus salieron llamadas 'cantzuculcables.' La tribu de lado oriente se dirigió á Kin-colah-petén. Al sagrado norte, ascendiendo, salió una tribu. Esta otra tribu salió de la entrada de Zuyuah al poniente. Una tribu salió hacia el lugar de los cuatro cerros. La de los nueve cerros se llama la tierra de ellos. En el *katun* cuarto *ahau* sucedió que fueron llamados los *cantzuciles*, apellidados *cantzuculcables*. Cuando llegaron fueron aceptados como señores de la tierra. Cuando llegaron á Chichén Itzá, se llamaron Itzaes. Trece períodos del *katun*, así transcurrieron y tuvo lugar la traición de Hunac-Ceel. Y fueron abandonados sus pueblos, y fueron á los bosques desiertos á un lugar llamado Xuluc-mul. En

<sup>1</sup> It has already been noted that the translation given by Martínez when he is translating line by line differs in several places from the translation he gives as a whole. The latter is more free in several places.

el *katun* cuarto *ahau* tuvo lugar el llanto de los bienventurados. Trece períodos del *katun* transcurrieron, inclusive el período de sus padecimientos. En el *katun* octavo *ahau* llegaron los llamados restos de los Itza: luego que llegaron se radicaron en Chakanputun. En el *katun* trece *ahau* fundaron el pueblo de Mayapan; se llamaron mayas. En el octavo *ahau* fueron abandonadas las poblaciones y se esparcieron por toda la región. En el sexto *katun* fueron dispersos y dejaron de llamarse mayas. En el *katun* once *ahau* cesaron de llamarse mayas. Indios mayas cristianos se llaman hoy todos los de la provincia, hijos de San Pedro y de S. M., el Rey de España."



**PART III**

**AN APPRAISEMENT OF WORKS  
RELATING TO THE MAYA LANGUAGE**



## PART III

### AN APPRAISEMENT OF WORKS RELATING TO THE MAYA LANGUAGE

#### INTRODUCTION

In the Bibliography (Part IV) there are listed over 700 different works, not including second editions, on or in the Maya language or referring to it in some way. It should be understood that the language in question is that dialect spoken in the peninsula of Yucatan and not the Maya linguistic stock which covers a far more extended area.

The large number of books and manuscripts dating from the earliest days of the Conquest and continuing down to the present time indicates the interest taken in this field.

This Appraisalment of the works mentioned in the Bibliography, it is hoped, will serve as an aid to those who desire some idea of the relative value of the works listed under the various headings.

#### HISTORY OF MAYA LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

WRITERS OF THE XVI, XVII, XVIII CENTURIES. The history of early research in the Maya language centers around the names of nearly all the authors of the Church who were in Yucatan in the XVI, XVII, and XVIII centuries. According to instructions from the Holy See each priest was to learn the language of the country and was to teach and to preach to the natives in their own languages.<sup>1</sup> The priests saw at once that a phonetic transcription of the languages was necessary. They accomplished this with no small success so that books are found written in the native languages but with Spanish characters soon after the appearance of the first white men. In fact, the first books printed in America were trans-

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<sup>1</sup> See Gomez de Parada, 1722. The titles of all books referred to by author and date are given in full in Part iv.



lations of the Catechism and sermons in the Nahuatl language of Mexico.

Landa (1864, p. 94), the second Bishop of Yucatan,<sup>1</sup> writing between 1561 and 1566, states that priests were sent to Yucatan from Guatemala and from Mexico and that they established themselves at Campeche, founded in 1541, and at Merida, founded one year later, under the protection of the Adelantado and of his son, both called Francisco de Montejo. A monastery was built at Merida and the priests occupied themselves with learning the Maya language which was difficult. Juan de Herrera was probably the first teacher of Maya written in the Spanish characters.<sup>2</sup>

Villalpando is the first Maya scholar as well as the first author of works in Maya. Landa writes "*El que mas supo fue fray Luis de Villalpando que començo a saberla por señas y pedrezuelas y la reduxo a alguna manera de arte y escrivio una doctrina christiana de aquella lengua.*"<sup>3</sup>

Starting with Villalpando, "*el proto-lingüista Maya,*"<sup>4</sup> there is a constant succession of priests, both Spanish and native born, who

<sup>1</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1892-95, p. 318) writes in this connection, "*El Illmo Sr. Landa es en realidad el quinto Obispo de Yucatan, y si suele contárse le como segundo, es solo con respecto á la segunda época de la historia de esta Diócesis.*"

<sup>2</sup> Cogolludo (1688, lib. v, cap. v) writes in this connection, "*Fray Iuan de Herrera, aunque Lego, era muy habil, sabia escribir bien, cantar canto llano, y organo, y aprendiendo la lengua, se ocupaba en enseñar la Doctrina Cristiana á los Indios, y en especial á los niños. Para poder mejor lograr su deseo en estos exercicios, puso forma de Escuela, donde acudian todos los muchachos, dandolos sus padres con mucho gusto y voluntad, aprehendian las Oraciones, y a muchos enseñò a leer, escribir, y cantar.*"

<sup>3</sup> Garcia Cubas (1888-91, v. 1, p. xv) speaks of Villalpando in the following words: "*En 1546 llegaron directamente de España á la península algunos religiosos franciscanos con el P. Fr. Luis de Villalpando, á fin de afianzar la conquista por medio de la persuasiva y pacífica predicación evangélica.*"

Lizana (1633, ed. 1893, p. 47 ob.) writes in describing Villalpando, "*A lo qual le ayudaban con gran cuidado sus compañeros Fray Melchor de Benavente, y Fray Angel Maldonado, que eran Sacerdotes, y Fray Juan de Herrera Lego de la Provincia de los Angeles enseñaba la doctrina Christiana a los Indios, y en particular a los niños, poniendoles escuela, y enseñandoles a leer, escribir, y cantar canto llano, y organo, que todo esto sabia el santo baron Lego, Fr. Juan, aunque su estado era de Lego, y con tan santos, y solícitos trabajadores, etc.*"

<sup>4</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 148) writes, "*Villalpando, pues, debia ser y fué en realidad, como vamos á ver, el proto-lingüista maya, esto es, el que*

devoted themselves to the study of the Maya language, writing grammars, collecting vocabularies, and translating the *Doctrina* into Maya in addition to writing sermons in the native language.<sup>1</sup>

After Villalpando the first author of importance is Bishop Diego de Landa whose work entitled *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan*, written between 1561 and 1566, has contributed more to Maya research than any other single book. From this a start was made in deciphering the Maya hieroglyphic writing. Little is known regarding the linguistic work of Landa. He was probably the first to open a school for teaching Maya to the priests in the Monastery of San Antonio at Izamal. Cogolludo (1688, lib. v, cap. xiv) writes "*El que mas presto, y con mayor perfeccion la supo, fue el bendito Padre Fr. Diego de Landa, de quien se dize (no sin admiracion) que a pocos dias la hablada, y predicaba, como si fuera su lengua nativa.*"

Solana, who was in Yucatan from 1560 to his death in 1600, is the author of the first dictionary (1580) which has come down to us. Ciudad Real, who died in 1617, is famous for his *Gran Calepino* in six volumes on which he was at work for 40 years.

Gaspar Antonio Xiu, Sanchez de Aguilar and Carlos Mena are some of the natives of Yucatan who are authors of works in the Maya language.<sup>2</sup>

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*aparece el primero al frente de los que estudian el idioma yucateco, y al frente del catálogo de los escritores que cuenta la civilizacion en este mismo idioma."*

Torquemada, cited by Cogolludo (1688, lib. vi., cap. xii) writes "*Que por ser (el P. Villalpando) el primero que supo la lengua destos naturales, y que la predicò con exemplo de essencial Religioso, es digno de eterna memoria.*"

The importance of Villalpando is shown by the fact that he is the only author on Maya mentioned by Sobron (1875).

<sup>1</sup> For excellent accounts of these authorities and their work, see Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872).

<sup>2</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 167-168) gives an interesting account of another author of about this time. He writes, "*El célebre Fr. Bernardino de Valladolid . . . vino á Yucatan siendo aun mas jóven, por el año de 1634, y su aficion al estudio de la lengua maya era como un delirio, una verdadera pasion. Allá por los años de 1641 ó 1642, se celebraron unas funciones literarias ó actos en el convento mayor de San Francisco de esta ciudad de Mérida, pues siguiendo el uso laudable de las universidades y colegios de Europa, ya de algunos años atras acostumbraba celebrarse aquellas funciones en Yucatan en las cátedras de los PP. franciscanos. Por aquella ocasion, pues, Fr. Bernardino, ya tan distinguido y profundo escolar, como perfecto gramático y orador del idioma indígena de su nueva patria, con anuencia del superior de la orden, el R. P. Fr. Antonio Ramirez; y del profesor de lengua yucateca, el P. Fr. Diego Perez, de Mérida,*

Padres Coronel, San Buenaventura and Beltran de Santa Rosa should be mentioned for their excellent work on the Maya grammar.<sup>1</sup> Notice should also be made of the unknown authors of the Motul and San Francisco dictionaries. The work of this early time has hardly been equalled either in quantity or, in some respects, we may add, in quality.

One other writer of these early centuries deserves special mention, Andrés de Avendaño. He is the author of a most important *Relación* (1696) which is fortunately extant. The list of his linguistic works is a long one. These have all disappeared. I pass over the names of many others of the early writers on Maya subjects whose works are listed in the Bibliography. Mention is made of these early efforts under the discussion of the Maya grammars, vocabularies, sermons, the Catechism, etc. A glance at the list of works which are now known only by name (p. 151) shows the fertility of Maya research in the XVI, XVII, and XVIII centuries.

There follows a note on the most important modern authors in the field of Maya linguistics with a short account of their work. A detailed list of their manuscripts and books will be found in the Bibliography.

**PADRE JOAQUIN RUZ.** He was born in Merida in 1785 and died in 1855. He was the first modern author of works on Maya. He was a Franciscan and the most fertile writer on Maya subjects.

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*concibió y ejecutó el pensamiento feliz de sostener un acto literario en lengua maya, realizando así el grande mérito que en ella con su continuo estudio habia encontrado. Ademas, al par de las tesis literario-teológicas que sostuvo el célebre actuante, puso una muy notable para la filología, reducida á proponer: que el lenguaje ó texto bíblico podia vertirse en toda su exactitud característica al idioma maya, de modo que los lugares difíciles de las Sagradas Escrituras podian declararse á la letra en esta lengua.*

*Al principiar una funcion tan extraordinaria y notable como esta, y á que en pos de los hombres de letras fué atraída una gran multitud, así por la singularidad del caso, como por la facilidad de su inteligencia, pues el idioma maya es vulgar entre todas las clases sociales del país, Fr. Bernardino se presenta con las entereza y la modestia de un verdadero sabio, y pronuncia un discurso brillante y sólido (¡lástima que no se hubiese conservado!) original, lleno de propiedad y belleza, en idioma yucateco.*

*Las réplicas, las soluciones, la conferencia toda, fué en el mismo idioma, quedando todos los concurrentes llenos de complacencia y admiración."*

<sup>1</sup> The relative merit of their works has been discussed exhaustively in Part I (p. 9).

Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 172-179) and Sosa (1884, p. 942-948) give short accounts of his life. The former, quoted also by Sosa (p. 944), most truthfully expresses the number of the works by Ruz when he writes, "*Ninguno de los escritores de la lengua maya se presenta con tan considerable número de volúmenes, debidos á su incansable y sábia pluma, como el R. P. Fr. Joaquín Ruz, que hizo verdaderamente sudar la prensa con la edicion de sus obras en el primer tercio del siglo actual, y precisamente cuando era para el país una cosa rara la publicacion de un libro.*"

The writings of Ruz are of little value from the standpoint of the study of Maya linguistics. He did his best to revise the language so that it conformed as far as possible with Latin standards. Brinton (1900, p. 212) writes in this connection, "His style has however been severely criticized by almost all competent scholars as impressing on the native language grammatical forms, terms of expression, and compounds, foreign to its history and character. Ruz was well aware he was making these innovations, but claimed they were called for to elevate and develop the powers of the Maya."

**JUAN PIO PEREZ.** He was born in Merida in 1798 and died in 1859. He was the first modern Maya scholar. Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 140-145, 179-186), Carrillo Suaste (1875), Ancona (1877), Sosa (1884, p. 803-806), and Martínez Alomía (1906, p. 142-146) are among those giving his biography. Berendt (1871a) describes his work in great detail. He was selected as the Maya interpreter to the Secretary of State at Merida. The successful fulfillment of the duties of this office shows his ability to use the Maya language and the position gave him access to much Maya material. Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 117) writes, "I had been advised that this gentleman (Perez) was the best Maya scholar in Yucatan, and that he was distinguished in the same degree for the investigation and study of all matters tending to elucidate the history of the ancient Indians. His attention was turned in this direction by the circumstance of holding an office in the department of state, in which old documents in the Maya language were constantly passing under his eyes. Fortunately for the interests of science and his own studious tastes, on account of some political disgust he withdrew from public life, and, during two years of

retirement, devoted himself to the study of the ancient chronology of Yucatan."

Perez realized the importance of preserving material on the Maya language which was fast disappearing. He made a collection of original documents in Maya and copies of various manuscripts which he did not personally possess. This collection was copied in great part by Berendt and these copies furnished the foundation for the Berendt Collection. The importance of the Books of Chilam Balam was very early recognized by Perez. The most important parts of his collection were included in a volume entitled "Chilam Balam" (Berendt, 1868, in B. L. C. No. 49)<sup>1</sup> and another called by Carrillo y Ancona, "Codice Perez" (Perez, 2, copy in B. L. C. No. 50).<sup>2</sup> The contents of this volume are treated fully by Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 140-145).

There is another document more properly called the "Codex Perez" (Perez, 1842). This is the famous manuscript given by Perez to Stephens which formed a part of the Chilam Balam de

<sup>1</sup> The letters B. L. C. refer to the Berendt Linguistic Collection in the library of the University Museum, Philadelphia. The number refers to the entry in Brinton's Catalogue of this collection. See Brinton, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> This Codice Perez has the following *Advertencia*, written by Carrillo y Ancona and republished by him in his 1870; ed. 1872, p. 140-141: "*Estas apuntaciones son del Sr. D. Juan Pto Perez. Las tomaba ó extractaba de los manuscritos que solia hallar en poder de los indios, y el fin principal que con ellas se proponia era hacer un caudal suficiente de noticias para escribir sobre el Calendario yucateco. Es, pues, muy preciosa esta colección, pues no solo revela mucho de lo que puede apetecerse sobre el cómputo del tiempo, usado por los antiguos yucatecos, sino que servirá tambien para testificar la existencia de muchas obras manuscritas de autores indios, que se han ido perdiendo; pero cuya memoria conservaremos en conjunto en este volumen, dándole el nombre general de 'Código Perez,' para perpetuar tambien así el nombre del ilustre yucateco moderno á quien se lo debemos. El 'Codice Perez' será, pues, siempre un importante monumento bibliográfico, de gran trascendencia para la historia, de valor inestimable para los yucatecos, y, por gran fortuna nuestra, una de los mas ricos tesoros de nuestro gabinete particular. — C. C.*"

Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 179) writes: "*Debemos á la pluma del Sr. Perez las siguientes obras: I. 'Opúsculos varios ó notas á las copias y traducciones del yucateco al español, y del español al yucateco, observaciones y apuntaciones sobre diferentes materias, correspondientes á la historia y lengua de Yucatan, esparcida en fragmentos en diferentes manos y países. Mss. inéditos.'* He adds that the first part of this collection is the Codex Perez. The other part of the collection is undoubtedly contained in the several works in manuscript recorded in the Bibliography.

Mani, and is described at length in another place (p. 184). This manuscript made possible the first attempts to synchronize Maya and Christian chronology. His *Cronologia Antigua* (Perez, 1843) has not contributed greatly to the knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing as he made a grave mistake in the interpretation of the length of one of the Maya time periods. Two printed dictionaries bear his name in addition to several important manuscripts not already mentioned, copies of many of which are in the Berendt Linguistic Collection.

FLETCHER, HENDERSON, KINGDON. These three Protestant missionaries were in British Honduras in the second quarter of the last century. There is little that is known regarding the details of their linguistic work and there is, as a consequence, some confusion regarding the authorship of certain books.<sup>1</sup> Richard Fletcher was a Methodist missionary stationed at Corozal and he wrote a catechism in Maya (1865a) for his denomination and a brief series of prayers (1865). The Maya language used by these three Protestant missionaries is very corrupt. Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 191) writes, "*Fletcher se ha apropiado no mas el maya corrompido de hispanismo, ó esa habla amestizada que usa el último vulgo del país, y que no sabemos si llamar mejor un castellano bárbaro ó un maya tristemente degenerado.*"

Alexander Henderson, a Baptist missionary, came to Belize in 1834. John Kingdon came to Belize in 1845 after having served for thirteen years as a missionary in Jamaica. There was constant trouble between these two workers, Kingdon being the more to blame if one is to believe the account of Crowe (1850), another missionary in this field. There are vague notices in this book of the linguistic work of the mission. It would seem as if Henderson devoted most of his time during the first years in this field to work on the Mosquito language. Kingdon (1847) translated the grammar of Ruz and it was he who seems to have been the more energetic in translating portions of the scriptures into Maya. Crowe (1850, p. 493) writes, "Before the close of 1849, Mr. Kingdon had purchased a piece of plantation land on the banks of the Old River

<sup>1</sup> Pilling (1885, p. 258) furnishes an interesting letter from Carrillo y Ancona regarding the authorship of various works ascribed to Henderson which were really written by Fletcher.

... and thus founded his fifth missionary station, since his arrival four years before. The spot chosen was about twenty miles from Belize, in a very thinly-peopled neighborhood, where his studies and labours in translating Maya would be but little interrupted." The Baptists abandoned their mission in British Honduras in 1850. Henderson evidently stayed on in the country as his *Maia Primer* was published in 1852 and he left in manuscript six volumes of a dictionary of the dialect of Maya spoken in Bacalar (Henderson 1859-66).

**BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG.** He was born near Dunkirk in 1814 and died in 1874. He should be remembered not for what he wrote himself but for the manuscripts which he published. He became interested in the Maya field and visited Yucatan in 1865. Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 193-195) and Martínez Alomía (1906, p. 172-175) give short biographies. Mitre (1909-11, v. 1, p. 19-24) sums up his work. The introduction to the Bibliography of Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871, p. vii-xlvii) under the title *Coup d'œil sur les études américaines dans leurs rapports avec les études classiques* serves to show his method of deductions and his fantastic theories.

The importance of the work of Brasseur de Bourbourg from the standpoint of Maya studies is his publication of the Codex Troano (1869-70) and his finding and publishing the manuscript of Landa (1864). In addition to this he published practically the whole of the grammar of San Buenaventura (1869-70, v. 2, p. 1-99). His vocabularies are of no value as will be pointed out later. Berendt (7, in B. L. C. No. 181, fol. 62) has a section marked "Brasseuriana-Troano-Landa" which contains a good criticism of the work of Brasseur de Bourbourg.

**CARL HERMANN BERENDT.** He was born in Danzig in 1817 and died in Coban, Guatemala, in 1878. He was undoubtedly the greatest scholar of the Maya language although the list of his actual publications is a short one. His biography is given by Brinton (1884-85: 1900, p. 204, note). Berendt came to New York in 1851. He went almost immediately to Central America and, with the exception of occasional visits to the United States, remained in Mexico and Central America until he died in 1878. He made several visits to Yucatan, copying manuscripts and studying the language. He visited all the noted libraries of Middle America collecting

material on the Maya language. His monument is the Berendt Linguistic Collection of manuscripts and books in the library of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Brinton (1900) who purchased this collection and presented it to the Museum has made a catalogue. As already pointed out, the foundation of this library on the Maya side was the copies made by Berendt of the Pio Perez collection the originals of which have now been scattered. Up to the time when Mr. Gates began his photographic reproductions every student of Maya linguistics was absolutely dependent upon this Berendt material.

Berendt's copy of the Motul dictionary with emendations, additions and comparisons with other vocabularies is a monumental work in itself. He brought together for the first time copies of practically everything then known on the Maya languages. His *Lengua Maya Miscelanea* (Berendt, 1868*d*, 3 v. in B. L. C. Nos. 42, 43, 44); and his scrap books (Berendt, 5, 6, 7 in B. L. C. Nos. 179, 180, 181) contain a large mass of important material on the Maya language.<sup>1</sup>

BISHOP CRESCENCIO CARRILLO Y ANCONA. He was born at Izamal, Yucatan in 1837 and died in Merida in 1897. He was the friend of Pio Perez and kept alive the Perez tradition regarding the importance of Maya studies. Carrillo Suaste (1875, p. xi-xx), Sosa (1873: 1884, p. 215), Martínez Alomía (1906, p. 237-244), Rivero Figueroa (1918), and Anon 1897*a*, present biographical notes. The most complete list of his works is published by Rivero Figueroa and Canton Rosado (1918, p. 65-78). Carrillo became the thirty-sixth bishop of Yucatan in 1887. His interest in the early history of the country was great. He founded the archaeological museum at Merida and also started several different literary periodicals. His most important work was on the historical rather than on the linguistic side. Special attention should be called to his *Disertacion sobre la historia de la lengua Maya ó Yucateca* (1870; ed. 1872) and to his main work on the history of the bishops of Yucatan (1892-1895). He was the editor of *El Repetorio Pintoresco* (1863).

<sup>1</sup> Bowditch (1908, 1908*a*) and Schuller (1) collated several of the manuscripts in this Berendt Collection. Gates reproduced the Bowditch notes and several of those taken by Schuller. Various unidentified articles should be noted (Berendt 9) together with his copies of various documents of a religious nature (Berendt 1868*a* in B. L. C. Nos. 46, 47).



**DANIEL GARRISON BRINTON.** He was born at Thornbury, Pennsylvania, in 1837, and died in Philadelphia in 1899. He was a worthy successor to Berendt. His field of activity was broader than that of Berendt. His great interest in Maya studies caused him to purchase the Berendt Collection and later he presented it to the University of Pennsylvania. Biographical notes are to be found in Brinton (1900b), Martínez Alomía (1906, p. 245-249) and in several transactions of scientific societies of which he was a member. Brinton (1898) sums up his work on American languages. The chief work of Brinton (1882) on Maya linguistics was the publication of an English translation of the chronological parts of several of the Books of Chilam Balam, copies of which he obtained in the Berendt Collection. It is worthy of note that this work, although written almost forty years ago, still remains the most extensive translation from the Maya ever undertaken at one time.

**WILLIAM GATES.** Mr. Gates of Point Loma, California, is a Maya scholar to whom all students of Maya linguistics owe a deep debt of gratitude. An indefatigable energy, great acumen, and a knowledge of the Middle American field have enabled Mr. Gates to gather together the largest collection of documents on the Maya linguistic stock ever assembled in one place. Moreover, not being satisfied to possess this remarkable collection he desired copies of all available documents on the Maya field owned by libraries and by individuals. With only a few exceptions he now possesses either the original manuscript or the photographic reproduction of all the known documents on the Maya stock, as well as many others on the languages of Southern and Central Mexico. Furthermore, he possesses the only known copies of several printed works on this field. Mr. Gates has made duplicate sets of many of his photographs and he has allowed Mr. Charles P. Bowditch to purchase a set of these. Mr. Bowditch has very generously presented them to the Peabody Museum. The Gates Collection stands, therefore, in the first place.

His photographic reproductions covering the field included in the scope of the present work are mentioned in the Bibliography.<sup>1</sup> For

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the bibliographical data on manuscripts photographed by Gates have been taken in general from the reproductions rather than from the original manuscripts themselves. Blank pages in the manu-

convenience a list of them is included here. First place should be given to the Motul and San Francisco dictionaries without which no important work in translation can be done. Anon 5 and 26 are also vocabularies. Next come the unique imprint of the Coronel grammar (1620) and the first editions of the grammars of San Buenaventura (1684) and of Beltran (1746) together with the grammars of Ruz (1844) and Kingdon (1847).

Second place in point of importance should be given to the reproductions of the originals of the Chilam Balam de Calkini, Kaua, Nah, Tekax, and Tizimin and of copies of the Chilam Balam de Calkini, Chumayel, Ixil, Kaua, and Tizimin together with the copy of the *Crónica de Chicxulub*. The Bowditch notes on Berendt 1868, the *Chicxulub*, the *Mani*, and *Oxkutzcab* manuscripts with the *Prophecies*, and the Schuller notes on Berendt 1868c and the *Mani* manuscript come next. The various medical portions of the Books of Chilam Balam should be mentioned, the *Judio de Sotuta* and Anon, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 19 (Berendt copy). The *Ritual of the Bacabs* comes here.

The *Avendaño* manuscript stands alone in importance. The secular manuscripts are as follows: *Titulos de Ebtun*, *Libro de Cacalchen*, the *Pat Letters*, *Documentos de Ticul*, the *Xiu Chronicles*, Anon 2 and Anon 8. Finally we also have Gates reproductions of the following religious works: — the *Doctrinas* of Coronel (1620a), Beltran (1740; ed. 1816), Ruz (1822, 1849, 1851), Fletcher (1865a), Nolasco de los Reyes, and Anon (1803, Berendt copy, 7, 20, 23), together with the sermons of Coronel (1620b), Dominguez y Argai, Carvajal (1, Berendt copy), Acosta, Vales, Vela, *Oraciones de Teabo*, and Anon (21 and 22, Berendt copy).

JUAN MARTÍNEZ HERNÁNDEZ. He was born in Merida in 1866 and educated at Georgetown University, District of Columbia, as a lawyer. He is a descendant of the Adelantado, Don Francisco de Montejo. He has an intimate knowledge of the Maya language as is shown by the list of his published and unpublished works in the Bibliography. He is one of a few gentlemen in Merida who now interest themselves in the study of the language of the natives.

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scripts have not generally been reproduced so that there may be differences in certain cases in the number of pages in the reproduction and in the manuscript itself.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES

It is only necessary to note the number of bibliographies mentioned in the following pages to realize the great interest taken in the subject of American languages and, more especially, the languages of Middle America. Little attempt has been made to list the large number of bibliographies which cover the general field of history and travel, although many of these books also contain references to works on the Maya linguistic stock. No bibliography is included here which does not contain books on the Maya language of Yucatan.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES.** The best list of the bibliographies of Mexico and Central America is that contained in **Mitre (1909-11, v. 1, p. 5-70)**. He discusses at some length most of the important lists of books from this region. **Vifiáza (1892, p. xix-xxv)** and the **Bulletin of the New York Public Library (1909, p. 622-624, 810-811)** also give very good lists of bibliographies on Middle America. **Lejeal (1902, p. 5-7)** and **Lehmann (1907)** cover the same ground in a less extensive way.

**MISSING AUTHORITIES.** There is a long list of works on the Maya language references to which are made in the early histories but many of these books or manuscripts have disappeared in the course of time. It is to be hoped that some of these missing authorities will be found just as the long lost grammar of Coronel (1620) turned up in Mexico in 1912.

Landa who wrote his *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan* (1864) sometime between 1561 and 1566 mentions Villalpando and his work. No books of this author have survived. Landa himself wrote a grammar and possibly a *Doctrina* which are lost. Other references occur in several of the early works to books, copies of which are now unknown. **León Pinelo (1629)** and **Nicolas Antonio (1672)** list many works which have vanished. **Lizana (1633)** and **Cogolludo (1638, p. 439-440)** refer in their histories to several writers whose manuscripts have disappeared. Cogolludo is especially full on this point. **Clavigero (1780-81)** also gives a short bibliography several entries of which are unknown at the present time. Later notices of missing authorities are usually taken from the lists already mentioned. These lost works are given more or

less fully in the bibliographies of **Eguiara (1755)**, **Beristain y Souza (1816-21)**, **Squier (1861)**, **Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872)**, **Civezza (1879)**, **Carrillo y Ancona (1878-82; ed. 1883, p. 123-127)**, **Sanchez (1886)**, and **Medina (1907-12)**. A separate list of these missing authorities is given in **El Registro Yucateco (1845, p. 358)**, an almost complete list by **Berendt (1868b)**, and shorter lists by **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70, v. 2, p. i-iv)**, **Viñaza (1892, p. 241 et seq.)**, **Brinton (1897)**, and **Juan Molina (1904-13, v. 1, p. 327-330)**.

In the following list of the missing authorities I have tried to arrange the authors in as near a chronological order as possible. The Berendt manuscript (1868b) gives, in several instances, dates for the various manuscripts which I have not been able to find in any other authority. This list compiled from the above sources is as follows:

#### LIST OF MISSING AUTHORITIES

##### *XVI Century.*

Villalpando: *circa* 1546.

(1) Arte.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Doctrina.

1571 Vocabulario, missing (?).

Landa: in Yucatan, 1549-1579.

(1) Arte (possibly a revised edition of Villalpando (1)).

(2) Doctrina (?).

Solana: in Yucatan 1560-1600.

(1) Sermones.

(2) Noticias sagradas.

(3) Apuntaciones sobre las antigüedades (?).

(4) Estudios historicos.

(5) Apuntes de las santas escrituras.

(6) Apuntamientos historicos.

Xiu: *circa* 1593.

1582 Relacion sobre las costumbres.

(1) Vocabulario.

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<sup>1</sup> The number in front of each work refers to the corresponding number in the Bibliography under the author.

Ciudad Real: died, 1617.

- (1) *Gran calepino* (Motul dictionary ?).
- (2) *Diccionario* (?).
- (3) *Tratado curioso*.
- (4) *Sermones*.

Torralva: in Yucatan, 1573-1624.

- (1) *Sermones*.

Nájera, Gaspar de: in Yucatan, *circa* 1579.

- (1) *Relación de las antigüedades de Yucatan*.

Anon.<sup>1</sup>

- (28) *Vocabulario grande*.
- (30) *Un librito escrito . . . en el idioma de los Indios*.

### *XVII Century.*

Sanchez de Aguilar.

- (1) *Catecismo*, 1602 (Berendt).

Acevedo: in Yucatan, 1592-1624.

- (1) *Gramatica*.
- (2) *Instrucciones catequísticas*.

Cuertas: died, 1610.

- (1) *Arte*.

Coronel: in Yucatan, 1590-1651.

- (1) *Vocabulario*.
- (2) *Doctrina*.
- (3) *Confesionario*.

Rincon: died, 1647.

- (1) *Sermones*.

Valladolid: in Yucatan, 1617-52.

- (1) *Sacramentos*.
- (2) *Dioscórides*.
- (3) *Vocabulario* (?).

Mena: died, 1633.

- (1) *Sermones*.

Cardenas:

1639 *Relación*.

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<sup>1</sup> Clavigero gives the name of José Dominguez as an author of Maya works.

Vidales: wrote, 1644-48.

- (1) Vocabulario.
- (2) Sintáxis.
- (3) Florilegia medicinal.

Rivas Gastelu.

- (1) Gramática (Lacandone), 1685 (Berendt).

San Buenaventura.

- (1) Diccionario, 1695 (Berendt).

#### *XVIII Century.*

Avendaño: in Yucatan, 1705. 1750 (Berendt).

- (1) Arte.
- (2) Diccionario.
- (3) Diccionario abreviado.
- (4) Diccionario botánico.
- (5) Diccionario de nombres de personas.
- (6) Explicacion de varios vaticinios.

#### *XIX Century.*

Carvajal.

- (2) Collection of proverbs.

Henderson, *circa* 1860.

- (1) Book of Genesis in Maya.
- (2) Psalms in Maya.
- (3) English translation of Beltran (1746), ?

Kingdon, *circa* 1860.

- (1) English translation of Beltran (1746), ?
- (2) Dictionary.

EARLY HISTORY AND EARLY BIBLIOGRAPHY. No attempt has been made to exhaust the references to books and manuscripts mentioned in the early histories, such as those of **Martyr (1516)**, **Mendieta (1870)**, written about 1590, **Herrera (1601-15)**, **Gregorio García (1607)**, **Torquemada (1613)**, **Remesal (1620)**, **Cogolludo (1688)**, **Villagutierrez (1701)**, **Boturini (1746)**, and other similar works. The earliest general bibliographies which mention books on the Maya language are those of **León Pinelo (1629; 2d ed. by Barcia, 1737-38)** and **Nicolas Antonio (1672 and 1696)**, the former a sequel of the latter although published first. **Eguiara (1755)** is the first to give a list composed solely of the books on Latin America. This

work was never completed, only the first volume, through C, being printed. Four note-books containing other parts of the manuscript are said to be in the library of the Cathedral of Mexico City.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscript bibliography of Alcedo (1807) is especially good for biographical details and he gives his opinion of the early bibliographies.<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE (1866, p. xiii-xlii) also gives a very good discussion of the important bibliographies.

Clavigero (1780-81; ed. 1826, v. 2, p. 396) gives a *Catálogo de algunos autores Europeos y criollos que han escrito sobre la doctrina y moral cristianas en las lenguas de Anahuac*. This is probably the first attempt to bring together in one place a list of the writings on Mexican linguistics.

Hervás y Panduro (1784; ed. 1800-05, v. 1, p. 289-290) and Vater (1815) are more ambitious attempts at listing linguistic works covering larger areas.

GENERAL AND AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY. There is a long list of general bibliographies many of them specializing on books on America. It is only necessary to give a few of these which contain references to works on Maya linguistics. Rich (1835), Ternaux-Compans (1837), Leclerc (1867 and 1878), Sabin (1868-92), Andrade, (1869; Languages, p. 362-368), Quaritch (1873 *et seq.*), Field (1873, 1875), Civezza (1879), Murphy (1884) and Menéndez y Pelayo (1888) are a few of the more important general bibliographies.

<sup>1</sup> Mitre, 1909-11, v. 1, p. 28-29, probably from *Boletín de Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, v. 10, no. 2, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE (1866, p. xxiv) comments as follows on Alcedo's work, "This bulky compilation seems to be based entirely upon Pinelo-Barcia, with the addition of a few biographical notes, which are of interest only when referring to modern American authors. The titles are given in alphabetical order, abridged, and selected with very little discrimination." This is not a fair estimate of the work of Alcedo. The latter gives far more details than Barcia and the biographical notes are very full and refer to the early as well as to the later writers. In a few cases Alcedo is better than Beristain y Souza for biography. It is interesting to note that Alcedo (f. iv ob) comments as follows on Barcia, "Tan lleno de errores en los nombres y apellidos de los autores, en los títulos de las obras y en los años y lugares que se imprimieron, que ó ya fuese por defecto de los copiantes ó del impresor apenas hay artículo sin yerro; por cuya razon es de poquísima utilidad, y no menece el título que tiene." It is evident that Alcedo did not have access to Cogolludo and therefore he failed to mention several of the early writers.

AMERICAN LINGUISTICS. **Ludewig** (1858; *Maya*, p. 102-103, 226-227) is an excellent work on American linguistic research. Others are **Icazbalceta** (1866) and **Platzmann** (1876: 1903). **Winsor** (1889, v. 1, p. 427) has a bibliographical note on American languages. The catalogues of **Hiersemann** (1891 *et seq.*) often contain important material on the Maya language. Special mention should be made of three works which come in this class. The first of these is the most exhaustive list contained in the proof-sheets of **Pilling** (1885), made in collaboration with librarians of the great collections of Americana. This work is indispensable for investigations on American languages.

The second of these is a bibliography of the *Lenguas Indigenas de América* by **Viñaza** (1892). He has made use of many of the earlier lists and gives under most of the entries the various early references to the books in question. It is a most useful work.

The third, and perhaps the most valuable general bibliography on American linguistics, is a *Catálogo Razonado* by **Mitre** (1909-11, 1912). This contains full critical remarks on the different works and often quotes long passages from the various grammars.

**Stein** (1897, p. 261-262) mentions a few of the bibliographies on American linguistics.

MIDDLE AMERICA. GENERAL WORKS. Of the older authorities the first place in this class should be given to the monumental work of **Beristain y Souza** (1816-21) with additions by **Ramirez** (1898). This is founded on the bibliography of **Eguiara** (1755), but it is a great improvement in arrangement and it is very much more complete. The biographical notes are especially valuable and are followed by many of the later authorities. Next in importance come the great works of **Medina** (1898-1907, 1907-12). Next in point of time to **Beristain y Souza** come two sale catalogues, **Anon** (1868) and **Fischer** (1869). The latter contains the **Berendt** books which were not included in those bought by **Brinton**. The bibliography of **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1871; *Maya*, p. 169-172) is a very good one containing a list of many manuscripts as well as printed books. **Pinart** (1883) contains much the same material as that in the **Brasseur de Bourbourg** list as **Pinart** bought the greater part of the library of the latter. **Ramirez** (1880) is a well known work, more important for Mexico than for Central



America however. **Icazbalceta (1886)** has a bibliography of xvi century books with additions by **Leon (1902)**. **Beauvois (1899)** should be mentioned here. **V. de P. Andrade (1899)** has an essay on the books of the xvii century, **Leon (1902-08)** on those of the xviii and **Leon (1902a)** again on those of the xix century. **Lejeal (1902; Languages, p. 31-39)** has a very good general bibliography of Middle America. **Lehmann (1907)** has slight material on the Maya. The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library (1909)* is a good general working list. The two catalogues of the library of **Wilkinson (1914, 1915)** include a large number of documents never before noted, together with several unique books. There is also a manuscript list of books by **Wilkinson (1)**. This bibliography is very disappointing as it contains practically no original material. Furthermore, it is far from complete. Medina serves as the main source of the work. The contents are noted in the Bibliography.

The greater part of the rare material in the Bancroft Library at the University of California is included in the notes taken by **Tozzer (1918)**.

MIDDLE AMERICA. LINGUISTICS. **Romero (1860)** has a list of writers on Mexican languages. The bibliography of **Sanchez (1886)** gives a few of the early writers on the Maya language. **Leon (1905)** covers the linguistic field superficially.

CENTRAL AMERICA. GENERAL WORKS. **Bandelier (1881)** is especially good from the side of early histories. It is of little importance, however, on the subject of languages.

CENTRAL AMERICA. LINGUISTICS. The *Monograph* of **Squier (1861)** is well known as an excellent second-hand bibliography. He uses the biographical material in Beristain y Souza and Harriette has noted that the titles are taken from other notices of the books rather than from the books themselves.<sup>1</sup> **Haebler (1895; Maya, p. 566-568)** is to be especially recommended. **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1859)** gives a bibliography of the languages of Central America.

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<sup>1</sup> Squier made use of the works of Beristain y Souza, Remesal, Vasquez, Cogolludo, Villagutierre, Juarros, etc., but he did not use Balbi, Hervás y Panduro, Gili, Adelung, Vater, and Buschmann as he presumed these were known to investigators.

The Catalogue of the Berendt Linguistic Collection by **Brinton** (1900; *Maya*, p. 204-215) is probably the most valuable printed bibliography of the Maya linguistic stock. It contains material not to be found in any other work, especially as regards manuscripts. Mention has been made in another place of this collection (p. 147).

**Gates** (2) has prepared a finding list of manuscripts and printed material on the languages of the Maya stock. He also has an excellent essay (**Gates, 1915**) on the unpublished material in the Maya dialects. **Stoll** (1884, p. 73-78) contains a short list of books on the Maya family.

**YUCATAN. GENERAL WORKS.** No attempt is made here to touch upon any material on the ruins of Yucatan. It must not be forgotten also that all the books listed in the previous divisions have something in them on the Maya dialect. There are noted here only those books bearing on the language which are limited in their general contents to Yucatan. **Castillo** (1866) published only the first volume of an historical and biographical dictionary which has some good material on the language.<sup>1</sup> **Berendt** (7 in B. L. C. No. 181) has a fair bibliography of Yucatan in manuscript. **Carrillo y Ancona** (1868, 1871, 1871a, 1878-82) gives bibliographical material on the Maya language. **Sosa** (1884) and especially **Martínez Alomía** (1906) are biographical-bibliographical works of some importance. **Menéndez** (1906) has a good list of writers on Yucatan. **Saville** (1921) also has a list of works on Yucatan.

**YUCATAN. MAYA LINGUISTICS.** **Berendt** (8 in B. L. C. No. 11) and **de Rosny** (1875; ed. 1904) have bibliographical notes limited to the Maya dialect. **Carrillo y Ancona** (1870; ed. 1872) should be mentioned here. **Brinton** (1882, p. 72-77) discusses the Maya grammars and dictionaries. **Tozzer** (1917, p. 184-186) gives a bibliography covering the Books of Chilam Balam.

**BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.** **Alcedo** (1807), **Beristain y Souza** (1816-21), **Castillo** (1866), **Carrillo y Ancona** (1870; ed. 1872), **Sosa** (1866: 1884), and **Martínez Alomía** (1906) are excellent reference books on the biographies of writers on Maya linguistics.

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<sup>1</sup> Reference should be made here to another work of **Castillo** (1861) which **Carrillo y Ancona** (1870; ed. 1872, p. 138) considers "*preciosa*."

**SALE CATALOGUES.** References have been made to a few of the important sale catalogues containing books on Maya linguistics. No attempt has been made to exhaust this list. The following are noted in the bibliography: Anon (1868), Fischer (1869), J. M. Andrade (1869), Quaritch (1873 *et seq.*), Field (1875), Clarke (1878), Ramirez (1880), Maisonneuve (1881: 1897), Trübner (1882), Murphy (1884), Peñafiel (1886), Chadenat (1889 *et seq.*), Hiersemann (1891 *et seq.*), Leon (1896), Platzmann (1903), Hamy (1909), and Wilkinson (1914; 1915).

**PERIODICALS.** There is a long list of periodicals printed in Yucatan, principally in Merida and in Campeche. With few exceptions each has had a very short history. The newspaper, *La Revista de Merida*, founded in 1859, has been published continuously up to the present time with the exception of the years 1916, 1917. It often contains important articles on the Maya language. *El Museo Yucateco* (1841-42) was published in Campeche, only two volumes of which appeared. *El Registro Yucateco* (1845-49) only lasted for five years. This publication (1845, p. 233-235) gives a list of the various periodicals appearing in Yucatan from 1813 to 1845. Medina (1904) and Molina (1904-13, v. 3, p. 574) also give lists. Few of these papers contain anything of interest on our subject. *La Revista Yucateca* (1849), *El Semanario Yucateco* (1878-82), and *El Seminario Conciliar* are names of other early serial publications. Martínez Alomía (1902) gives a list of the periodicals published in Campeche from 1813 to 1889. The *Calendario de Espinosa*, a modern publication, appearing annually, often contains short articles on the Maya language.

## CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

**GENERAL.** The monumental work of the Abbé Hervás y Panduro (1784; ed. 1800-05) is the first attempt at a classification and study of the languages of the world.<sup>1</sup> Hervás (1784) treats of the classification of the languages and v. 1 of the 1800-05 edition considers the languages of America. There is a very brief notice of the Maya language (1800-05, v. 1, p. 289-290).

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<sup>1</sup> For an excellent discussion of this work and the material used in its preparation, see Mitre 1909-11, v. 1, p. 116-122.

The *Mithridates* begun by **Adelung** (1806-17) and continued by **Vater** is the second great attempt to classify the languages of the world. The 3d volume, 2d part, treats of the languages of America. Neither this nor the work of **Hervás y Panduro** is of much present use.

**MIDDLE AMERICA.** The attempts to classify the languages of America have been many. These classifications are of interest to us only as they treat the languages of Middle America, especially those of the Maya stock and particularly those of the Maya dialect. No attempt has been made to list the numberless minor works such as *Estadísticas*, etc., printed in Mexico, which often give lists of languages spoken in the Republic or in the various states.<sup>1</sup>

**Juarros** (1808; ed. 1857, v. 2, p. 35), **Latham** (1850, p. 410-411) and **C. Malte-Brun** (1862, p. 59) give imperfect lists of the Maya dialects. The **Ministerio de Fomento** (1854) and **Siliceo** (1857), Secretary of the Ministerio de Fomento, Mexico, both publish brief accounts of the dialects of Maya. **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1857) has an incomplete list. **Orozco y Berra** (1864, esp. p. 56 and map) gives one of the best of the earliest classifications. **Malte-Brun** (1878, p. 19-20) republishes this with corrections. **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1865, p. 127-129), **Bancroft** (1874-76, v. 3, p. 571), **Berendt** (1878, map), **Larrainzar** (1875-78, v. 2, p. 407-409, map) and **Bastian** (1878-89, v. 2, p. 343) all give more or less complete lists of the dialects of the Maya-Quiche stock. **Pimentel** (1876) gives a full list with an interesting arrangement of the dialects as branches of a tree.

**Stoll** (1884, map, and 1886, p. 300-303) is one of the best writers on this subject. **Cubas** (1876, p. 105-112; 1884, p. 23) and **Batres** (1885) are less important. **Brinton** (1891) and **Cubas** (1888-91, v. 1, p. v, xv; also v. 5, p. 473) are serviceable. **Gerrodette** (1891-92, map), **Charencey** (1894, p. 345-346), and **Peñafiel** (1897), the latter arranged by states, are secondary in importance. **Sapper** 1893: 1895a: 1897: 1905) ranks with Stoll as an authority. **Leon** (1900; ed. 1903, p. 282, map), **Gatschet** (1900), and **Keane** (1901; ed. 1911, v. 2, p. 22) have fairly complete lists. **Peñafiel** (1900, p. 92-97, 216-221, 340-343, 464-469) gives a census of people

<sup>1</sup> Two of the most important of these works are those of **Regil** and **Peon** (1852) and **Baqueiro** (1881) as they treat solely of Yucatan.

speaking Maya and its various dialects. The work of **Thomas (1902)**, amplified and corrected by Swanton, (**Thomas and Swanton, 1911**, map) stands at present as the best discussion of the different linguistic families of Middle America. **Zayas (1908, p. 160-164)** and **Beuchat (1912, p. 405-406)** give brief accounts of the different Maya dialects. **Joyce (1914, p. 201-202)** follows Thomas and Swanton in the main. Attention should be called to the work of **Gates (1920)**, more especially to his map (p. 606). **Wilkinson (1)** has a tentative arrangement of the Maya dialects with their location.

### AFFINITIES

It is not necessary to treat here the much debated question regarding the possible affiliation between the Maya culture and that in other parts of the world. For bibliographical purposes it is well to record the most important discussions regarding the possible connection between the Maya language and that spoken in other parts of the world. It is hardly necessary to add that these treatises are of no scientific value. No attempt is made to discuss the possible affiliation of any features other than language.

**EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.** The connection between Maya and several of the languages of the Indo-European and Semitic groups is discussed by **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70, v. 2, p. i-xlix)**.<sup>1</sup> **Douay (1900, p. 94)** quotes Brasseur de Bourbourg. The work of LePlongeon, as described by **Salisbury (1877)**, and the writings of **LePlongeon** himself (**1879: 1880: 1880a, 1881: 1881a: 1896**) are interesting examples of other fantastic ideas regarding the connection between the Maya language and those of the Old World. **Carriillo y Ancona (1880b; ed. 1883, p. 624-631)** refutes the testimony of LePlongeon of a connection between Maya on the one hand and Greek and Egyptian on the other. **Ober (1884, p. 102)** quotes Le Plongeon regarding a Chaldean connection. **Ancona (1877)** compares some Maya words with Egyptian. **Dusaert (1882)** refutes Brasseur de Bourbourg.<sup>2</sup>

**OCEANIC AND ASIATIC LANGUAGES.** A belief in a relationship between Maya and the languages of the Oceanic area is held by

<sup>1</sup> See reference to this in Mitre (1909-11, v. 3, p. 63).

<sup>2</sup> See also in this connection the list of comparative vocabularies on p. 293.

**Thomas (1894)**, **Tregear (1898)**, and **Campbell (1898-99)**. **Kennedy (1861**, p. 139) thinks there is some affiliation between Maya and Chinese or Japanese. **Douay (1905)** denies that there is any connection between Maya and Japanese. Books containing comparative vocabularies of Maya and Chinese are discussed on p. 179.

**SOUTH AMERICAN LANGUAGES.** **Douay (1)** discusses the affiliation between the Maya vocabulary and that of Quechua.<sup>1</sup>

**ANTILLIAN LANGUAGES.** A connection between Maya and the languages of the Antilles was thought possible from very early times.<sup>2</sup> **Oviedo (1535)**, quoted in turn by **Vater-Adelung (1806-17)** and **Prichard (1843)**, thinks that Cuba and Yucatan were related linguistically. **Bachiller (1883**, chap. 5) states that Cuba was not populated from Yucatan but he compares Maya with the languages of the Antilles. **Douay (1894: 1900)** believes that there are certain lexical similarities between Maya-Quiche and the language of Haiti.

## DESCRIPTION OF LANGUAGE

Apart from the more detailed examination and description of the Maya language given in many of the grammars, there is often a short notice of the dialect in many of the early histories and in a large number of the later works. In the **Colección de Documentos Inéditos (1898-1900**, v. 11, 13) and in other collections of this sort brief reference is often made to the language. The **O'Neil manuscript (1795)** probably belongs here. **Barton (1797**, p. lxxiii) quotes Clavigero and mentions the Maya dialect. **F. H. A. von Humboldt (1811**, v. 2, p. 246), followed by **J. B. Gordon (1820**, p. 73), has a short statement including the fact that the language is guttural. **Balbi (1826**; ed. 1835, p. xxx), **Ternaux-Compans (1843)**, and **Granado (1845**, p. 167) give very brief notes on the language. **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1855)** gives a short description of the language and (1857-59, v. 1, p. 63) mentions the fact that the Maya is undoubtedly the mother of the Tzental of Chiapas.

<sup>1</sup> In this connection, he uses the Maya vocabularies of **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70)** and **Charencey** both of which are very imperfect.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr in *De Insulis nuper inventis* writes "*Quorum idioma si non idem, consanguineum tamen.*"

**Jehán** (1864, col. 881) describes the language. **Bollaert** (1870, p. 291) quotes Beltran regarding Maya diction and **Hovelaque** (1876, p. 107) classes Maya among the agglutinative languages.

**Orozco y Berra** (1864, p. 155-159) presents almost the first good account of the language outside that of the grammars which are noted in another place. **Garcia y Garcia** (1865, p. lxxv) is one of the many who states the ease with which Maya is learned by the Spanish-speaking population. **Carrillo y Ancona** (1865: 1866; ed. 1883, p. 555-561: 1878-82; ed. 1883, p. 101-123) presents his own ideas regarding the language and also quotes freely from the earlier authorities. **J. G. Müller** (1855) has a very short note. **Brinton** (1871) has a description of the Maya stock in general. **Ancona** (1878-1905; ed. 1889, v. 1, p. 112-117) limits his observations to the language of Yucatan. **Brinton** (1881, p. 623: 1882a, p. 218, note) speaks of the figurative expressions it is possible to make in Maya. In **Brinton** (1885) the philosophical character of the Maya is described according to an unknown manuscript of von Humboldt. **Palma y Palma** (1901, p. 108-131) has a very interesting chapter on the richness of expression possible in Maya.

The long description of **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1869-70, v. 2, p. i-xlix) is practically worthless. **Larrainzar** (1875-78, v. 2, p. 407-409) and **Rockstroh** (1878, p. 1-13) give a general description of Maya. **Malte-Brun** (1878) has a statement taken from **Orozco y Berra** (1864). **Baeza** (circa 1880) has a paper on the Maya language. Short accounts of the language also appear in **Winsor** (1889, v. 1, p. 427), **Juan Molina** (1896, p. 332-335), **Spencer** (1873-1910, div. ii, pt. 1b, p. 51), **Mendez** (1898), **Brinton** (1900a, p. 207), and **Lehmann** (1907). **Tozzer** (1902-05) makes several general observations on the language. **Mitre** (1909-11, v. 3, p. 61-64) summarizes the description of the language taken from several sources. **Hestermann** (1915) has a few scattering observations on the language.

#### GRAMMARS

**Carrillo y Ancona** (1881; ed. 1883, p. 123), quoted by **Brinton** (1882, p. 72), states that thirteen grammars of the Maya language have been written. This number could be considerably increased at the present time.

**XVI CENTURY.** Mention has already been made of the early work of **Villalpando** (§ 1). He was the author of a grammar, ac-

ording to Landa (1863, p. 94), which was probably printed but no copy is now known. His dictionary, probably founded on the vocabulary contained in the grammar was printed in 1571. The grammar is supposed to have been perfected by **Landa** (§ 1)<sup>1</sup> and to have furnished some of the material for the grammar of Coronel (1620).

**XVII CENTURY.** It is probable that the first Maya grammar of this century was written by **Acevedo** (§ 1)<sup>2</sup> who came to Yucatan in 1592 and died at the end of the first quarter of the century.<sup>3</sup> Another grammar of about this time is that by **Cuartas** (§ 1). The earliest grammar now available is that of **Coronel** (1620),<sup>4</sup> the teacher of Cogolludo. The only copy known is in the possession of Mr. Gates. As previously noted (p. 10), it undoubtedly furnished the foundation for the grammar of San Buenaventura. Other grammars of this century, all of which have disappeared, are those written by **Vidales** (§ 2) toward the end of the second quarter of the century<sup>5</sup> and one on the Lacandone dialect by **Rivas Gastelu** (§ 1), a native of Guatemala.

**San Buenaventura (1684; 2d ed 1888)**, a French Franciscan stationed in Merida, wrote the grammar which has been described elsewhere (p. 10) on or about 1675.<sup>6</sup> This was published in 1684

<sup>1</sup> Cogolludo (1688, lib. vi, cap. i) writes, "*Fr. Lorenzo de Bienvenida, con no menos feliz despacho, que se presumió de la solicitud de tan gran Religioso, y traxo una Misión de diez Religiosos, que le dió el Rey para esta Provincia, y sabiendo que avian llegado à desembarcar en el Puerto de Zilam, el R. Padre Custodio dió orden al Padre Fr. Diego de Landa, que era Guardian de Merida, para que fuesse al Puerto, y los recibiesse, y llevandolos al Convento de Ytzmil les leyessse el Arte de la lengua de estos naturales, que èl avia perficionado, y que en sabiendole se fuesse à su Convento de Merida.*"

<sup>2</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 165) writes: "*Vino con la cruz del misionero à la provincia de Yucatan, y entre sus muchos servicios y esclarecidas virtudes, la historia refiere su dedicacion particular al estudio del idioma yucateco, de que escribió un 'Manual ó compendio elemental,' y una como 'Misceldnea Maya,' ó coleccion de escritos varios sobre este idioma y de Tratados morales escritos en él, procurando suplir con estos trabajos el defecto natural de su lengua.*"

<sup>3</sup> See Lizana (1633; ed. 1893, p. 102) for details of his work.

<sup>4</sup> For a full discussion of the grammars of Coronel, San Buenaventura, and Beltran, see Part I, p. 9-14.

<sup>5</sup> Beristain y Souza (1816-21, v. 3, p. 276) states that he wrote from 1644 to 1648. Carrillo y Ancona (1883, p. 124) places this writer among those who worked in the xvi Century.

<sup>6</sup> The *Aprobacion del R. P. Fr. Juan de Torres* is dated May 19, 1675.



with a *fac-simile* edition in 1888. Until a few years ago this was considered the first of the Maya grammars which had come down to us. With the appearance of the single copy of Coronel's work first place in point of time now belongs to that. It has been stated that San Buenaventura follows Coronel with great fidelity. It is quite evident that San Buenaventura's grammar, on the other hand, furnished the data for grammatical material on the Maya given by A von Humboldt<sup>1</sup> (1811, English ed. v. 2, p. 246) and he, in turn, was followed by Adelung (1806-17, v. 3, pt. 3, p. 16-23). Pimentel (1862-65, v. 2, p. 1-39; ed. 1875, v. 3, p. 105-138, 230-275) follows San Buenaventura. Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70, v. 2, p. 1-84) has printed the greater part of this grammar under a different arrangement and Mitre (1909-11, v. 3, p. 64-70) has given a full outline of this grammar of San Buenaventura. Bryne (1885, v. 1, p. 191-193; ed. 1892, v. 1, p. 195-197) has some grammatical notes after Brasseur de Bourbourg.

XVIII CENTURY. One of the grammars of this century is that of Avendaño (§ 1) who held the title of *Difinidor* in Yucatan in 1705.<sup>2</sup> This work has disappeared.

Beltran (1746; 2d ed. 1859) and his famous grammar come in this century. As previously noted (p. 10), this grammar, by a native of Yucatan, seems by far the best of the early works on the Maya. Brasseur de Bourbourg is altogether too severe in his criticism of this grammar in comparison with that of San Buenaventura. He writes (1871, p. 24), "*Il possédait parfaitement sa langue: mais il n'en comprit pas le génie comme son prédécesseur, le père Gabriel de Saint Bonaventure, auquel il emprunta, toutefois, une partie de son travail; aussi sa grammaire, diffuse et mal conçue, manque-t-elle de lucidité.*" Seler (1887) is also inclined to favor San Buenaventura to Beltran.<sup>3</sup> Beltran was a native of Yucatan and

<sup>1</sup> W. von Humboldt (1: 2) is the author of two manuscripts on the Maya grammar.

<sup>2</sup> For an excellent account of the missionary labors of this Franciscan, see his work (1696), translated by Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, and collated with other material by Means (1917).

Carrillo y Ancona (1883, p. 125) places Avendaño among the writers of the XVII Century. Berendt dates these works of Avendaño about 1750.

<sup>3</sup> Gates also regards Beltran's work as inferior to that of the two earlier writers whose grammars are extant.

a good Maya scholar. He taught Maya in Merida about 1740. His grammar was written in 1742 and printed in 1746 with an excellent reprint in 1859.

Berendt (1867) states that he saw **Henderson** (§ 3) at work in Belize and that the latter made a translation into English of Beltran's grammar. According to Ludewig (1858, p. 227) **Kingdon** (§ 1) made an English translation of the same grammar which is said to be in the possession of the American Bible Society of New York. The present Secretary states that he can find no trace of this manuscript. As previously pointed out, there is much confusion over the authorship of works listed under Henderson and Kingdon.

Much of the material published on the Maya grammar in the last century was taken from Beltran. The list of his followers is a long one. It contains: **Norman** (1843, p. 240-249), **Gallatin** (1845, p. 45-47, 252-268) and **Heller** (1853, p. 381-385). They evidently had access to the first edition. **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1864, p. 459-478) writes that he obtained his grammatical material from the works of Beltran and Ruz. It is quite evident that he depended very slightly, if at all, on Beltran's treatise. According to Brinton (1900, p. 209), Brasseur de Bourbourg explained to Berendt that when he wrote this book he had never seen the original works either of Beltran or of Ruz but only Gallatin's reference to the former and Kingdon's translation of the latter. **De Rosny** (1875, p. 61-82) and **Bancroft** (1874-76, v. 3, p. 773-776) give some portions of Beltran almost without change. **Charencey** (1883-84; ed. 1885) uses it in comparing the conjugation of the Maya with that of Quiche. **Larrainzar** (1875-78, v. 2, p. 407-408) mentions Beltran. **Palma y Palma** (1901) follows him quite fully and **Mitre** (1909-11, v. 3, p. 71-83) gives an outline of the work. **De Rosny** (1904, p. 87-115) has grammatical notes after San Buenaventura, Beltran, and Ruz.

**XIX CENTURY, ETC.** The next independent work on the Maya grammar was that of **Ruz** (1844: 1845).<sup>1</sup> He was a Franciscan, born in Merida in 1785. He was a prolific writer on Maya sub-

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<sup>1</sup> Squier (1861, p. 38) gives a Maya grammar by **Narciso** (1838). This is clearly a mistake. The Narciso work is a Spanish grammar by Diego Narciso Herranz y Quiros, translated into Maya by Ruz.

jects as already pointed out. His main grammatical work (1844) is written in the form of questions and answers in the Maya language and is really a translation into Maya of the Spanish grammar of **Herranz y Quiros (1834)**. Neither this, his *Cartilla* (**Ruz, 1845**; 2d. ed. **Berendt, 1871**) nor any of his other works are of great importance from a linguistic point of view. An English translation of his grammar was published by **Kingdon (1847)**.<sup>1</sup> **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1864, p. 459-478)** follows Ruz, as previously stated, although he claims to have used Beltran as well. Finally, **de Rosny (1875, p. 91-93)** gives some modern Maya from Ruz. **Vela (1)** has left a few grammatical notes some of which refer to the grammar of Ruz.

**Juan Pio Perez (1)** contemplated writing a grammar and collected notes for this work (B. L. C. No. 11). There seems also to have been some manuscript notes on the language given by **Perez (1842a)** to Stephens.<sup>2</sup> **Gallatin (1845)** used these in addition to the grammar of Beltran in preparing his own work. **Perez (1844)**, in a letter written from Peto, makes some very interesting grammatical observations regarding the changes in Maya from the point of view of time. **Henderson (1852)** published a Maya primer of no value.

**Berendt (1864 and 5, § 1, 3-5)** has left several incomplete portions of a Maya grammar in manuscript. **Anon (26, p. 88-98)** presents a few grammatical notes. **Shea (1873-76, v. 1, p. 411)** gives a specimen of Maya grammar. **Sayce (1875, p. 187, note)** has an example of the Maya noun and adjective taken from the text of Charencey (1873). **Gabelentz (1881, p. 368)** gives an example of the possessive. **Charencey (1883: 1896)** should be mentioned among the writers on Maya grammar although his writings deal with special features of the language.

<sup>1</sup> In a preliminary note to Berendt's copy of the Kingdon translation (**Berendt, 1865**), Berendt points out that Kingdon mistranslates Ruz's title *Gramatica Yucateca* which does not mean a "Yucatan Grammar," but a grammar of the Yucatecan language. He adds: "It seems that Father Kingdon had only an imperfect knowledge of either Maya or Spanish. We arrive at this conclusion in view of the many blunders made in his translation, for which see my notes." (This note given by Brinton, 1900, p. 208).

<sup>2</sup> See Stephens, 1843, v. 2, p. 278. There is another set of manuscript notes on the grammar by **Perez (10)**. It is impossible to judge how much of this material is contained in **Perez (1)** and **(1842a)**.

**Brinton** (1882, p. 27-37) gives some brief grammatical notes. He had access to the early works of San Buenaventura and of Beltran. **Seler** (1887), while basing his study entirely on early printed material, presents the grammatical forms in a new light. **Zavala** (1896) has a small grammar, rather badly arranged, and not covering the ground so fully as the early grammarians have done. **Palma y Palma** (1901, p. 83-474), although following Beltran in the main, presents much new and original material of some value. **Romero Fuentes** (1910) and **Pacheco Cruz** (1912) have phrase books which are useful in acquiring a superficial speaking knowledge of the Maya but they are quite inadequate for a proper understanding of the grammatical forms.

**Lopez Otero** (1914) has a very good grammar founded in part upon the grammar of Beltran and upon the linguistic teachings of the late Señor Don Audomaro Molina. This work ranks next to that of the three early grammarians. It also gives a very good idea of the language as spoken at the present time.

**SPECIAL FEATURES.** Studies of special phases of the Maya grammar are not numerous. **Adam** (1877) has a study of polysynthesis in Maya and Quiche. **Charencey** (1884) has some pertinent ideas regarding the formation of words in Maya and another paper (1896) on the classification of the verb. **Tozzer** (1912) attempts to classify the verb. The Maya pronoun is treated by **Brinton** 1885, p. 35-36), **Charencey** (1883, p. 123-129), and by **Tozzer** (1906). **Rejón García** (1905, p. 19-27) has some remarks of no value on certain particles. **Gates** (1) has an excellent article in manuscript regarding the modern approach to a Maya grammar. He also (**Gates**, 1914) discusses the grammar from a philosophical basis.

**COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.** *Maya Stock.* This subject is best treated by **Seler** (1887), **Charencey** (1866: 1883-84; digest in **Mitre**, 1909-11, v. 3, p. 87-95), and **Charencey** (1883, p. 123-139). The interpretation of the material, gathered from the older authorities, is a distinct contribution to the study of the Maya language as a whole.

Slight comparative grammatical material on the Maya and Quiche is to be found in **Adam** (1877). **Gallatin** (1845) treats of Maya, Quiche, Pokonchi, and Huastec. **F. Müller** (1876-88, v. 2,

p. 305-313, after Vater) compares Maya, Quiche, Mam, Pokonchi, and Huastec.

*Maya stock and Mexican languages.* Berendt (5 in B. L. C. No. 179) compares Maya with Nahuatl, Otomi, Natchez, Cakchiquel, etc. Palma y Palma (1901, p. 421-449) has some reflections on Nahuatl and Maya. See also Adam (1878a) below.

*Maya stock and North American Languages.* Adam (1878) compares Dakota, Cree and some other North American stocks with Maya and Quiche and Adam (1878a) treats briefly of Dakota, Nahuatl, Maya, Quiche, as well as two South American stocks.

*Maya stock and South American Languages.* See Adam (1878a) above.

### PHONETICS

The phonetics of the Maya language are discussed at some length in the grammar of Beltran (1746) and in several of the other grammars. His list of the sounds is used by Norman (1843, p. 242) and the latter is copied in turn by Spence (1913, p. 342). Juan Molina (1896, p. 335) also quotes from Beltran. Brasseur de Bourbourg (1864, p. 322, note), followed by Bollaert (1866, p. 50-51) quote Beltran on the alphabet. The *Analytical Alphabet* of Berendt (1869) and Berendt (5 in B. L. C. No. 179, § 1) together with Stoll (1884, p. 39-44) give good discussions of the phonetics of the whole group of Maya languages. Carrillo y Ancona (1880a, p. 91-95: 1893)<sup>1</sup> has some words on the pronunciation. Anon. (2, ff. 9-11) treats of the sounds in Maya. Perez (1842a) has left some remarks on the various sounds and letters adopted for these sounds as a preliminary notice to his manuscript "Codex Perez" in the library of the New York Historical Society. These notes were used by Gallatin (1845, p. 252). Justo Sierra (1842-45) discusses the sounds in Maya. Gates (3) has a paper in manuscript regarding the pronunciation with an alphabet which he prefers in writing Maya and he describes (Gates, 1920, p. 611-613) very carefully the phonetic system of the language. Tozzer (1907, p. xxiii: 1910, p. 277) gives a key to the pronunciation of the Maya Sounds.

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<sup>1</sup> This work introduces the series of manuscript vocabularies from the different towns in Yucatan described on p. 293.

## VOCABULARIES

Carrillo y Ancona (1881; ed. 1883, p. 123), quoted by Brinton (1882, p. 72), states that seventeen dictionaries of the language have been written. This number should be increased if we include all the missing Maya vocabularies.

**XVI CENTURY.** **Villalpando (1571)** holds the place of priority regarding the authorship of a Maya dictionary as he does that of a grammar. His dictionary was published in Mexico in 1571.<sup>1</sup> This work is probably based upon the vocabulary contained in his *Arte* (§ 1) which is missing.

**Solana (1580)**, a Franciscan and companion of Landa, is another author of a dictionary in this century. This is in manuscript and is probably in the library of The Hispanic Society of America in New York.<sup>2</sup> Mention should also be made here of a short collection of Maya words given by **Oviedo (1535; ed. 1851-55, v. 4, p. 593-607)**, also in **Berendt, (1868d, v. 1, in B. L. C. No. 42-11)** and **Berendt (6 in B. L. C. No. 180)**. The Maya words in **Landa (1864)** have been collected and translated by **Bowditch (1)**.

Another dictionary of this century is that by **Gaspar Antonio Xiu (§ 1)**.<sup>3</sup> He was a Maya Indian and related to the so-called royal family of the Tutul Xius, one of the two reigning families of Mayapan. The manuscript is missing but it is dated toward the close of the century as he is known to have been receiving a pension from the Spanish Government in 1593 and 1599.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brinton (1882, p. 74) states that one copy at least is in existence.

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to verify this point. For bibliographical purposes several works of Solana are listed in the bibliography although they do not appear to touch upon the Maya language, **Solana (§ 3), (§ 4), (§ 5), (§ 6)**. **Nájera (1)** should be noted here. The work of **Cardenas (1639)**, although belonging to the next century, may be mentioned as being in the same class.

<sup>3</sup> In the list of missing authorities I have also placed another work by **Xiu (1582)** although it probably has little to do with Maya linguistics. See Carrillo y Ancona, 1870; ed. 1872, p. 137-138.

<sup>4</sup> A description of his work is given in the *Relación de Quinacama (Colección de Documentos Inéditos, v. 11, p. 264)*. Juan Martínez writes personally as follows, "Antonio Xiu helped everybody in his work. He never wrote a vocabulary: he was not a scholar but an interpreter of the government and had access to the library of the Franciscan Convent in Merida."

Another companion of Landa was Ciudad Real. He came to America in 1573 and died in 1617. He is the author of several works on the Maya language. His *Gran Diccionario ó Calepino* (Ciudad Real, § 1) was prepared in two copies neither of which has been found.<sup>1</sup> He is said to have taken forty years to write this. Juan Martínez Hernández identifies the Motul dictionary as this missing work. There is probably another dictionary (Ciudad Real, § 2) distinct from the *Calepino*.<sup>2</sup> Cogolludo (1688, p. 513) writes of Ciudad Real, "*Aprendió el idioma de estos Indios con tanta perfección que fue el mayor Maestro de él que ha tenido esta tierra. Como tal predicó, enseñó y escribió Sermones de Santos . . . no solo hizo Vocabularios, que el uno empieza con la lengua Castellana, y el otro con la de los Indios; pero compuso una obra tan insigne, que por su grandeza se llamó Calepino de la lengua Mayo ó Yucatheca.*"

The **Motul Dictionary**, the most famous of all the Maya extant dictionaries, probably goes back to the last quarter of the xvi century.<sup>3</sup> A copy of this manuscript is now in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island. It is called the Motul Dictionary as there is reason to believe that the first part was written at the Convent of Motul. It is probably a copy of an earlier manuscript. It is impossible to determine the exact date of the original but the author speaks of a comet which he saw in 1577 and "gives other evidence that he was writing in the first generation after the Conquest."<sup>4</sup> The present copy seems to have been made about the close of the xvi century. It consists of two parts:—

<sup>1</sup> According to Nicolas Antonio (1672) who copied from Lizana (1633, ed. 1893, p. 100), one copy remained in Yucatan and the other was in the library of the Duque del Infantado in Spain. Brinton (1897, p. 185) tried to trace this library in 1888 and again in 1893. Some volumes were said to have gone to the Real Academia de Historia and the bulk of the collection passed to the Duke de Osuna and was sold by him to the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Inquiries by Brinton in both these institutions met with failure.

<sup>2</sup> Berendt (1868b) gives an *otro diccionario* in his list of missing authorities. Mention is made of another work of Ciudad Real (§ 3) although it evidently contained nothing on the language.

<sup>3</sup> Ciudad Real was in Yucatan from 1573 to 1617 which would be about the time this manuscript was written.

For bibliographical note, see Bartlett (1865-71, v. 1, p. 226, 2d. ed. 1875-82, v. 1, p. 446).

<sup>4</sup> Brinton (1882, p. 77: 1885a, p. 32) and Berendt (7, in B. L. C. No. 181) also have notes on the Motul. Bollaert (1866, p. 54, note) gives information on the Motul taken from Trübner (1865, p. 2).

Maya-Spanish and Spanish-Maya, the latter section containing approximately 11,180 words. This is probably later in date than the Maya-Spanish part.

Juan Martínez Hernández thinks that the Motul dictionary is the same work as the *Calepino* of Ciudad Real and refers to Lizana (1633, ed. 1893, p. 99) who writes, "*Antonio de Ciudad Real . . . hizo Calepino tan grande, que son seis bolúmenes de a dozientos pliegos cada uno, los dos de su letra sacados en limpios, y los borradores llenaua dos costales, ocupó 40 años en esta obra, mas es tan buena, y de tanto peso, y utilidad, que no tiene otro defeto que ser para esta tierra solamente que a correr esta lengua en todo el mundo solas estas obras bastauan para dar luz, y claridad a todos los que la aprendiessen, y alli hallassen quantas frasis, y propiedad se pueden imaginar, sin que aya falta de una palabra, etc.*"

Berendt made a careful copy of the manuscript in 1864 (B. L. C. No. 1) with extensive corrections and additions from the other Maya dictionaries, the Ticul, San Francisco and Pio Perez, copies of which he possessed. In the preface to his copy he writes, "The first part of the Providence MS. is written in an extremely small and badly arranged hand. It shows an author of wide instruction, with scientific mind, and profound knowledge of the Maya language and great care and attention. But the copyist was an ignorant fellow who did not understand what he was writing, not even in the Spanish part, and in places he shows terrible negligence."<sup>1</sup> It is needless to add that this dictionary is indispensable for the student who is working on the translation of old Maya texts. The illustrative sentences after many of the words are most useful. An unsuccessful attempt was made by the Bureau of American Ethnology to publish this manuscript. A portion of it was set up in proof after having been copied by Miss Thomas. These proofs were being corrected by Señor Audomaro Molina at the time of his death.<sup>2</sup> Mr. William Gates is now at work on an edition of the dictionary.

Mention should be made here of the *Vocabulario grande Yucatanó* (Anon. 28) mentioned by Cogolludo.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a translation from the Spanish kindly furnished me by Miss Adela Breton.

<sup>2</sup> For the work of Miss Thomas and Audomaro Molina, see Powell (1900, p. 67-68), McGee (1901, p. 79: 1902, p. 53-54), and Holmes (1903, p. 41).

<sup>3</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 135) writes: "*La primera obra que escribieron los indios yucatecos en el siglo mismo de la conquista, usando por*



XVII CENTURY. Coronel (§ 1) (*circa* 1620) and Vidales (§ 1) (*circa* 1644) are both authors of vocabularies which are missing. Coronel (1620, p. 107-110) gives the names of the different parts of the body. Valladolid (§ 3) also wrote a dictionary according to Ludewig (1858, p. 103). This may be questioned.

The San Francisco Dictionary is second in importance to the Motul and probably belongs about the middle of the xvii century. This work was found at the closing of the Convent of San Francisco in Merida in 1820. It bears no date. The original is lost but Perez made a copy (Perez, 11)<sup>1</sup> and Berendt made a copy from that of Perez in 1870 (B. L. C. No. 3). Meneses (1) made a partial copy. Pio Perez considers that this dictionary is older than the Ticul vocabulary, probably by half a century. Berendt would place it as older than the Motul, basing his decision on some antiquated forms in the San Francisco which appear in the Motul as modernized.<sup>2</sup> Mitre (1909-11, v. 3, p. 71) suggests that this dictionary may have been the work of San Buenaventura (§ 1).<sup>3</sup> In this case the

*primera vez de los caracteres alfabéticos, fué un gran Vocabulario historico que, no habiéndose nunca llegado á imprimir, parece que se ha perdido por completo. Conservábase todavía á mediados del siglo diez y siete, época en que Fr. Diego Lopez de Cogolludo se hallaba en esta Península, pues le vió y aun le servió para componer su Historia, como se ve por estas palabras que se leen en el cap. V del lib. IV, con motivo de hablar aquel autor del nombre que los antiguos Mayas daban á un Dios único é incorpóreo."*

<sup>1</sup> From Berendt (1871a, p. 60) who writes, "*D. Pio ha copiado tambien este Diccionario, coordinando la parte maya-española por el mismo método que habia empleado en su trabajo anterior,*" it might be inferred that this dictionary was originally arranged in a Spanish-Maya order only and that Perez made the Maya-Spanish part when he copied it in the same way as he had done with the Ticul Dictionary. But in his Preface he states that he received a copy of a part of the Maya-Spanish portion made by Meneses. This seems to show that the original manuscript was in Maya-Spanish and Spanish-Maya.

The Perez copy was found by Martínez Hernández among papers presented by Mrs. Ernesto de Regil to her brother-in-law, José Rafael de Regil of Merida, who is the present owner.

<sup>2</sup> Berendt in the Preface to his copy of v. 2 of the Motul Dictionary (B. L. C. No. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Mitre quotes as follows from Ancona (1877, p. iv), in his introduction to Perez (1866-77): "*En 1848, el mismo Pérez encontró en casa del cura José María Meneses, un diccionario de la lengua Maya, más voluminoso, el cual había sido de la biblioteca del convento grande de San Francisco, y cuya fecha y autor se ignoraba por faltar á la obra sus primeras páginas. Parece que después de una enfermedad del Señor Meneses el volumen fué extraído de su casa, y Pérez pudo al*

date would presumably be about 1684, the date of his grammar.<sup>1</sup> Mitre is probably incorrect in this supposition. The manuscript is in two parts, Maya-Spanish and Spanish-Maya, the latter portion containing approximately 9160 words. The two parts do not correspond, each portion having terms and acceptations not to be found in the other.

The **Ticul Dictionary** comes at the end of the xvii century. It bears the date of 1690 and was found in 1836 in the Convent of Ticul. The original manuscript is lost. It is in Spanish-Maya, and contains approximately 6190 words. Pio Perez copied it in 1836 and made a second copy in 1847,<sup>2</sup> together with a list of the words arranged as Maya-Spanish (**Perez, 1847a**). From the 1847 copy and the Maya-Spanish arrangement Berendt made his copy in 1870 (B. L. C. No. 2). The manuscript, not including the Maya-Spanish part, was published under the name of **Perez (1898, p. 124-196)** by Ignacio Peon who joined it to the vocabulary of Beltran's grammar. The two works do not correspond.

Berendt in the Preface to v. 2 of his copy of the Motul in speaking of the Ticul and the San Francisco vocabularies writes, "The concordance of many Spanish terms and also the identical co-ordination of their different Maya equivalents and other particulars repeated in the last two works (the Ticul and the San Francisco) give reason to believe that both have the same origin. But as each contains clauses not found in the other, presumably they were copies corrected and amplified by different authors and at different periods."

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*fin conseguirlo en 1855."* and Mitre adds "*Este manuscrito era evidentemente el del diccionario Maya de San Buenaventura que según Beristain y Souza se conservaba en el convento de San Francisco de Mérida, el cual servió principalmente de base para el trabajo de Pérez y no se explica sino como ocultación de mala fe, el que se haya omitido mencionar siquiera el nombre del precursor y primer codificador del idioma Maya.*"

<sup>1</sup> Berendt (1868 b) places the date of the San Buenaventura dictionary as 1695.

<sup>2</sup> Pio Perez (1844) mentions this Ticul dictionary as having been found with a copy of Coronel's grammar.

**Perez (7, in B. L. C. No. 11, p. 165-84)** writes an introduction to this vocabulary. See **Perez, 1898**.

Juan Martínez writes personally regarding the Ticul as follows, "Said vocabulary is a copy from an older work with innovations of small importance, all copied from a pattern or old vocabulary, a standard authority which is no other than the work of Fray Antonio Ciudad Real."

**San Buenaventura** (§ 1) (*circa* 1684) is given as the author of a large dictionary toward the end of this century.<sup>1</sup> **Carrillo y Ancona** (1) mentions this vocabulary and the vain search he made for it.

**XVIII CENTURY.** In this epoch are found the numerous vocabularies of **Avendaño** all of which are missing: — a dictionary (§ 2), a short dictionary of adverbs (§ 3), a botanical and medical dictionary (§ 4), and a list of proper names (§ 5).<sup>2</sup> A single leaf of a vocabulary, probably of this century is in the possession of Mr. Gates (*Anon.* 5).

Mention should be made here of the various vocabularies in the grammar of **Beltran** (1746; ed. 1859, p. 209-241). These vocabularies are given in the present copy of the **San Francisco** dictionary. The Maya words with their meanings as given by **Beltran** are all collected and published by **Perez** (1898, p. 1-101).

**XIX CENTURY.** The next vocabulary in point of time is that of **Baezo** (1832), of words in the dialect of Peten, Guatemala.<sup>3</sup> Along with this should go the dialect collected at Sacluk, Peten, by **Berendt** (1866-67) and republished with English translation by **Means**, 1917, p. 188-191. **Norman** (1843, p. 255-263) gives an English-Maya vocabulary which he may have collected during his sojourn in Yucatan.

**Henderson** (1859-66) has left a manuscript of six volumes, averaging 250 pages each, of a dictionary of the dialect spoken in the District of Bacalar. This is in the collection of manuscripts of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington.<sup>4</sup> A dictionary by **Kingdon** (§ 2) is reported in the library of the American Bible Society of New York. No trace of this can be found.

**Perez** was the author of several manuscript vocabularies. He started with the Maya words in **Beltran's** *Arte* (1746). He amplified this with the words in **Beltran's** *Doctrina* (1740) and *Sermons*

<sup>1</sup> See note 3 on p. 172-173.

<sup>2</sup> **Carrillo y Ancona** (1882, p. 125) places these works among those written in the xvii Century.

<sup>3</sup> **Ludewig** (1858, p. 102) mentions a work by **Malte-Brun** (1824) as containing a Maya vocabulary. I have been unable to find this book. It has been entered in the Bibliography under C. Malte-Brun.

<sup>4</sup> See **Berendt** (1867, p. 420) and **Anon** (1900) for references to this work.

(1740a) and Dominguez (1758). In 1836 he obtained possession of the Ticul dictionary which he copied and with this he produced a two volume work (**Perez, 1838**). He treated these manuscripts as rough drafts for future revision. In the same year there is an account of another manuscript vocabulary (**Perez, 1838a**). It is impossible to know whether one of these various works is that (**Perez, 1842b**) noted in Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 278) who writes that Perez gave him a vocabulary in manuscript containing more than four thousand words in Maya. The manuscript of this is in the library of the New York Historical Society.

**Perez (1845)** left another manuscript containing material for a dictionary. This was presented by his niece to Dr. Berendt and is referred to by **Berendt (1871a, p. 5)**. It is now in the Berendt Linguistic Collection (No. 5). It contains several hundred words not in Perez (1866-77). A partial copy was made by Berendt when the manuscript was still in the possession of Perez. The latter copied the Ticul again (**Perez, 1847**). In this same year he made a Maya-Spanish arrangement of the Ticul (**Perez, 1847a**).

The **Perez Dictionary (1866-77)**, written as far as the word *ulchahal* by Perez, down to *ven* by Carrillo y Ancona, and completed by Berendt, is the largest dictionary at present in print.<sup>1</sup> It contains about 20,000 words and is Maya-Spanish only. As noted above, Perez used Beltran (1746) in preparing the first drafts of his dictionaries together with Beltran's sermons and *Doctrina*. Later he added the Ticul material. Finally he found the San Francisco and began the work all over again omitting, as antiquated, the examples of Maya construction. The work does not give the parts of the verbs and it is not always useful in explaining many of the old terms. The Ticul is much better in this respect. Brinton (1882, p. 75) rightly complains "that it gives very few examples of idioms or phrases showing the uses of words and the construction of sentences." **Breton (1919)** gives a few relationship terms from Perez.

The second dictionary of **Perez (1898)** was probably written before that of 1866-77 and it is much better for use in translating the old documents. It contains the Ticul Dictionary (p. 124-296) mention of which has already been made.

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<sup>1</sup> **Gatschet (1879)** has a note on this dictionary. **Gatschet (1883)** again discusses this work together with that of Brinton (1882).

The two vocabularies of **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1864, p. 480-506 and 1869-70, v. 2, p. 123-462) are both compilations from various sources: Beltran and San Buenaventura, Cogolludo, Landa Perez, Solis y Rosales, possibly the Motul, and other writers. Neither dictionary is of any great value.<sup>1</sup> Juan Martínez owns an annotated copy of a Brasseur vocabulary made by Berendt which formerly belonged to Rodolfo G. Canton.

**De Rosny** (1875, p. 94-118; ed. 1904, p. 133-166) has published selections from the vocabulary in Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70). The latter (1857-59, v. 1, p. lxxxix) mentions a vocabulary (**Anon**, 27) of 2000 words in Maya, Spanish and English. I have been unable to identify this.

**Waldeck** (1838, p. 79-90, copy in B. L. C. No. 41-1) has published a short list of words in Spanish, French, and Maya and (1838, p. 29-33, copy in B. L. C. No. 42-3) he gives the Maya names of many of the pueblos. **Solis y Rosales** (1870) furnished Brasseur de Bourbourg with a manuscript vocabulary.

Berendt has left numerous vocabularies in manuscript: — one in the collection of manuscripts of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington (**Berendt**, 2), a list of proper names (**Berendt**, 4), and a large number of comparative vocabularies which will be discussed later.

**Dondé** (1876, p. 229-241) gives a list of plants with their Maya names prepared by Thomas Aznar Barbachano.

**Brinton** (1882, p. 261-279) gives the Maya-English vocabulary of words found in his selections from the Books of Chilam Balam. He published the Maya linear measurements in 1885b (p. 434-439) and another short vocabulary in 1894 (p. 143-146).<sup>2</sup>

**Charencey** (1883a) has a French-Maya vocabulary of about four thousand words and **Charencey** (1891, p. 247-301) has a Maya-French dictionary of about eighteen hundred words. **DeRosny** (1887; ed. 1888, p. 71-85) gives a list of Maya divinities.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Brinton (1882, p. 75) who writes, "I can say little in praise of the *Vocabulaire Maya-Francais-Espanole*, compiled by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70). . . . It contains about ten thousand words but many of these are drawn from doubtful sources, and are incorrectly given; while the derivations and analogies proposed are of a character unknown to the science of language."

<sup>2</sup> **LePlongeon** (1896, p. 202-207) has much to say regarding a controversy with Brinton on the linear measurements of the Mayas.

The Peabody Museum owns a manuscript vocabulary of 250 words from each of the following towns in Yucatan: Peto (**Valez, 1893**), Sotuta (**Anon, 1893**), Valladolid (**Manzano, 1892**), and Tizimin (**Rejón Espínola, 1893**). These were probably collected by Carrillo y Ancona as there is an introduction on the Maya pronunciation by him. A digest of these vocabularies is given in Appendix IV (p. 293).

**Zavala (1898)** published a short Spanish-Maya vocabulary. **Palma y Palma (1901, p. 258-269, 307-326)** writes instructively on the wealth of material in the Maya vocabularies. In the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos (1898-1900, v. 11, p. 435-436)* there is a short list of Maya words to be found in the text.

**Sapper (circa 1895)** collected a small vocabulary from San Luis, Peten, which he was good enough to give the author. **Millspaugh (1895-98: 1900: 1903-04)** has works on the flora of Yucatan which give many of the native names of plants. **Pacheco Cruz (1919)** has a work on the fauna of Yucatan giving the Maya names. Mention should also be made here of the following anonymous vocabularies: — that in the Librería de San Gregorio de Mexico (**Anon, 25**, after Viñaza, No. 1134), and that owned by Mr. Gates (**Anon, 26**). **Starr (1908, p. 399-404)** gives a very few Maya words in his glossary.

**DAY AND MONTH NAMES.** There are many treatises on the meaning of the names of the days and months in the Maya year and the possible correlation of this meaning with the forms of the hieroglyphs for these days and months. The most comprehensive of these discussions are those by **Seler (1888; ed. 1902, p. 448-503)** and by **Bowditch (1910, p. 263-265)**. The latter collates the meanings given the day names by Perez, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Brinton, Schellhas, and Tozzer. Little need be said in this place regarding the discussion of the linguistic meaning of the Maya hieroglyphics as a whole. The phonetic character of the Maya glyphs is discussed by **Bowditch (1910, p. 254-258)** and by many other authors. There is a long series of articles dealing with the supposed phonetic transcription of series of glyphs. These are generally of no value.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> **Eichhorn (1896: 1905)** belongs to this class. **Pariso** is an earlier writer along the same lines.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES. *Maya-Quiche and other Maya dialects*. Galindo (1834, p. 63. Copy in B. L. C. No. 42-6) gives a few words in Maya and Punctunc. Berendt (3) wrote a manuscript composed of between 600 and 700 words in 24 dialects of the Maya stock. This formed the basis for Stoll (1884). Berendt (5, in B. L. C. No. 179-6, fol. 60, 64) gives comparative lists of words in Maya, Putun, Tzental, Cakchiquel, Chontal, etc. Squier (1857, p. 179) gives a few words in Maya, Mam, Quiche, and Cakchiquel. Squier (1858, p. 552-553) has words in Maya, Cakchiquel, and from Peten. Berendt (1867a, in B. L. C. No. 82) has marginal comparisons in Maya and Cakchiquel with Huastec forms in his copy of the dictionary of Tapia Zenteno. Rockstroh (1878) gives a comparative vocabulary of the Maya stock. This was probably prepared under the direction of Berendt. Campbell (1879, p. 72-73) gives a few Maya and Quiche words.<sup>1</sup>

Stoll (1884, p. 46-70, and 1886, p. 301) gives comparative lists of words of many of the Maya dialects.<sup>2</sup> Brigham (1887, p. 276) gives selections from Stoll and Sapper (1897, p. 407-436) improves on Stoll. Brinton (1888, p. 82-91) gives a comparative vocabulary of Maya dialects and reprints Berendt (1870a). Starr (1901-04) has a comparative list of words from several Maya dialects and Zoque and Chiapanec.

*Maya and Mexican Languages*. Berendt (1) in the Bureau of American Ethnology,<sup>3</sup> Berendt (5, in B. L. C. No. 179, fol. 58), and Heller (1853, p. 387-388) give comparative lists of words in Maya and Nahuatl. Carrillo y Ancona (1872) gives many of the Maya and Nahuatl words used in Spanish. Palma y Palma (1901, p. 718-738) has the following: *Voces Aztecas Castellánizadas y sus equivalentes en Maya*, and *Voces Mayas Castellánizadas*. Anon (1898) has a short word list in Maya and Nahuatl. Berendt (5, in B. L. C., No. 179, fol. 59) has a vocabulary in Maya, Nahuatl and Otomi. Gallatin (1845, p. 9-10, 298-304) includes Otomi, Nahuatl, Huastec, and Maya in a comparative vocabulary. Fuertes (1) has Zoque, Zapotec, Mixe, and Maya words. Ternaux-Compans

<sup>1</sup> Ordoñez (1), according to Brasseur de Bourbourg (1855-56, p. 292), has the following: *Linguistique du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale (une foule d'étymologies tzendales, mayas, itzoziles, quichées, azteques, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> See Berendt (3) above.

<sup>3</sup> Pilling (1879-80) has a list of the linguistic manuscripts in the library of the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington.

(1840-41; Maya in v. 88, p. 5-37) gives a comparative list of words in the main languages of Mexico. **Prichard** (1836-47, v. 5, p. 344) republishes this. **Latham** (1862, p. 755) publishes a few words in Maya, Huastec, Nahuatl, and Otomi. **Ferraz** (1902, p. 95) has a short list of words in Maya, Quiche, and Nahuatl.

*Maya and North American languages.* **Adam** (1878) has a comparative vocabulary of Cree, Chippewa, Algonkin, Dakota, Hidatsa, Maya, and Quiche. **Berendt** (5, in B. L. C. No. 179, fol. 62, 63) gives words in Natchez, Apalachee, and Maya. **Brinton** (1867) has a list of words in Natchez, Huastec, and Maya.

*Maya, South American Languages, etc.* **Adam** (1878a) gives words from Dakota, Nahuatl, Chibcha, Quechua, Quiche, and Maya. **Douay** (1894) has a comparative list of words in Haitian, and Maya. **Douay** (1900) gives words in Haitian, Maya, and Quiche, and **Douay** (1), in Quechua and Maya. **Nuttall** (1901, p. 549-555) gives a comparative vocabulary of Maya, Quechua, and Nahuatl. **Schomburgk** (1848, p. 236-237) has a selection of words from American languages and from the languages of the Guianas.

*Maya and Old World Languages.* Comparative vocabularies covering a wider field are in general most unsatisfactory. They are to be found in **Hervás y Panduro** (1785, Maya p. 21, 41, 48, 121, Tab. xlix, l, li and 1787a, Maya, p. 161 *et seq.*) and **Balbi** (1826; ed. 1835, Maya, Tab. xli, No. 676). There is also a class of early works of no present value which give the equivalents for certain common words in many American languages for comparison with the forms in European or Asiatic languages. A few Maya words sometimes appear in the following works: **Vater** (1810), **Klaproth** (1824-28, v. 2, p. 28-45), **Mérian** (1828, p. 185-206) after Vater. **C. Malte-Brun** (1810-29, p. 18-21), **Johnes** (1846), **Buschmann** (1853), and **Clarke** (1877). **Nuttall** (1901, p. 563-575) gives a list of Maya words and their equivalents in languages of the eastern continent.

**C. Malte-Brun** (1810-29), **Latham** (1860, p. 398), **Charencey** (1871, p. 106), and **Platzmann** (1871) give comparative list of words from Chinese and other Asiatic languages and corresponding words from the languages of America including Maya. **Campbell** (1879, p. 72-73) compares Maya and Polynesian. **Umery** (1863) gives a list of words for "mother" in many languages including Maya.



*Comparative vocabularies of special words.* **Charencey** has two papers (1882; Maya, p. 28-30 and 1899, Maya, p. 117, 166-169) on the names for the points of space in Maya and Quiche. **Charencey** (1883b) has another study of the names of the cardinal points and a fourth (1892) on the names of the metals in certain Maya dialects. **Brinton** (1886; Maya p. 10-13) treats of the word for love in some American languages.

### ETYMOLOGY OF PROPER NAMES

**YUCATAN.** There has been much discussion regarding the derivation of the names Yucatan and Maya. There is hardly an early history which does not have something to say regarding the origin of the name Yucatan. **Cortés** in his first letter (1852; 1866; ed. 1908, v. 1, p. 124-125), **Bernal Diaz** (1632; ed. 1908-16, v. 1, p. 32), **Gomara** (1553, cap. 52), republished in **Barcia** (1749, v. 2), **Lizana** (1633, cap. 1), **Landa** (*Brasseur de Bourbourg*, 1864, p. 6-8, copied by **Malte-Brun** (1864, p. 14-15), **Cogolludo** (1688, p. 60-61), **Villagutierre** (1701, p. 28), all discuss the question of the origin of the word Yucatan. The **Perez Codex** (**Perez**, 1842) and the **Chilam Balam de Chumayel** should be cited here as they contain a variation in the name given to Yucatan.<sup>1</sup> Among the modern authorities to touch upon this question of etymology are: **Waldeck** (1838, p. 25), **Stephens** (1843, v. 1, p. 139-140), **Prescott** (1843, Bk. 2. Chap. 1), **Ternaux-Compans** (1843, p. 30-31), **Bollaert** (1866, p. 46), **Carrillo y Ancona** (1868: 1878-82; ed. 1883, p. 133-141: 1890), **Bancroft** (1874-76, v. 5, p. 614-615), **Ancona** (1881), and **Zuñiga** (1).

**MAYA.** The best discussion of the derivation of the name Maya is that in **Carrillo y Ancona** (1883a, p. 632-634). **Brinton** (1882, p. 9-16), **Ancona** (1878-1905; ed. 1889, v. 1, p. 44) and **Rejón García** (1905, p. 5-17) also suggest derivations. **Pimentel** (1860) discusses the words Mayo and Maya.

**MISCELLANEOUS.** **Brinton** (1887) discusses the origin of the Maya words used in **Landa's** work. **Rovirosa** (1888) and **Douay** (1891) mention the etymology of a few Maya names. **Robelo** (1902) gives the Maya, Nahuatl and Spanish equivalents of some

<sup>1</sup> Compare Carrillo y Ancona, 1890, p. 35-45.

proper names. **Rejón García (1905, p. 29–78; 1910)** presents several derivations which are in most cases decidedly doubtful in origin.

### NUMERATION

The Maya numeration has already been discussed in the grammatical portion of this work. I mentioned there that practically every publication on the numeration of the Mayas goes back to that given by **Beltran (1746; ed. 1859, p. 195–208)**. Even modern works published in Yucatan seem to rely in general upon the series of numbers given by Beltran. No attempt is made here to list the publications which give the Maya system of numeration as a part of a grammar or as a part of the hieroglyphic writing.<sup>1</sup>

**MAYA DIALECT.** **Galindo (1832)** gives the numbers from 1 to 10 and **Waldeck (1838, p. 88, copy in B. L. C. No. 42)** gives them from 1 to 100, both of which series were probably collected by the authors themselves. **Baezo (1832)** has some numbers collected at Peten. **Sivers (1861, p. 290–291)** offers a series of numbers in Maya.

**Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869–70, v. 2, p. 92–99)** is the first to give the numeration of Beltran *in extenso* with a French translation.<sup>2</sup> **Bancroft (1874–76, v. 2, p. 753–754)** gives the numbers from 1 to 51 from Brasseur de Bourbourg. **Orozco y Berra (1880, v. 1, p. 542, 559–569)** also follows the same second-hand authority. **Brinton (1882, p. 37–50)**, **Molina y Solís (1896, p. 316–320)**, and **Perez (1898, p. 113–120)** go back to Beltran. **Pousse (1886)** is of little value. **Nuttall (1903)** gives an excellent translation of the numeral classifiers of Beltran with a suggestion regarding their possible presence in the hieroglyphic inscriptions. This list of suffixes with additions is published in Appendix III (p. 290).

**Valez (1893)**, **Anon (1893)**, **Manzano (1893)**, and **Rejón Espínola (1893)** give several numerals collected in the different towns.<sup>3</sup>

**COMPARATIVE LISTS OF NUMBERS.** There is a large number of works which present, more or less extensively, comparative series

<sup>1</sup> **Charencey (1881)**, for example, treats of the numeration by means of bars and dots as shown in the hieroglyphic writing.

<sup>2</sup> There is a copy of the Beltran numeration in the B. L. C. No. 42–8.

<sup>3</sup> These numbers are given in Appendix IV, p. 301.

of numbers from many different peoples. **Hervás y Panduro** (1786; Maya, p. 110-111) is the earliest of these works. The best of these comparative lists is that of **Thomas** (1897-98) which presents a good discussion of the numeral systems of Mexico and Central America. Other works on numeration covering many of the languages of Middle America are by **Ternaux-Compans** (1840-41, p. 5-37, copy in B. L. C. No. 42-7), followed by **Prichard** (1836-47, v. 5, p. 344), **Gallatin** (1845, p. 49-57, Table A), followed by **Pott** (1847, p. 93-96, 301), and **Charencey** (1878, p. 12). Comparative lists are also given in **Berendt** (5, in B. L. C. No. 179-8). Maya and Aztec numerals are given by **Heller** (1853, p. 386-388) and **Palma y Palma** (1901, p. 447-449), Maya, Quiche, and Aztec by **de Rosny** (1875a), several dialects of the Maya by **Charencey** (1883b), and Maya and Quiche alone by **Charencey** (1880, 1882a).

#### TEXTS

There is a large mass of material written in Maya.<sup>1</sup> These texts date from early Spanish times and continue down to the present. They vary in value for linguistic study from the point of view of the time in which they were written and also from the point of view of the individual author. The Books of Chilam Balam furnish the most profitable study of early Maya texts. There are often parallel accounts in several of these Books. The text, however, is corrupt as the present manuscripts are usually copies of earlier documents often made by individuals who did not know Maya. There is far less likelihood of corruption in the legal and political documents, some of which are extant. The Maya texts of sermons, the Catechism, and parts of the Bible vary greatly according to the ability of the individual translator. They are, in general, however, rather poorly done both from a grammatical and a lexical standpoint.

#### BOOKS OF CHILAM BALAM

**GENERAL.** The fullest description of these Maya texts is that by **Tozzer** (1917). Other descriptions are by **Carrillo y Ancona** (1870: ed. 1872, p. 138-140), **Melgar y Serrano** (1873), **Brinton** (1882, p. 67-72), quoted by **Bowditch** (1910, p. 1-3), **Brinton**

<sup>1</sup> Part II contains several Maya texts. See p. 111 for the discussion of these texts.

(1882b), translated into Spanish by Aznar (1882) and Troncoso (1883), and Brinton (1883a). Echano (1758), Castillo (1866, p. 255-256), Rivera (1878, p. 22-23), Martínez Alomía (1906, p. 9-10), and Beuchat (1912, p. 407-408) are among those giving short accounts of these Books.

Before considering the bibliographical details of the separate texts it may be well to dwell for a moment on several collections which contain abundant material for the study of the Books of Chilam Balam. Up to a few years ago, for the proper study of the manuscripts one had to depend entirely upon the Maya Chronicles of Brinton (1882) which in turn was based upon the Berendt copies of manuscripts collected, for the most part, by Pio Perez (Berendt, 1868, in B. L. C. No. 49). This material was augmented by another volume of manuscript material in the possession of Pio Perez and copied by Berendt (Perez, 2, in B. L. C. No. 50).

This scarcity of texts no longer holds true. In addition to the University of Pennsylvania reproduction of the original of the Chilam Balam de Chumayel we are fortunate in having the Gates reproductions of the originals of the Tizimin, Kaua, Calkini, Tekax, and Nah, Mr. Gates owning the last two manuscripts. Gates also owns beautiful hand copies of the Chumayel, Tizimin, Ixil, Kaua, and Calkini which he has reproduced.

It does not seem necessary in this paper to give complete references to the frequent use of the chronological parts of the Books of Chilam Balam as a starting point in the attempt to correlate Maya and Christian chronology.<sup>1</sup> The prophecies contained in these manuscripts are considered together.

According to the testimony of Landa, Lizana, Sanchez Aguilar, Cogolludo and other early writers many of these manuscripts were in existence in the xvi century. Several are reported in the xvii century. Most of the manuscripts now known were made in the latter part of the xviii century and were, in some cases, at least, copies of earlier documents.

Brinton (1882b) states that there are still in existence sixteen of these Books. Martínez Alomía (1906, p. 9) gives a list of eleven.

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<sup>1</sup> See in this connection Seler, 1892, 1895, 1895a; Bowditch, 1901, 1901a; Martínez, 1907, 1909a, 1912, 1915, 1918; and Morley, 1910, 1911, and especially 1920, p. 464-539. For earlier material on this subject which, however, is of little value, see Perez 2, in B. L. C. No. 50 and 5, in B. L. C. No. 44-4.

New ones are appearing at infrequent intervals. Counting the Mani manuscripts as one, fourteen of these books are listed here, four of which are known only by name.

**CHILAM BALAM DE MANI.** The original of the Mani manuscript is probably lost. It is dated not later than 1595. **Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 138-184 in B. L. C. No. 43-7)** copied from a copy by Pio Perez certain parts of the manuscript. **Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 102-106 in B. L. C. No. 43-5)** presents a comparison, probably from the pen of Perez, of the Mani description of the calendar with that of the Kaua manuscript. **Perez (6), (or Berendt 1868d, v. 3, in B. L. C. No. 44-3)** compares the description of the calendar of the Mani with that of the Tizimin and the Kaua manuscripts. **Perez (2, p. 48-49, in B. L. C. No. 50-10)** has an entry, *Apuntes historicos del Chilam Balam de Mani*. **Juan Molina (1897, p. 68-69)** gives a paragraph of this Maya document and a Spanish translation.

**Berendt (Brinton, 1882; p. 91)** speaks of four Mani manuscripts dated 1689, 1697, 1755, and 1761 respectively. A portion of one of them was given by Pio Perez to Stephens. It is well, therefore, to distinguish between the Mani manuscript proper and that portion given to Stephens which is usually called the "**Perez Codex.**" A part of the Mani manuscript entitled *Historia de la Doncella Teodora* is given in **Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 225-239, copy in B. L. C. No. 43-9)**. The Kaua has the same story. **Perez (2, p. 31-37, copy in B. L. C. No. 50-3)** writes, "*La historia que sigue se halla intercalada entre esta multitud de predicciones que se copian on y tradujeron de los antiguos almanaques españoles.*"

**PEREZ CODEX** (*Lai u tzolan katun*). This is probably the most widely known example of Maya writing. It gives an outline of Maya history from the time the Mayas set out from the south to travel northward down to and including the arrival of the Spaniards. It is a part of the Chilam Balam de Mani and was copied by Pio Perez from one of the four books of Mani. Perez translated the Maya into Spanish and wrote an extended commentary on the Maya text. The whole work was entitled, *Traduccion y juicio critico de un manuscrito en lengua maya que trata de las principales epocas de la historia en esta peninsula ante a su conquista. Para el Sn. D. Juan L. Stephens su amigo Juan Pio Perez, Peto, 5 de Abril*

de 1842. As indicated in the title, Perez gave the manuscript to Stephens.<sup>1</sup> Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 465-469) published an English translation with the Maya text but refrained from printing some of the comments made by Perez. He omitted the parts headed *Corrección cronología de manuscrito* and *Recapitulación*. The Stephens copy of the Perez manuscript is now in the library of the New York Historical Society in New York.

The original Perez Codex was owned by Carlos Peon who loaned it to Bishop Carrillo y Ancona. The latter (1868: 1870: 1878-82; ed. 1883, p. 48-64) printed the entire manuscript except the Maya text and the *Resumen* at the end. This feature is given in English in Stephens (p. 468-469).<sup>2</sup>

Berendt (1868d, v. 2, in B. L. C. No. 43-1) made a copy of the Perez Codex in the possession of Carrillo y Ancona. This Berendt copy was used by Valentini (1880, p. 52-55) who printed the Maya text and translation together with a portion of the comments of Perez. He adds a good discussion of his own regarding the text. Thomas (1882, p. 188-192) follows Valentini in printing the text and translation. Valentini (1896) also mentions this Perez manuscript. Perez (6) has also left a comparison between the Perez Codex and similar portions of the Chilam Balam de Tizimin and the Mani proper. Mayer (1851, v. 2, p. 173-177) refers to this manuscript.

Brasseur de Bourbourg (1855-56, v. 51, p. 208: 1857-59, v. 2, p. 2, note) mentions the Stephens edition of the Perez Codex and he (1864, p. 420-429) published the Maya text and an attempt at a new translation in French. He took his text from Stephens and his translation is clearly based on that of Stephens as he did not have access to the original Spanish translation. Charencey (1874) reprinted the whole from Brasseur de Bourbourg. Bancroft (1874-76, v. 5, p. 624-627) follows Stephens. Ancona (1878-1905; ed. 1889, v. 1, p. 382-384) gives the Maya text only.

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<sup>1</sup> See Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 278-280), where he tells of obtaining it.

<sup>2</sup> The only difference I could find between the text printed by Carrillo y Ancona and the Stephens copy is that in the latter the sub-title is *Corrección cronología de manuscrito* instead of *Juicio analítico del manuscrito* as it is in the Carrillo y Ancona original.

Note some interesting observations on Carrillo y Ancona and the Mani manuscript in Troncoso, 1883, notes A. and H.

Brinton (1882, p. 89-135) attempts a new translation of the Maya text with extended comments and a comparison of the translations of Perez, and of Brasseur de Bourbourg with his own. Juan Molina (1896, p. x, *xlvi et seq.*) and Seler (1892) quote sentences from the Brinton translation.

Raynaud (1891-92, p. 145-149) tries to improve on the translation of Brinton. Charencey (1896, p. 13-16) endeavors to correct the translation of a paragraph of Brinton. Seler (1895) gives the text and translation of several sentences of the manuscript. Palma y Palma (1901, p. 750-753) gives the Spanish only of the Perez manuscript. Martínez Hernández (1909) has made the last and most successful attempt to translate the Maya text.

*Perez: Cronología antigua de Yucatan.* The Perez Codex (Perez, 1842) and the Perez (1843) study of the *Cronología antigua de Yucatan* are sometimes confused.<sup>1</sup> This latter manuscript, although founded on the ancient documents, was entirely written by Pio Perez and has very little to do with the Maya language. It is mentioned here, however, to make a complete record of the different works of Perez.<sup>2</sup> A copy of this manuscript was given by Perez to Stephens who published it in an English translation (Stephens, 1843, v. 1, p. 434-459).<sup>3</sup> Gallatin (1845, p. 104-114) and Valentini (1880) give practically the substance of the entire material contained in the Stephens text. It seems evident that Stephens did not print the entire manuscript as he received it from Perez as the second copy which Perez made contains much more material than was printed by Stephens. This second copy was made for the *Registro Yucateco* (1846, v. 3, p. 281). The same manuscript was printed in the *Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geographia*, (1855, v. 8, *Apéndice, Cronología Yucateca*), and in Castillo (1866, p. 31-51). This second copy (4°, 14 ff.) passed into the hands of Brasseur de Bourbourg who published it (1864, p. 366-419) with a

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<sup>1</sup> There is also the Codex Peresiano, a pre-Columbian manuscript, which deals with the hieroglyphic writing and does not, therefore, enter into this discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Other material on the chronology by Perez may be mentioned here: — Perez (3 in B. L. C. No. 43, 5: 9 in B. L. C.).

<sup>3</sup> Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 117, 277-278) tells of obtaining this manuscript from Perez.

French translation. The Stephens copy is in the possession of the New York Historical Society.<sup>1</sup>

The copy made for the *Registro Yucateco* and published by Brasseur de Bourbourg cannot be located. Pilling states that he saw what may have been this manuscript in the library of Pinart. Many of the items in the Pinart library were purchased from Brasseur de Bourbourg and later these passed into the Bancroft Library now at the University of California. I could find no trace of any manuscript of this kind in the Brasseur de Bourbourg-Pilling-Bancroft Library at Berkeley.

The Peabody Museum has another copy (8°, 20 ff.), said to be from the library of Brasseur de Bourbourg, which follows almost exactly that published in the *Registro Yucateco*.

The original Perez manuscript of his *Cronología* passed into the possession of Carrillo y Ancona along with the other Perez material. Carrillo y Ancona (1878-82; ed. 1883, p. 637-663) published it.<sup>2</sup> There is then the Carrillo y Ancona original, the Stephens, and the *Registro Yucateco*-Peabody Museum texts all differing slightly. The Carrillo y Ancona version is the most complete and has one passage which is in Stephens and not in the Peabody Museum text. The Peabody version follows that of Carrillo y Ancona except for a few omissions in the latter and the passage referred to above. The Stephens text differs in many places both in order and wording, and it is much shorter than that of the other two.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, (1857-59, v. 3, p. 462 *et seq.*), Orozco y Berra (1864, p. 103-108) Bancroft (1874-76, v. 2, 759 *et seq.*), Short (1880, 439 *et seq.*), and many others give the substance of these Perez texts. Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 142) refers to the manuscripts on which Perez founded his *Cronología*.

CHILAM BALAM DE CHUMAYEL. This manuscript is a small quarto of 107 written pages and is dated about 1780. The name

<sup>1</sup> This Society also has the original Perez manuscript entitled "An almanac, adjusted according to the chronological calculation of the ancient Indians of Yucatan, for the years 1841 and 1842." Stephens (1843, v. 1, p. 448-458) printed this in an English translation. This article is not included in the Brasseur de Bourbourg-Peabody Museum manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Carrillo y Ancona gives the title, *Antigua Cronología Yucateca o exposicion sencilla del método que usaban los antiguos habitantes de esta Península de Yucatan para contar y computar el tiempo*.



of D. Juan José Hoil with the date, January 20, 1782, appears in the manuscript. It is probable that Hoil was the one who compiled the text except for a few insignificant interpolations from earlier documents. The first pages have been lost. The original of the manuscript was owned in Merida.<sup>1</sup> It has been reproduced by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania under the editorship of G. B. Gordon (1913). Teoberto Maler had previously (1887) printed several sets of photographs of this manuscript.<sup>2</sup> Gates, the Peabody Museum, and the family of the late Don Audomaro Molina are some of those possessing the Maler photographs. There is a hand copy by Berendt (1868, p. 1-74, 80, 159-200, in B. L. C. No. 49). Gates owns a second copy, contained in ff. 1-55 of a note-book, which has been reproduced by him. Portions of the manuscript are given by Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 25-36, in B. L. C. No. 43-2). Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 145-146) gives a good description of this work.

Brinton (1882, p. 152-185) was the first to make an attempt to translate any large part of the manuscript. He translated those portions relating to the chronology. Berendt had already copied these parts from copies by Pio Perez (Berendt, 1868d, v. 2, in B. L. C. No. 43-2). Carrillo y Ancona (1890, p. 37-45) gives a portion of the manuscript containing the name Yucalpetén as given to Yucatan. He also gives in *fac-simile* a portion of p. 63 (Gordon edition). Seler (1895) gives the text and translation of a small part of the manuscript. Juan Molina (1896, p. xxxvii, lviii, etc.) gives sentences of the Maya text and translation from the Brinton work. Raynaud (1891-92, p. 153-156) attempts an improvement on the translation of Brinton. Martínez Hernández (1909a: 1912: 1913) has made successful attempts at translating parts of the manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Martínez has a translation in manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Morley (1920, p. 475) writes that he saw the original manuscript in 1913 in the house of Ricardo Figueroa in Merida. Subsequently it was removed to the Cepeda library, Merida. When Morley revisited Yucatan in 1918 he was told that it had disappeared from the library and that its present location was unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Maler (about 1887) also made photographic copies of the Tizimin, Calkini, and Kaua MSS. Gates possesses a complete set of the Maler photographs which he obtained from Seler.

<sup>3</sup> The text, p. 77, 78 and the translation of Brinton and Martínez are given in Part II, p. 130-135.

(1919) of p. 102 of the original. The text of a part of p. 85 with translation by Gates (1920b) is given in Morley (1920, p. 485). Roys (1920) has a translation of p. 60-62.

The prophecies given in this and other Chilam Balam Books are described in another place (p. 192). The day signs as shown in the original manuscript are given by Carrillo y Ancona (1866, p. 38; ed. 1871, p. 257: 1870; ed. 1872, p. 144; and 1882; ed. 1883, (p. 250). Carrillo y Ancona (1882; ed. 1883, p. 605-606) Riva Palacio (1887-89, v. i, p. 456) or Chavero (1887, p. 456) give the Chumayel map. Brinton (1882b; ed. 1890, p. 266) also gives the drawings of the day signs. The Katun wheel from the Chumayel is reproduced by Bowditch (1910, fig. 63).<sup>1</sup>

CHILAM BALAM DE TIZIMIN. This manuscript is a quarto of 52 pages formerly owned by Señor Ricardo Figueroa of Mérida. Like the Chumayel it has disappeared. This manuscript has been called by Carrillo y Ancona the *Codice Anónimo*. The original has been reproduced by Gates. Berendt (1868, p. 101-158 in B. L. C. No. 49) made a copy from the original. A second copy (ff. 1-35 in an 8° note-book) is owned by Gates and has been reproduced by him.<sup>2</sup> Perez (6, in B. L. C. No. 44-3) discusses the historical and chronological portions and compares them with similar parts of the Mani manuscript. Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 146) discusses this document. The prophecies of the Tizimin are treated in another place.

Manuel Luciano Perez (1870, p. 102, in B. L. C. No. 49) has a short letter written from Tizimin to Carrillo y Ancona regarding the sending of the manuscript to the Bishop.<sup>3</sup> The first publication of any portion of the Tizimin text was by Brinton (1882, p. 136-151) where he presents a translation of the chronological parts. Raynaud (1891-92, p. 149-152) attempts another translation of those parts given by Brinton. Seler (1895; ed. 1902, p. 580: 1898; ed. 1902, p. 676) gives sentences with translation from this manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> Perez (2, p. 174-177 in B. L. C. No. 50-31) has a heading *Ruedas cronológicas con su explicación*.

<sup>2</sup> See Morley, 1920, p. 470, note.

<sup>3</sup> This letter is discussed with quotations, in Carrillo y Ancona, 1870; ed. 1872, p. 146.

**CHILAM BALAM DE CALKINI.** This is a quarto manuscript of 30 pages formerly owned by Señor Ricardo Figueroa. It has disappeared. The manuscript is not complete. The pages of the original are numbered 11-40. There is a Gates reproduction of the original and Gates also owns a copy (ff. 55-67 of a note-book) which he has also reproduced. **Martínez Alomía** (1906, p. 14-15) gives a description of this manuscript. **Juan Molina y Solís** (1896) also mentions it.

**CHILAM BALAM DE IXIL.** This manuscript was also owned by Señor Ricardo Figueroa of Merida. There is no reproduction of the original of this manuscript. **Berendt** (1868, p. 75-79, 97-100 in B. L. C. No. 49) made a copy. Gates also has another copy (ff. 36-60 of a note-book) which has been reproduced by him. **Perez** (2, p. 174-177, in B. L. C. 50-31) gives the Katun wheels from a number of these Chilam Balam Books. That from the Ixil has been reproduced by **Thomas** (1881-82, p. 60), **Carrillo y Ancona** (1878-82, ed. 1883, p. 252), **Chavero** (1887, p. 440) or **Riva Palacio** (1887-89, v. 1, p. 440), and by **Bowditch** (1910, figs. 61, 62). The prophecies contained in this manuscript are compared with those from the Mani in **Berendt** (1868d, v. 2, p. 107-123, in B. L. C. No. 43-6). **Perez** (8, in B. L. C. No. 44-2) gives a part of this manuscript.

**CHILAM BALAM DE OXKUTZCAB** (1689). The original of this manuscript has been lost. It was partially copied by Pío Perez and his copy, in turn, copied by **Berendt** (1868d, v. 2, p. 185-224, in B. L. C. No. 43-8). These copies undoubtedly refer only to the chronological portion of the manuscript. It is to be supposed that there were other parts not copied by Perez. **Carrillo y Ancona** (1870; ed. 1872, p. 147) mentions this document. It is also probably referred to in the *Registro Yucateco* (v. 1, p. 360. **Anon.** 1845).<sup>1</sup>

**CHILAM BALAM DE KAUA.** This is a quarto manuscript containing 282 pages, also formerly owned by Señor Ricardo Figueroa and now in the Biblioteca Cepeda in Merida. Gates has reproduced the original. There is a partial copy by **Berendt** (1868, p. 81-92, in B. L. C. No. 49). Gates has a second partial copy (to

<sup>1</sup> Care should be taken not to confuse this manuscript with the Xiu Chronicles, called by some the *Crónica de Oxkutzcab*.

p. 184 of the original manuscript). This is contained in a notebook (ff. 61—150) and has also been reproduced by him. Parts of this manuscript are given in **Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 87–101 in B. L. C. No. 43–5)**. **Berendt (1868d, v. 1, in B. L. C. No. 42–13)** has the multiplication table from the manuscript. The chronological portions are compared with corresponding parts of the Mani in **Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 102–106 in B. L. C. No. 43–5)**. **Brinton (1882b; ed. 1890, p. 270–271)** gives the day signs from the manuscript. These are copied from Brinton by **Troncoso (1883, p. 105)**. **Bowditch (1910, fig. 64)** gives a Katun wheel from this manuscript. This manuscript is probably the same as the Chilam Balam de Hocabá.

**CHILAM BALAM DE NAH.** This is a quarto manuscript of 64 pages, owned by Gates and reproduced by him. It is signed by José María Nah and came from Teabo. Mr. Gates has called it by the name of its signer rather than by the name of the town in which it was found as there are already two collections of documents bearing the name of this town. It is of the calendar type and similar, in general, to the Kaua manuscript. There are entries in a later hand as late as 1871 and 1896.

**CHILAM BALAM DE TEKAX.** This manuscript is a quarto and consists of 36 written pages. It is incomplete. Gates is the owner and he has reproduced the manuscript. It contains features which place it in the same class as the Chilam Balam de Kaua. The usual medical recipes and a current calendar of the good and bad days are to be found in the manuscript.

**CHILAM BALAM DE PETO.** There is an obscure reference to the possible existence of a Chilam Balam Book at Peto. **Carrillo y Ancona (1878–82: ed. 1883, p. 592)** records that Juan Pío **Perez** writing from Peto in 1840 states, "*Literatura quién sabe si la tuvieron; pero sabían escribir con precision. Una es la poesía del pueblo y otra la del sabio y sacerdote; la de éstos no llegó á nosotros, ó serán muy raros los ejemplos.*"

**CHILAM BALAM DE NABULÁ, TIHOSUCO, TIXCOCÒB, AND HOCABÁ.** These four manuscripts are known hardly more than by name. The Nabulá has an account of an epidemic which occurred in 1673. **Brinton (1883)** refers to a manuscript from Tihosuco

which he used in preparing his article on "The folk-lore of Yucatan." Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 147-148) and Berendt tried in vain to find the Hocabá manuscript. This latter is probably the same as the Kaua manuscript which formerly belonged to a resident in Hocabá. There is no information available on the Tixcocab document.

### THE PROPHECIES

There has been a great deal of discussion concerning various so-called "Prophecies" contained in several of the Books of Chilam Balam. These prophecies as they now stand clearly foretell the coming of Christianity to the land. The natives of Haiti told Columbus of similar predictions made long before his arrival.<sup>1</sup> As Brinton points out (1868, p. 188) these prophecies were doubtless adapted by the Spanish to proselytizing purposes but they seem fundamentally to have been native accounts of the return of Kukulcan, one of the culture heroes of the Mayas, and corresponding to Quetzalcouatl of the Mexicans.

Gomara, Herrera, Cogolludo, Villagutierre and other early historians give other instances of the prophecy of the arrival of the white race.<sup>2</sup> Several modern authors (Sierra, 1841)<sup>3</sup> have tried to prove that these prophecies were pure inventions of the Spanish priests to give a supernatural sanction to their teachings. There is no doubt that the influence of Christian teaching is seen in several of these documents. But the fact that the Mayas and other peoples of Latin America had native tales of the return of their culture heroes is proved by the way the Spanish Conquerors were first received by the natives of Mexico and Peru. They were considered to be the actual deified heroes who the natives had learned were to return.

Anon (§ 31) is a discussion of the second return of the Spaniards. Cogolludo (1688, lib. 2, cap. xiv) writes as follows in connection

<sup>1</sup> Sahagun, *Historia de la Nueva España*, Lib. xii, Caps. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Sanchez de Aguilar (1639; ed. 1892, p. 95) probably refers to one of these prophecies.

<sup>3</sup> Vicente Calero is often mentioned as a writer with Justo Sierra on Maya subjects. Pablo Moreno is another author who considered the Prophecies the inventions of the Spanish priests. Le Plongeon expressed the opinion in a private letter that these Prophecies were "pious frauds."

with this work, "*Sin duda se rigió por un librito escrito de mano, que ay en el idioma de los Indios, que le escribieron los de muy dentro de la tierra, despues de su conversion, en que notaron algunas cosas de aquellos tiempos, desde la segunda venida de los Españoles, y algo de las guerras referidas.*"

The prophecies under discussion are those of the Maya priests Napuc Tun, Ah Kuil Chel, Ahau Pech, Natzin Abun Chan, and Chilam Balam.<sup>1</sup>

The first authority to give these prophecies was **Lizana (1633, parte 2, cap. 1; ed. 1893, p. 37-39)**. He gives the Maya text and a translation in Spanish. He probably obtained the Maya from some early text of a Chilam Balam Book. It was evidently not one of the Balam Books known at the present time as the text differs in several places from that in any of the versions of the prophecies now available. It is interesting to note that there are no two copies of the same prophecy exactly alike.<sup>2</sup> **Cogolludo (1688, lib. 2, cap. 11)** gives the Spanish of the five prophecies stating that he had no room for the Maya. The **Avendaño** manuscript (§ 6) may have been an account of these prophecies. Lizana's translation and text were published by **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1857-59, v. 2, 603-606, copy in B. L. C. No. 42-9)**. **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70, v. 2, p. 103-110)** attempts next a French translation but gives the Maya text together with the translation of Lizana for comparison. **Castillo (1866, p. 256-257)** gives the Spanish translation from Cogolludo of the prophecy of Chilam Balam. **Perez (2, p. 65-74, 166-173, in B. L. C. No. 50-13 and No. 50-30)** has something on these parts of the Balam Books. **Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 142)** refers to the text of Perez. **Brinton (1868, p. 188-189)** gives an English translation of a portion of the prophecy of Chilam Balam taken from the Spanish of Lizana and of Brasseur de Bourbourg. **Troncoso (1883, p. 103, 109)** gives a few lines of this prophecy and suggests a connection between the meaning and the significance of the engraving in Cogolludo. **Brinton (1890a, p. 303)** gives the English of a poem by the Priest Chilam.

<sup>1</sup> There is a wide variety in the spelling of these proper names. I have followed the spelling given by Lizana for the most part. The prophecy of Chilam Balam as shown in the Chumayel and Tizimin texts and in Lizana is given with translation in Part II, p. 120-130.

<sup>2</sup> Compare in this respect the versions given on p. 122 of the Chilam Balam Prophecy.

**Berendt (1868d, v. 2)** presents the version of the prophecies as given in the Chilam Balam de Mani and Ixil (B. L. C. No. 43-f, p. 107-132), and the versions of the Chilam Balam de Chumayel and again that of Mani (B. L. C. No. 43-3, p. 37-46). As noted above, the same prophecy, as given in different versions, may differ in spelling and also in length. **Nicoli (1870, p. 511)** mentions and discusses the prophecy of Napuc Tun but gives neither text nor translation. **Charencey (1873)** gives the same prophecy with the Maya text, the translation of Lizana, that of Brasseur de Bourbourg and a new one of his own in French. **De Rosny (1875, p. 85-93; ed. 1904, p. 120-123)** gives the Maya text and his own French translation with comments of the prophecies of Napuc Tun and Ah Kuil Chel. He also gives for comparison the Spanish translation of Lizana and the French of Brasseur de Bourbourg. **Schultz-Sellack (1879)** makes a study of the words for east and west as given in the prophecies of Lizana.

**Orozco y Berra (1880, v. 1, p. 71-73)** gives the Spanish of the prophecy of Napuc Tun and portions of the others. **Carrillo y Ancona (1878-82; ed. 1883, p. 526-532)** presents a new translation in Spanish of all five prophecies with the Maya text as foot-notes.

Brinton who formerly had only the Lizana version for study, later came into possession of the Berendt Library so that other versions were available. **Brinton (1882, p. 255-256)** gives the Maya and English translation of the prophecy of Ahau Pech. **Troncoso (1883, p. 104)** reprints this, also giving the Maya of the Lizana version. **Brinton (1882a, p. 167, 237)** refers to the Pech prophecy in the Mani manuscript and **Brinton (1882c, p. xxix)** gives the Maya and English translation of the prophecy of Ah Kuil Chel from the Chilam Balam de Chumayel. **Charencey (1876; ed. 1883, p. 141-150)** discusses and translates the same prophecy. Finally, **Brinton (1890a, p. 302)** repeats the English translation of Ahau Pech. **Rejón García (1905a, p. 78-84)** gives a partial Spanish translation of the prophecy of Ahau Pech. There is a song from one of the Books of Chilam Balam given by **Brinton (1882, p. 126-127)**. **Charencey (1875)** discusses a paragraph from one of the prophecies and **Maclean (1883, p. 442, note)** gives an English translation of one of them.

## MEDICAL BOOKS

**LIBROS DEL JUDIO.** In addition to the medical portions of the Books of Chilam Balam which consider the symptoms and the cure of diseases there are several manuscripts which deal exclusively with the native remedies. These have been classed together under the above heading. They are sometimes called "The Book of the Jew." There was one Ricardo Ossado, *alias*, the Jew, who used herbs and other native remedies for curing disease (see Ossado, 1834). Brinton (1882b; ed. 1890, p. 272-273) and Tozzer (1917, p. 182) describe this class of books.

The first notice of a manuscript dealing exclusively with medicine is the work of Vidales (§ 3) of the xvii century. This is missing. There are several different manuscripts dealing with medicine. They seem to date from the end of the xviii up to the middle of the xix century. These manuscripts include the *Libro del Judio* (Anon. 13) of the Peabody Museum, described with extracts in English by Alice Le Plongeon (1879, p. 92, and 1889, p. 15-17),<sup>1</sup> the *Libro de Medicina* (Anon. 15),<sup>2</sup> the *Libro del Judio de Sotuta*, (Sotuta),<sup>3</sup> and *Medicina Maya* (Anon. 16), all three of which are owned by Gates, and the *Cuaderno de Teabo* (Teabo. Copy in B. L. C. No. 49).

There are two valuable manuscripts dealing with diseases in Spanish. These are the *Noticias de varios plantas* (Anon. 19) a manuscript owned by José Rafael de Regil of Merida, and *El libro de los Medicos* (Anon. 14), a manuscript owned by Gates. Mr. Gates also owns another manuscript (Anon. 1820) on the medicinal plants. It is evidently part of a manuscript of considerable size as the last leaf remaining is numbered 123. It contains brief descriptions of plants with colored sketches.<sup>4</sup> The most valuable

<sup>1</sup> This MS. is described as having come from the island of Las Mujeres. Mr. Gates informs me that a physician in Acanceh told him that he had given the MS. to the Le Plongeon.

<sup>2</sup> Gates suggests that this manuscript is very valuable as a supplement to the botanical series of Millsbaugh (1895-98: 1900: 1903-04).

<sup>3</sup> The Gates reproduction of this manuscript shows p. 1-26 written in one hand followed by pages numbered 17-26, 33-54 in an entirely different writing. There are evidently two separate documents.

<sup>4</sup> A note in Berendt's hand and signed by his initial states that the MS. was given to him by Rodolfo Cantón in Vera Cruz in 1859.



single manuscript dealing with this subject is probably that of **Perez (4)** with notes and additions to this manuscript by **Berendt (1870, in B. L. C. No. 45)**.

**RITUAL OF THE BACABS.** This is a most important Maya manuscript, owned by Gates, of 46 medical incantations. **Wilkins (1)**, who is at work upon a translation of the text, regards it as the oldest Maya to which we have access. At the end there are a few pages of the ordinary medical receipts markedly different from the main part of the work. All but about ten pages is in one handwriting. These ten pages are in several different hands. The only mention of anything Christian or Spanish occurs in these pages. Two of these pages are on the back of a printed Indulgence of 1779. Wilkins considers the main body of the manuscript of earlier date. A report and preliminary translation of one chapter by **Wilkins (1919)** was read by Gates at the Cambridge meeting (1919) of the American Anthropological Association.

#### THE CATECHISM

**XVI CENTURY.** The Catholic Catechism was naturally the first book to be translated into the native idioms by the Spanish priests. It is probable that **Villalpando (§ 2)** stands as the first translator of the Catechism into Maya as he does regarding the authorship of a Maya grammar and vocabulary. This would have been written toward the middle of the xvi century.

**Sanchez de Aguilar (1639; ed. 1892, p. 35)** writing in 1613 states that all the Indians from childhood learned and knew the whole Catechism. He adds that the *Doctrina* was translated into Maya admirably by Bishop **Landa (§ 2)**. This was probably done in the third quarter of the century as Landa died in 1579.<sup>1</sup> The *Noticias Sagradas* of **Solana (§ 2)** should be mentioned here.

**XVII CENTURY.** **Sanchez de Aguilar (§ 1)**, born in Valladolid in 1555, a grandson of one of the founders of Merida and a Maya student under Gaspar Antonio Xiu, wrote a *Doctrina* in Maya probably toward the beginning of this century. He carried the manuscript with him to Madrid in 1617 and it was lost on the

<sup>1</sup> A *Doctrina* in Maya is listed under the name of **Juan Cruz (1571)**. This is probably an error. Squier (1861, p. 29) has a Huastec *Doctrina* by **Cruz**.

journey. It is said that a copy was left behind in Yucatan in the possession of the Jesuits.

At about the same time **Acevedo**, who was in Yucatan from 1592 to 1624, wrote his *Instrucciones catequísticas* (§ 2) in Maya. This is missing. The *Doctrina* of **Coronel** (1620a) is the first which has come down to us. His larger work *Discursos Predicables* (1620b) is also known, three copies of which are said to be in existence, one owned by Gates, another in Puebla, and the third is the Pinart-Pilling copy. **Coronel** (§ 2) is also the author of a second catechism and, according to Juan de San Antonio in his *Bibliotheca Franciscana*, this is more complete than that of 1620a. The manuscript is supposed to be in the library of the Colegio de San Buenaventura in Seville.

XVIII CENTURY. The *Doctrina* of **Beltran** (1740) seems to have been very popular as it has had several editions, the last of which was in 1895. No copy of the first edition is known. Juan Martínez owns the only known copy of the edition of 1816, a product of the first printing press in Yucatan. Gates owns a *Doctrina* in manuscript (**Anon. 7**) of this century.

XIX CENTURY. Ruz made translations of the following works: a Catechism of Abad Fleuri (**Ruz 1822**), one by Ripalda (1847), which was issued in another edition by **Charencey** (1892a), an explanation of the *Doctrina* by Placido Rico (**Ruz 1847a**), and another edition of the Catechism (1851). Mention is also made by Carrillo y Ancona of still another Catechism by **Ruz** (2). **Fletcher** (1865a) was probably the author of a translation of the Catechism of the Methodist Church.<sup>1</sup> There is a *Doctrina* by **Audomaro Molina** (1905) and one in the dialect of Peten (**Anon. 6** in B. L. C. No. 42-10, B. L. C.).

LOS SACRAMENTOS. Parts of the Catechism have frequently been translated into Maya. The *Sacramentos* have been translated by **Valladolid** (§ 1) in a manuscript of the xvii century which is

<sup>1</sup> Brinton (1900) gives the author as Richard Fletcher. No author's name appears on the title page but on the Berendt copy that of Richard Fletcher is written in. Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871, p. 81) and Viñaza (1892, § 551) give the author as Henderson. Carrillo y Ancona (2) definitely establishes the fact that Fletcher was the author of this and other works ascribed by some to Henderson.

missing. He gave the Latin and Maya text. **San Buenaventura** (1684, fol. 39-41ob.) gives the *Forma administrandi infirmis Sacramentum Eucharistiae*. Gates owns a manuscript of the *Pasion domini* (Anon. 20) dating from the end of the XVIII century. **Ruz** (1846) in his *Manual Romano* gives the *Sacramentos*. This has been republished in part by **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1869-70, v. 2, p. 121-122).

**EL VIÁTICO**. This is given in Maya in several places in the Berendt Linguistic Collection, Nos. 42-12 (Anon. 11), 42-15 (Anon. 18), 42-17 (Anon. 17), as well as in Anon (1897).

**VIA SACRA**. This is translated by **Ruz** (1849) from the Spanish of José de Herrera Villavicencio. **Nolasco de los Reyes** (1869) also translates the *Via Sacra* which was reissued by **Madier** (1875).<sup>1</sup> The manuscript in the Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-17, should be noted in this connection (Anon, 17).

**ACTO DE CONTRICIÓN**. This is given in Maya by **Carrillo y Ancona** (1866; ed. 1883, p. 565). It is also to be found in the Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-14 (Anon, 1).

**CONFESIÓN**. This is given in Maya in an anonymous manuscript (Anon, 1803) collected in Campeche by Berendt (B. L. C. No. 26). I saw the *Confesión* in Maya in Merida in 1904 (Anon, 9). This may be the same work as **Baeza** (1883)<sup>2</sup> although the titles are slightly different. **Coronel** (§ 3) is mentioned as having written a *Confesionario* and instructions for new priests.

**ACTOS DE FE**. These were translated into Maya by **Acosta** (1851).<sup>3</sup>

**ADMINISTRATION OF THE MASS**. This is given in Maya<sup>4</sup> by **Ruz** (1835) from the Spanish of Luiz Lanzi.

**TRINITATE DEI**. This is shown in Maya in an incomplete manuscript owned by Gates (Anon, 23).

<sup>1</sup> See Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 189-190).

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson (Anon, 1883) gives a *Doctrina* which is probably the same as that of Baeza.

<sup>3</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 189) in speaking of this work, writes, "No hemos podido conseguir ningún manuscrito del Sr. presbítero D. José Antonio Acosta; pero sabemos con certeza que dejó varios, y entre ellos algunas colecciones ó sermonarios."

**LORD'S PRAYER.** In addition to more general works in which prayers are given, the Lord's Prayer is to be found in several different versions in many places. **Hervás y Panduro (1787, p. 115-116)** gives it and his version is followed by **Adelung (1806-17, v. 3, part 3, p. 20-21)**. **Norman (1843, p. 68, note)**, **Auer (1844-47, part 2, p. 571)**, and **Anon (1860)** give the same prayer. **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1864, p. 478-479)** gives it with the Creed after the version by Ruz. **Galindo (1832)** also gives the prayer and Creed. **Berendt (1869, p. 8)**, **Naphegyi (1869, p. 310-311)**, **Marietti (1870, p. 281)**, **de Rosny (1875, p. 83-85; ed. 1904, p. 116-119)**, and **Bancroft (1874-76, v. 3, p. 776)** all print the Lord's Prayer in Maya. **Carrillo y Ancona (1880)** gives the Maya of two prayers. **Anon. (1891)** probably has the Lord's Prayer in Maya.

### THE BIBLE

**ST. LUKE.** The translations into Maya of parts of the Bible are all comparatively late works. **Ruz (1)** made a translation of Chapters 5, 11, 15 and 23 of the Gospel of St. Luke. This manuscript, in the handwriting of Ruz with many corrections by him, was in the library of Bishop Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872 p. 177) in Merida. **Ruz (3)** is a second edition of the translation with a few changes in writing the Maya.

The historical catalogue of the books of the British and Foreign Bible Society of London states that as early as 1833 the Committee of the Society had heard that a version of St. Luke in Maya was being prepared in Central America and some years later they received the manuscript which was published in a tentative edition in 1862 (?) with no author's name given. John Kingdon arrived in Belize, British Honduras, in 1845 from Jamaica as a missionary of the British Missionary Society. It is probable that he was the author of this edition (**Kingdon, 1862**), as it was published on the request of the Bishop of Kingston, Jamaica. He may or may not have used the translation of Ruz.<sup>1</sup> According to the records of

<sup>1</sup> Brinton (1882, p. 41) states definitely that Kingdon obtained a copy of the Ruz MS. which he printed with no acknowledgment of the author. There is a great deal of confusion regarding the authorship of several of these translations of the Bible. Kingdon and Henderson were Baptist missionaries at Belize and Fletcher was a Methodist missionary at Corozal, British Honduras. For the work of Henderson and Kingdon, see **Crowe, 1860**.

the British and Foreign Bible Society, Kingdon completed an edition of the Gospels and the Acts in Maya. This would seem to show that his own translation of St. Luke may have been sent to London to be printed rather than the pirated text of Ruz.

The complete Gospel of St. Luke was published by the Bible Society in 1865 with no name but probably under the same authority as the tentative edition of 1862 (**Kingdon, 1865**). **Henderson (1870)** corrected this text and brought out another edition under the imprint of the Baptist Bible Translation Society of London. Henderson also made a translation of the Book of Genesis (§ 1) and the Psalms (§ 2) according to Berendt (1867).

Chapter 6, verses 27-34 of St. Luke have been published by **Bagster (1848-51, p. 386; ed. 1860, p. 468)**.

**ST. JOHN. Fletcher (1868)**, a missionary at Corozal, British Honduras, brought out a tentative edition of the Gospel of St. John translated into Maya. This was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society as well as the final edition (**Fletcher, 1869**).<sup>1</sup> The latter was printed at Cambridge, England.

Chapter 3, verse 16, of St. John has been published by the **American Bible Society (1876, p. 39)**, **British and Foreign Bible Society (1, p. 30; 2d ed. 1878, p. 28)** and by the **Pennsylvania Bible Society, (1, p. 39; 2, p. 28)**.

**ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK. Fletcher (1900: 1900a)** was also the translator of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark brought out by the same Society. These translations were probably made at the same time as that of St. John. There seems to be another translation of St. Mark which I cannot identify (**Anon, 12**).

## SERMONS

Not only were the Spanish priests active in spreading the Gospel by means of translations of the Catechism into Maya but again and again one reads that the Spanish missionaries were commanded

<sup>1</sup> Brinton (1900, p. 213) makes Alexander Henderson a joint author of this work. This is probably incorrect as Henderson belonged to another denomination. There seems to have been a definitive edition St. John published in 1868 as well as in 1869, according to a record kindly furnished me by the Reverend R. Kilgour, D.D., Librarian of the British and Foreign Bible Society of London. I am also indebted to him for other information concerning the works of these Protestant missionaries. See also Carrillo y Ancona (2).

to learn the languages of the country and to preach in these languages. There are, therefore, references to a large number of sermons written in Maya. The greater part of these are in manuscript although several collections of them have been published.

**XVI CENTURY.** Mention has already been made of the voluminous writings on Maya vocabularies of Ciudad Real. He was the greatest master of Latin in Yucatan in the XVI century. His sermons in Maya (*Ciudad Real*, § 4) are considered by the early authorities to have been models of excellence. They are unfortunately missing. *Solana* (§ 1) is another *Padre* of this century who wrote sermons. *Torralva* (§ 1) who was in Yucatan from 1573 to 1624 also was the author of a collection of religious treatises in Maya. The copy of a draft of a sermon (*Anon*, 4, copy in B. L. C. No. 42-4), supposedly written by the author of the *Motul Dictionary*, is to be noted. *Anon* (30) should be mentioned here as it is probably the same manuscript as the preceding one.<sup>1</sup>

**XVII CENTURY.** Among the writers of this century who were the authors of sermons in Maya, mention should be made of *Coronel* (1620b), *Rincon* <sup>2</sup> (§ 1), *Mena* (§ 1), and *Valladolid* (§ 2), a native of Yucatan, born in 1617 and dying in 1652. The sermons of the last three writers are missing.

**XVIII CENTURY.** Writers of discourses of this century include *Beltran* (1740a, copy in B. L. C. No. 21), *Dominguez y Argai* (1758) <sup>3</sup> and a collection of sermons in manuscript (*Anon*, 22, in B. L. C. No. 47). Mention should also be made here of a second

<sup>1</sup> These are probably the two sermons mentioned by LePlongeon in a letter, dated September 26, 1884, to J. R. Bartlett, then Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library. This was written when he returned the *Motul Dictionary* which he had borrowed to copy. He writes, "Also the two sermons on Maya language which I likewise have copied. One is on Trinity, the Reverend, I am afraid, tried to explain to his hearers what he himself did not understand very clearly for he seems to have become confused, repeating the same thing over and over again. . . . The other is on the faith in the teachings of the Holy Catholic Church."

<sup>2</sup> Cogolludo (1688, lib. 12, cap. xi) writes as follows, "*El R. P. Fr. Antonio del Rincon . . . fue Predicador de Españoles, y muy gran lengua de los naturales, en la cual escribió algunos Sermones, que han aprovechado à otros Ministros.*"

<sup>3</sup> A copy of this together with Carvajal (1) and *Anon* 22 are in *Berendt* 1868a.

collection of sermons in manuscript belonging to Mr. Gates (Anon 21).

XIX CENTURY. Carvajal (1) has left a manuscript sermon in Maya.<sup>1</sup> Carvajal, (§ 2) also made a collection of proverbs in Maya which has disappeared. These date from the early XIX century. There is a manuscript volume of discourses from Teabo owned by Mr. Gates dating from about 1865 to 1884. Toward the middle of the century Ruz (1846-50) has a collection of four volumes of sermons in Maya.<sup>2</sup> These are of little real worth as Maya texts. Vela (1848) gives a translation of a sermon by Bishop Guerra. Vela (1848a) also addresses the *Indios sublevados* in a religious letter in the native language. Fletcher (1865) is probably the author of a short sermon for every day of the week.<sup>3</sup> Vales (1870) translated into Maya a pastoral sermon of Bishop Gala giving the Spanish and Maya texts. Carrillo y Ancona had the manuscript of two sermons in Maya (Anon, 1871) which were copied by Berendt (B. L. C. No. 44-10).

#### SECULAR TEXTS

There is a large mass of secular texts in Maya some of which go back to very early Spanish times. It should be remembered that much of the material contained in the Books of Chilam Balam might be considered as secular rather than religious in nature. Reference is here made, however, to purely historical, legal, and political papers.

CRÓNICA DE CHICKULUB.<sup>4</sup> This manuscript, dating from the middle of the XVI century, is also called the Nakuk Pech Manu-

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the one referred to by Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 189). He writes: "Así el Sr. presbítero D. Francisco Carvajal, que floreció en este siglo, escribió en yucateco muchos y muy buenos discursos y sermones, que sin haberse dado á la prensa, los usan los instructores de indios. Varias veces hemos escuchado un elocuente sermón de viérnes santo, de que el anciano Dr. D. Tomás D. Quintana, que conoció y trató íntimamente al P. Carvajal nos testificó ser el MS. obra inédita de este que fué gran orador de la lengua Maya."

<sup>2</sup> Pinart (1883, No. 598) mentions three volumes.

<sup>3</sup> Brinton (1900) in his *Catalogue of the Berendt Collection* gives the author of this work as Richard Fletcher. Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871, p. 81) and Viñaza (1892, p. 552) have Alexander Henderson as the author.

<sup>4</sup> The original name of this town was Chacxulubchen.

script, as it deals with the Pech family as well as with the survey of the town. It is a quarto of 26 pages and should still be in existence in the village from which it takes its name. A copy, which is full of errors, was rediscovered by Martínez in 1907. This is owned by José Rafael de Regil of Merida. There is a Gates reproduction of the copy. **Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 47-86, in B. L. C. No. 43-4)** copied portions of this manuscript. **Avila (1864)** translated the whole document into Spanish. **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70, v. 2, p. 110-120)** has published the Maya and a French translation of the first five pages of the original together with some other material of the Pech family.<sup>1</sup>

**Brinton (1882, p. 187-259)** describes the manuscript and gives the text and translation of the first document using Avila's Spanish version to some extent. **Charencey (1891)** gives a French translation of Brinton. **Brinton (1882a, p. 167, note)** refers again to the manuscript. **Berendt (1868d, v. 2, p. 47-86 in B. L. C. No. 43-4)** as noted above, made a copy of the manuscript in Yucatan and later he evidently compared his copy with that of Brasseur de Bourbourg and also with that of Avila and Brinton. **Perez (2, p. 201-258, in B. L. C. No. 50-35)** also gives the document. **Fiske (1892, v. 1, p. 138)** refers to the manuscript and **Juan Molina (1897, p. 467-468)** gives a paragraph from this latter document with translation. **Martínez (1918a)** has a paper in manuscript on the chronicle. He found a duplicate manuscript by Ah Naum Pech who is mentioned by Nakuk Pech. The manuscript is practically identical with that of Nakuk Pech.

**LEGAL DOCUMENTS.** The most important of these non-religious items consist of legal papers. The earliest of these, so far reported, is that dated 1542 (**Anon, 1542**) still preserved according to Brinton. Next in point of time is a collection of legal documents owned by Gates, the first paper of which is dated 1571 (**Anon, 8**).

*Xiu Chronicles* or *Libro de Probanzas*. These date from 1608 to 1817. They are owned by the Peabody Museum and they have been reproduced both by Mr. Gates and by Mr. Bowditch. The Bowditch reproduction has an introduction by Miss Adela C. Breton. This manuscript is probably to be identified as the Ticul Manuscript or the *Crónica de Oxkutzcab* and is the one probably

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<sup>1</sup> See Brinton, 1882, p. 191-192.



referred to by an anonymous writer in the *Registro Yucateco* (1845-49, v. 1, p. 360).<sup>1</sup> This manuscript should be distinguished from the Chilam Balam de Oxkutzcab. This collection contains petitions and evidences and decrees certifying the lordship of the heads of the Xiu family established near Oxkutzcab. The Maya documents are often followed by the substance of the petition given in Spanish. There is also a good map of the region in the vicinity of Ticul and and a genealogical tree of the Xiu family which is published opposite entry No. 472 in the catalogue of *Wilkinson* (1915). There is an important page containing data useful in the correlation of Maya and Christian chronology. This page has been reproduced and discussed by *Morley* (1920, p. 470 etc.). *Gates* (1920a) gives a translation of the same page with notes upon it in *Morley* (1920, p. 507-509). Parts of the manuscript have been copied by Miss Breton and translated by *Martínez Hernández* (1920).

*Titulos de Ebtun.* These compose the largest collection of legal documents, dating from about 1638 to 1829. They have been reproduced by *Gates*.

*Libro de los Cocomes* or the *Libro de Cacalchen.* This is probably the most interesting series of legal manuscripts from a linguistic point of view. This collection of documents is owned by *Gates* and dates from 1646 to 1826. It has been reproduced by him. The first 34 leaves contain wills in Maya. The second section is of 41 paragraphs, the first leaf missing, of regulations for the government of the town. It is this section which *Martínez Hernández* (1920b) considers to contain copies made in 1729 of original orders (*ordenanzas*) of the *Oidor*, Don Diego Garcia de Palacios,<sup>2</sup> who came to Yucatan in 1583. These orders, in turn, were made by the *Oidor*, Tomás Lopez, in 1552 if we are to believe *Cogolludo* (1688, p. 401) who writes, "*Las ordenanças, y leyes con que hasta el tiempo presente se estan gobernando los Indios de esta tierra, son las que hizo este Visitador. Casi todas son renovacion de las que hizo el Oydor Thomàs Lopez, quando visitò esta tierra el año de mil y quinientos y cinquenta y dos, sino que como de aquellas se perdieron co(n) el tiempo*

<sup>1</sup> See quotation from this account in *Tozzer*, 1917, p. 180. This is also given by *Carrillo y Ancona* 1870; ed. 1872, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> The same person is mentioned in the Mani and Tizimin manuscripts as Judge Diego Pareja.

*los quadernos, y en el presente son muy pocos que los han visto, dñn por nuevo Autor de ellas à este Visitador . . . Traduxeronse en el idioma natural de los Indios, para que mejor las entendiessen, y supiessen, quedando en todos los Pueblos un traslado dellas, para que las leyessen continuamente, como leyes q'avian de observar."* Miss Adela Breton has pointed out to me that *Ordenanza* 25 is quoted in a *Cedula Real* of 1579 by Palomino in **Juan Molina** (1904-13, v. 1, p. 228).<sup>1</sup> Following the *Ordenanzas* are many leaves with lists of minor officials. Later pages have the parish accounts of payments of salaries. It can thus be seen that these documents are of great linguistic value as they offer Maya texts dating from the middle of the xvii century. **Martínez Hernández** (1920a) has translated the the will of Andrés Pat (1647) contained in this collection.

*Crónica de Mani.* This is a series of documents, dating from 1556, kept in the *Casa Real* of the town of Mani, according to **Stephens** (1843, v. 2, p. 262-268).<sup>2</sup> He gives an English translation from a Spanish version made by **Estanislao Carrillo** (1) and corrected by Perez of a portion of these manuscripts. Stephens also reproduces the map of the vicinity of Mani contained in this collection of documents. **Juan Molina** (1897, p. 69) gives a paragraph from this manuscript in Maya and Spanish.

Other manuscripts of the same general class are as follows: — *Documentos de Sotuta* (**Perez** 2, p. 187-200, copy in B. L. C. No. 50-34),<sup>3</sup> *Documentos de Ticul* (Ticul, 1760 et seq.) owned by Gates and reproduced by him, *Titulo de Acanceh* (Acanceh, 1767, copy in B. L. C. No. 44-7), translated into Maya by **Avila** 1864), and *Papeles de Xtepen* (Xtepen, copy in B. L. C. No. 44-8).

**POLITICAL PAPERS.** These form the next class of secular texts in Maya. The first of these in our list is a collection of letters

<sup>1</sup> Gates informs me that this paragraph from Molina is also found in the Xiu Chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> **Morley** (1920, p. 473) mentions this manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Carrillo y Ancona (1870; ed. 1872, p. 144) writes: "*En fin, el libro (Perez 2) concluye . . . con los fragmentos de diferentes manuscritos mayas sobre documentacion de tierras en los pueblos de Sotuta, Yaxcaba y otros. Dichas documentaciones son en parte originalmente obras de nuestro escritor Gaspar Antonio. . . . Que esto es así es indudable, pues en la parte maya y en la version española que acompaña el Sr. Perez, aparece por dos veces correspondiendo al año de 1600, la firma de Gaspar Antonio como autor de los documentos.*"

(Anon, 1514-72) in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. Several of these documents are in Maya. A careful search in these Archives would doubtless yield more material in the Maya language. There is a letter in Maya by **Gonçalo Ché** (1877) and others, addressed to Philip II, dated 1567, and published in facsimile in *Cartas de Indias*. There is little now known in this line from this early date until the beginning of the XIX century. Then, there comes an order of the governor of Yucatan translated into Maya by **Cervera** (1803, copy in B. L. C. No. 44-9) and a *Banda* or Proclamation issued by **Artazo y Torredemer** (1814), Brigadier and Captain-General, on matters of the insurrection, dangers of war, etc. This is in Maya and Spanish.<sup>1</sup> Next in point of time comes a collection of letters in manuscript written in Maya by **Pat** (1847, *circa*) and other leaders of the uprising in 1847. This manuscript is owned by Gates and has been reproduced by him. There follows another proclamation translated by **Perez** (1848) and a proposition for an armistice written in Maya by **Chan** (1850, copy in B. L. C. No. 44-11) and others.

**Villanueva** (1864, in B. L. C. No. 42-17) gives a proclamation in Maya and **Pacheco Cruz** (1) translates some of the decrees of Governor Avila. There is also an address to Maximilian in Maya (**Anon. 3**, copy in B. L. C. No. 42-18). A political squib by **Manuel Garcia** (1856) should also be noted.

Short portions of secular text are given in **Granado** (1845, p. 171) and **Waldeck** (1838, p. 90-91, copy in B. L. C. No. 42-2). Mention should also be made of the *Fama diaria* (**Anon. 24**, copy in B. L. C. No. 50-18).

**Carrillo y Ancona** (1870; ed. 1872, p. 190) writes. "*Hemos visto una especie de circular ó manifesto de la reina de Inglaterra, ó dado en nombre suyo, á manera de cartelón, con grandes y hermosos caracteres en idioma Maya, el cual fué desprendido de una esquina de calle pública. Modo indirecto de imponer poco á poco y de hecho la dominación británica sobre los habitantes de nacionalidad yucateca ó mexicana, que hablan el idioma Maya y tienen comercio con aquella colonia inglesa.*" (See **Anon. 10**.)

POEMS, SONGS, FOLK-LORE, ETC. Poems in Maya are given by **Brasseur de Bourbourg** (1869-70, v. 2, p. 120-121, copy in B. L. C.

<sup>1</sup> Gates regards this as being the first Maya printed in Yucatan. It is No. 10 in Medina (1904) where he calls it Cakchiquel.

No. 44-5), **Hernández (1905)**, and **Rejón García (1905a)**, p. 118-144). Some music and Maya words are given by **Berendt (1868c)**. **Alice LePlongeon (1)** published some Maya music with Maya words. **Berendt (1866)** has a Maya witch story with translation in Spanish.<sup>1</sup> **Brinton (1883; ed. 1890)**, p. 171-172) gives this with an English translation. **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869-70)**, v. 2, p. 101-102, copy in B. L. C. No. 44-6) gives a short text in Maya and French entitled *Invocation au Soleil*, which he collected at Xcanchakan. An English version is given by **Brinton (1883; ed. 1890)**, p. 167). **Brasseur de Bourbourg (1869)**, p. 10) gives a short sentence in Maya with translation. **Anon (29)** is probably a folk-tale. **Tozzer (1901)** is a collection of historical and legendary material.<sup>2</sup>

## LACANDONE TEXTS

Finally, mention should be made of the Lacandone text and English translation of fifty-one prayers given by **Tozzer (1907)**, p. 169-189).<sup>3</sup> Incantations, similar in many respects to these, and coming from southeastern Yucatan and British Honduras are given by **Gann (1918)**, p. 46-47).

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<sup>1</sup> This tale is given in Part II, p. 119-120.

<sup>2</sup> A small part of this manuscript is given in Part II, p. 115-118.

<sup>3</sup> One of these is given with translation in Part II, p. 118-119.



**PART IV**

**A. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS RELATING  
TO THE MAYA LANGUAGE**



## PART IV

### A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS RELATING TO THE MAYA LANGUAGE

#### INTRODUCTION

It is my intention to give in the accompanying bibliography as complete a list as possible of the writers and their works on and in the Maya language of Yucatan. I do not attempt to give all books which mention this language but those only which describe or treat the language at some length.

It will be noted that following each entry one or more numbers are given. These refer to the page or pages in the critical survey of the literature (Part III) where the book or manuscript in question is discussed. Part III can thus be used in connection with this list as a subject catalogue. A number also follows the names of some of the authors. This refers to the place where the work of the writer in question is discussed as a whole.

A § in front of a date or number indicates that the work referred to is missing.

The anonymous books will be found listed at the end of the bibliography. Wherever possible these are arranged by date; otherwise they are grouped alphabetically by the first word of the title and given consecutive numbers.

I desire at this place to thank once more my friend, William Gates, Esqr., who has given me so much of his valuable time and has been so willing to suggest points which I have overlooked. I wish also to express my appreciation of the kindness of Mrs. Anne Fadil, formerly Librarian of the University Museum, Philadelphia, who was good enough to look up many references for me in the Berendt Collection. Don Juan Martínez Hernández should also be thanked in connection with this bibliography. Professor M. H.



Saville has been good enough to loan me books from his valuable library in addition to giving me several suggestions. Finally, wish to thank Mr. T. F. Currier, Assistant Librarian of the Harvard College library, who has supervised the verification of many of the references.

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- 1767 Titulo de un solar y monte en Acanceh (en lengua Maya): Translated into Spanish by Avila. (Copy 12°, 8 p. in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 44-7.) **205.**

### ACEVEDO, JUAN DE

- § (1) Principios elementales de la gramatica Yucateca: MS. xvii century (missing). (Cogolludo gives the title *Arte de la lengua Yucateca mas breve.*) **163.**
- § (2) Instrucciones catequísticas y morales para los Indios en idioma Yucateco: MS. xvii century (missing). **197.**

### ACOSTA, JOSÉ ANTONIO

- 1851 Oraciones devotas que comprenden los actos de fé, esperanza, caridad. Afectos para un cristiano y una oracion para pedir una buena muerte en idioma Yucateco con inclusion del Santo Dios: Merida, 12°, 16 p. (Maya and Spanish. Gates reproduction.) **198.**

### ADAM, LUCIEN

- 1877 Du polysynthétisme et de la formation des mots dans les langues Quiché et Maya: in *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie Comparée*, v. 10, p. 34-74. **167 (2).**
- 1878 Examen grammatical comparé de seize langues américaines: in *Proceedings of the 2d International Congress of Americanists*, Luxembourg (1877), v. 2, p. 161-244. (Published separately, Paris, 1878, 8°, 88 p. 5 folding sheets.) **168, 179.**
- 1878a Études sur six langues américaines: Dakota, Chibcha, Nahuatl, Kechua, Quiché, Maya: Paris, 8°, viii, 165 p. **168 (3), 179.**

### ADELUNG, JOHANN CHRISTOPH

- 1806-17 Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe 500 Sprachen und Mundarten. Mit wichtigen Beyträgen zweyer grossen Sprachforscher: Berlin, 8°, 4 v. (with additions by Johann Severin Vater). **159, 161, 164, 199.**

### AGUILAR, PEDRO SÁNCHEZ DE

- 1639 Informe contra idolorum cultores del Obispado de Yucatan: Madrid 4°. (New edition in *Anales del Museo Nacional*, Mexico, v. 6, 1892, p. 15-122.) (This is probably the same work as his *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan y sus ecclesiasticos.*) (See Saville, 1921.) **192.**
- § (1) Catecismo de Doctrina Cristiana en lengua Maya: MS. xvii century (missing). **196.**

ALCEDO Y BEXARANO, ANTONIO DE

- 1807 Biblioteca americana. Catálogo de los autores que han escrito de la América en diferentes idiomas. Y noticia de su vida y patria, años en que viveron y obras que escribieron: folio, MS. 2 v. vi, 488; 489-1028 ff. (from Lord Kingsborough's library) in John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. (Copy in Sparks Collection, Cornell University, with following note by Sparks, "This volume was copied from the original MS. in the possession of O. Rich of London. The original was found by him in Madrid. Copied, 1843." There is another copy with statement as follows, "Mexico. Copia remitida de Boston por el Señor William H. Prescott, 1854." See criticism of this work by Harrissee, 1866, p. xxiv, and quoted in Spanish by Medina, 1898-1907, v. 6, p. cxvi.) **154, 157.**

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY. Publisher.

- 1876 Centennial exhibition, 1876. Specimen verses from versions in different languages and dialects in which the Holy Scriptures have been printed and circulated by the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society: 16°, 48 p., 2 pls. (Numerous other editions the last of which was in 1919 including specimen verses from 269 different languages.) **200.**

ANCONA, ELIGIO

- [1877] Introduction to the Pío Perez Diccionario, 1866-77. (See Perez, 1866-77.) **160.**

1878-1905 Historia de Yucatan: Merida, 8°, 5 v. (4 v. 1878-80. v. 5, edited by José María Pino Suarez, published in 1905. 2d and revised edition of first 4 v. Barcelona, 1889.) **162, 180, 185.**

- 1881 Compendio de la historia de la península de Yucatan que comprende los estados de Yucatan y Campeche. Obra escrita en forma de diálogo para el uso de las escuelas: Merida, 16°, 84 p. **180.**

ANDRADE, JOSÉ LEOCADIO

- 1880 See Carrillo y Ancona, 1880.

ANDRADE, JOSÉ MARÍA

- 1869 Catalogue de la riche bibliothèque de Andrade: Leipzig and Paris, 8°, xi. 368 p. (Sale catalogue.) **154, 158.**

ANDRADE, VICENTE DE PAULA

- 1899 Ensayo bibliográfico Mexicano del siglo xvii: Mexico, (2d ed.) 8°, vii, 803 p. (1st ed., 1894, in *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate,"* never completed.) **156.**

ANON.

For anonymous works, see p. 276-279.

ANÓNIMO, CODICE

See Tizimin, Chilam Balam de

ANTONIO, GASPAR

See Xiu, Gaspar Antonio

ANTONIO, NICOLAS

1672 *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum, qui usquam unquamve sive Latinâ sive populari sive aliâ quavis linguâ scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia, his quæ præcesserunt locupletior et certior brevia elogia, editorum atque ineditorum operum catalogum dvabus par tibus contiens, etc.*: Rome, 4°, 2 v. 41 ff., 633; 690 p. (2d ed. Madrid, 1783-88.) **150, 153.**

1696 *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus; sive, Hispanorum qui usquam, unquamve scripto aliquid consignaverunt, notitia. Complectens scriptores omnes, qui, ab Octaviani Augusti imperio, usque ad annum M.<sup>1</sup> floruerunt*: Rome, 4°, 2 v. (2d ed. Madrid, 1788.) **153.**

ARTAZO Y TORREDEMER, MANUEL

1814 *Banda (or Proclamation) Maya and Spanish in parallel columns*: 1 f. **206.**

ASENSIO, JOSÉ MARÍA. Editor.

See *Colección de Documentos, 1898-1900.*

AUER, ALOIS

1844-47. *Sprachenhalle*: Vienna, 2 parts, folio. **199.**

AVENDAÑO Y LOYOLÁ, ANDRÉS DE **142.**

1696 *Relación de las dos entradas que hizé a Peten Itza*: 4°, MS. 66 ff. (Gates reproduction. For publication of greater part of MS., see Means, 1917. p. 103-174.) **164.**

§ (1) *Arte para aprender la lengua de Yucatan*: MS. xviii century (missing). **164.**

§ (2) *Diccionario de la lengua de Yucatan*: MS. xviii century (missing). **174.**

§ (3) *Diccionario abreviado de los adverbos de tiempo y lugar de la lengua de Yucatan*: MS. xviii century (missing). **174.**

§ (4) *Diccionario botánico y medico conforme á los usos y costumbres de los Indios de Yucatan*: MS. xviii century (missing). **174.**

§ (5) *Diccionario de nombres de personas, idolos, danzas, y otras antigüedades de los Indios de Yucatan*: MS. xviii century (missing). **174.**

§ (6) *Explicacion de varios vaticinios de los antiguos Indios de Yucatan*: MS. xviii century (missing). **193.**

AVILA, MANUEL ENCARNACION. Translator.

[1864 circa] [Translation into Spanish of *Titulo de Acanceh* (1767) and *Crónica de Chicxulub* (1542)]. **203, 205.**

AZNAR Y PEREZ, GABRIEL. Translator.

1882 *Translation of Brinton, 1882b*: in *Semanario Yucateco*: Merida. **183.**

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<sup>1</sup> The M in the title is, of course, a misprint for M.D.

- BACABS, RITUAL OF THE  
12°, MS., 237 p. contains 46 incantations. (Owned by Gates.)  
196.
- BACHILLER Y MORALES, ANTONIO  
1883 Cuba primitiva, origen, lenguas, tradiciones e historia de los Indios de las Antillas Mayores y las Lucayas: Havana, 8°, 7-399 p. 2d ed. Corregida y aumentada. (Printed first in *La Revista de Cuba*.) (See *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of Americanists*, Madrid, 1882 [1881], p. 315-317.)  
161.
- BAEZA, JOSÉ NICOLÁS  
1860 See Beltran, 1740; ed. 1860 and later editions.
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[1880 circa] [Sobre la lengua Yucateca]: in *El Seminario Conciliar* Merida. 162.  
1883 Doctrina necesaria para confesar en el regla. Dispuesta en lengua Maya: Merida. 16°, 24 p. (See Anon, 9.) 196.
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1832 Vocabulario de las lenguas Castellana y Maya (en el idioma de Peten) in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, v. 18 p. 215-217. (Copy in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-5 corrected in Peten by Berendt.) 174, 181.
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- 1746 Arte de el idioma Maya reducido a succintas reglas y semi lexicon Yucateco: Mexico 8°, 8 ff. 188 p. (Gates reproduction.) (2d ed. Merida, 1859. 1739 is date given by some and that of 1st ed., this is incorrect.) (See Kingdon 1, and Henderson 3.) 164, 168, 174, 181.
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- 1865 [Annotated copy of Kingdon, 1847, which, in turn, is a translation of Ruz, 1844]: 12°, MS. in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 14. 166.
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- 1866-67 Vocabulario del dialecto (de Maya) de Peten: MS. (Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-5. English translation by Means (1917) in *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, v. 7, p. 188-191). 174.
- 1867 Report of explorations in Central America: in *Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, Washington p. 420-426. 174.
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- 1868 Chilam Balam. Artículos y fragmentos de manuscritos antiguos en lengua Maya, colectados y copiados en facsimile: 4°, MS. 200 p. (Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 49. Notes taken on this MS. by C. P. Bowditch (1908a). Gates reproduction of notes). 144, 183. This contains the following:  
 Chilam Balam de Chumayel, p. 1-74, 80, 159-200. 188.  
 Chilam Balam de Ixil, p. 75-79, 97-100. 190.  
 Chilam Balam de Kaua, p. 81-92. 190.  
 Chilam Balam de Tizimin, p. 101-158. 189.  
 Cuaderno de Teabo, p. 93-96. 195.

- 1868a Coleccion de platicas, doctrinales y sermones en lengua Maya por diferentes autores: 16°, MS. 257 p. (Berendt Linguistic Collection, Nos. 46, 47). **147, 201.** This contains the following:  
     Dominguez y Argaz (1758) p. 1-76.  
     Carvajal (1) p. 77-116.  
     Sermones (Anon. 22) p. 119-229.  
     Modo de confesar (Anon 1803) p. 231-257.  
     (P. 37, 77-257 reproduced by Gates.)
- 1868b Literatura de la lengua Maya, obras que parecen perdidas: MS., written in Merida (Berendt Linguistic Collection). **151.**
- 1868c Canciones en lengua Maya: MS., collected in Merida, in Berendt Linguistic Collection. (Partial copy by Schuller, 8°, 13 p, reproduced by Gates.) **207.**
- 1868d Lengua Maya. Miscelanea: 12°, MS. 3 v. **147.** The contents of these volumes are entered in this bibliography under the following headings:  
     Vol. 1 (Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42).  
     No. 1. Waldeck, 1838, p. 79-90.  
     2. Waldeck, 1838, p. 91.  
     3. Waldeck, 1838, p. 29-30.  
     4. Anon (4).  
     5. Baezo, 1832.  
     6. Galindo, 1832.  
     7. Ternaux-Compans, 1840-41.  
     8. Numerales: in Beltran, 1748; ed. 1859, p. 195-201.  
     9. Las Profecias: in Brasseur de Bourbourg, 1857-59, v. 2, p. 603-606. **192.**  
     10. Anon (6).  
     11. Oviedo, 1535; ed. 1851-55, v. 4, p. 593-607. **169.**  
     12. Anon (11).  
     13. Tabla de multiplicar: in Chilam Balam de Kaua. **191.**  
     14. Anon (1).  
     15. Anon (18).  
     16. Anon (17).  
     17. Villanueva (1).  
     18. Anon (3).  
     Vol. 2 (Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 43).  
     No. 1. Epocas de la historia de Yucatan: in Perez, 1842. **185.**  
     2. The same: in Chilam Balam de Chumayel **188.**  
     3. Las Profecias: in Chilam Balam de Mani y de Chumayel. **194.**  
     4. Crónica de Chicxulub. **203 (2).**  
     5. Fragmentos sobre la cronologia (Perez, 3). (Mainly the Chilam Balam de Kaua.) **184, 191 (2).**  
     6. Las Profecias: in Chilam Balam de Ixil and Mani. **190, 194.**



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No. 7. Chilam Balam de Mani. 184.

8. Chilam Balam de Oxkutzcab. 190.

9. Historia de la Doncella Teodora. 184.

Vol. 3 (Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 44).

No. 1. Perez (9).

2. Perez (8).

3. Perez (6).

4. Perez (5).

5. Canción amorosa: in Brasseur de Bourbourg, 1869-70, v. 2, p. 120-121. 206.

6. Invocation au soleil: in Brasseur de Bourbourg, 1869-70, v. 2, p. 101-102. 207.

7. Título de Acanceh. 205.

8. Papeles de Xtepen. 205.

9. Cevera, 1803.

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1870 Extractos de los recetarios de Indios en lengua Maya, notas, y añadiduras [4 MS. de Pio Perez]: See Pio Perez (4). (In Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 45). 193.

1870a Apuntes sobre la lengua Chaneabal. Con un vocabulario: 8° MS. 7, 25 ff. (See Brinton, 1888.) (In Berendt Linguistic Collection. No. 96.) 178.

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(2) Vocabulary of the Maya language; 200 words: fol. MS. 6 ff. in Collection Linguistic MSS., Bureau of Ethnology, Washington. 176.

(3) Vocabulario comparativo de las lenguas pertenecientes á la familia Maya-Quiche: 600-700 words in 24 dialects: MS.

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- (4) *Nombres propios en lengua Maya*: folio, MS. 150 ff. (in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 48). 176.

- (5) *Miscellanea Maya*. Folio scrap-book: (Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 179). 147. This book contains the following:

1. Gramatica.

Analytical alphabet, 11 p. fol. 4. 168.

Comparative alphabet of the Maya, 2 p. fol. 5. 168.

2. Languages.

Alfabeto de las lenguas Metropolitana, 4 p. fol. 14.

Charakter der americanischen Sprachen, 2 p. fol. 22.

3. Wortbildungen Maya, 17 p. fol. 24. 166.

4. Maya moderna y dialectos, 2 p. fol. 34. 166.

5. Grammar. 166.

Formacion del plural, 4 p. fol. 36.

Adjectivos, 2 p. fol. 39.

Pronombres, 4 p. fol. 42.

Preposiciones, etc. 3 p. fol. 45.

Verbos, 19 p. fol. 47.

Partes sexuales, 6 p.

Korpertheile, 5 p.

Nombres de parentesco, 3 p.

Plantas; mais; medidas, 12 p. fol. 54.

Bebida y comida; Mammalia, 7 p.

Pajaros; Beleuchtung, Insects, Aves, 13 p. fol. 55.

Conversazione, 10 p. fol. 57.

6. Vocabulario de la lengua Maya, del Putun, del Tzentel, del Chontal, etc. 178.

Maya und Nahuatl, 56 p. fol. 58. 178.

Mexicano-Maya-Otomi, 30 p. fol. 59. 178.

Maya-Cakchiquel, 4 p. fol. 60. 179.

Maya-Natchez, 13 p. fol. 62. 179.

Maya-Apalahchi, fol. 63. 179.

Maya-Chontal-Quiche-Cakchiquel-Zutuhil-Huasteca-Mame-Poconchi, 2 p. fol. 64. 179.

7. Gramatical comparativos de las lenguas de la Familia Maya, 5 p. fol. 66. 168.

8. Vergleichende Uebersicht d. Zahlu'tr, 14 p. fol. 67. 182.

9. Locuciones varios en Maya, 8 p. fol. 71.

10. Ethnologia, fol. 76.

Caracter de los indios de Yucatan.

Costumbres de los indios, fol. 77.

Calendarios, fol. 79.

Jeroglificos, fol. 86.

Antiquedades, fol. 89.

Maya ethnologia, fol. 92.

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100 words with translation from Oviedo. 169.

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A note on the Motul dictionary. 170.

A bibliography of Yucatan. 157.

Brasseuriana. 146.

- (8) *Historia de la lexicografia de la lengua Maya*. Original MS. Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 11, p. 185-188. See Perez 157.

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- 1912 *Manuel d'archéologie américaine* (Amérique préhistorique Civilisations disparues): Paris, 8°, xli, 773 p. 160, 163.

BOBAN, E[UGÈNE]. Editor.

- 1885 See Batres, 1885.

BOLLAERT, WILLIAM

- 1866 *Maya hieroglyphic alphabet of Yucatan*: In *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, v. 2 (1865-66), p. 46-51. 163, 170, 180.

- 1870 *Examination of Central American hieroglyphs*: Of Yucatan - including the Dresden Codex, the Guatémalien of Paris, and the Troano of Madrid: the hieroglyphs of Palenqué, Copan, Nicaragua, Veraguas, and New Granada; by the newly discovered Maya alphabet: in *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, v. 3 (1867-69), p. 288-314. 162.

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- 1746 *Idea de una nueva historia general de la America Septentrional*. Fundada sobre material copioso de figuras, symbolos, caracteres, y geroglificos, cantares y manuscritos de autores indios ultimamente descubiertos: Madrid, 4°, 20 ff., 167, [8], 96 r. (2d ed. Mexico, 1887.) 153.

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1908 Collation of Berendt 1868d, v. 2: in Berendt Linguistic Collection No. 43. (Gates reproduction.) **147.**

1908a Collation of Berendt, 1868: in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 49. (Gates reproduction.) **147.**

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(1) List of Maya words in Landa and elsewhere with translation. 4°, MS. 17 ff. **169.**

BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, CHARLES ETIENNE **146.**

1851 Lettres pour servir d'introduction à l'histoire primitive des nations civilisées de l'Amérique Méridionale, à M. le duc de Valmy: Mexico, 4°, 76 p. (This is the 1st ed. of his 1855-56.)

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1864 Relation des choses de Yucatan de Diégo de Landa . . . avec une grammaire et un vocabulaire abrégés Français-Maya: Paris, 8°, cxii, 516 p. **168, 169, 180.** This also contains:

Lizana (1633, caps 1-4) with French translation, p. 348-365.

Perez (1843) with French translation, p. 366-419. **186.**

Perez (1842) with French translation, p. 420-429. **185.**

Esquisse d'une grammaire de la langue Maya; d'après celles de Beltran et de Ruz, p. 459-478. **165, 166.**

- BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, CHARLES ETIENNE, 1864 (*continued*).  
 Les prières en Maya et en Français d'après le P. Joaquin Ruz, p. 478-479. **199.**  
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- 1865 Esquisses d'histoire, d'archéologie, d'ethnographie et de linguistique pouvant servir d'instructions générales: in *Archives de la Commission Scientifique du Mexique*, Paris, v. 1, p. 85-136. **159.**
- 1869 Lettre à M. Léon de Rosny sur la découverte de documents relatifs à la haute antiquité américaine, et sur le déchiffrement et l'interprétation de l'écriture phonétique et figurative de la langue Maya: in *Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie de Paris* (2d Series), v. 1. (Published separately: Paris, 1869, 8°, 20 p.) **207.**
- 1869-70 Manuscrit Troano. Études sur le système graphique et la langue des Mayas: Paris, 4°, 2 v. Mission Scientifique au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale. V. 2 contains:  
 Introduction aux éléments de la langue Maya, p. i-xlix. **160, 162, 151.**  
 Grammaire et chrestomathie de la langue Maya (after San Buenaventura), p. 1-84. **164.**  
 Observations du traducteur sur l'orthographe de quelques mots, p. 85-87.  
 Résumé des désinences verbales, p. 87-91.  
 Tables des noms de nombre, manières de compter, etc. d'après Beltran, p. 92-99. **181.**  
 Chrestomathie ou choix de morceaux de littérature Maya, p. 101-122. **207.**  
 Invocation au soleil (collected at Hacienda de Xcanchakan), p. 101-102. Copy in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 44-6. **207.**  
 Les cinq prophéties sibyllines d'après Lizana, p. 103-110. **193.**  
 Titre antique concernant la famille de Nakuk Pech, p. 110-120. **203.**  
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 Ruz, 1846, p. 121-2. **198.**  
 Vocabulaire général, Maya-Français et Espagnol, p. 123-462. **176.**
- 1871 Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémaliennne précédée d'un coup d'œil sur les études américaines dans leurs rapports avec les études classiques et suivie du tableau par ordre alphabétique des ouvrages de linguistique américaine contenus dans le même

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- BRETON, ADELA C.
- 1919 Relationships in Central America: in *Man*, v. 19, article 94, London. **175.**
- 1920 See Martínez Hernández, 1920, 1920a, 1920b.
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- 1887 Guatemala, the land of the quetzal: New York, 8°, xv, 453 p. **178.**
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- 1868 The myths of the New World: a treatise on the symbolism and mythology of the red race of America: New York, 12°, viii, 307 p. (2d ed., New York, 1876; 3d ed., Philadelphia, 1896.) **193.**
- 1871 Remarks on the nature of the Maya group of languages: in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, (1869), v. 11, p. 4-6. **162.**
- 1881 The names of the gods in the Kiche myths, Central America: in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, v. 19, p. 613-647. (Published separately, Philadelphia, 1881, 8°, 37 p.) **162.**
- 1882 Maya chronicles: Philadelphia, 8°, 279 p.: in *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, No. 1. **148, 183.** Among other items, this book contains the following:
- The name "Maya," p. 9-16. **180.**
- Maya linguistic family, p. 17-20.
- Grammar, p. 27-37. **167.**
- Numeral system, p. 37-50. **181.**
- Books of Chilam Balam, p. 67-72, 81-88. **182.**
- Grammars and dictionaries, p. 72-77. **157, 170.**
- Extracts with translations: —
- Mani MS., p. 89-135. **186, 194.**
- Tizimin MS., p. 136-151. **189.**
- Chumayel MS., p. 152-185. **183.**
- Pech MS., p. 187-259. **194, 203.**
- Vocabulary, p. 261-279. **176.**
- 1882a American hero-myths, a study in the native religions of the western continent: Philadelphia, 8°, 251 p. **162, 194, 203.**

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- 1883 The folk-lore of Yucatan: in *Folk-Lore Journal*, London, v. 1, p. 244-256. (Republished in his 1890, p. 163-180.) **191, 207 (2).**
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- 1873 Recherches sur une ancienne prophétie en langue Maya (Napultun): in *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie Comparée*, v. 6, p. 42-61. 194.
- 1874 Essai d'analyse grammaticale d'un texte en langue Maya: in *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen*, p. 142-161. (Published separately, Le Havre, 1875, 8°, 9 p.) 185.
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  - Sur le pronom personnel dans les idiomes de la famille Maya-Quiché, p. 123-139. 167.
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- 1780-81 Storia antica del Messico, cavata da' migliori storici spagnuoli e da' manoscritti e dalle pitture antiche degl' Indiani; divisa in dieci libri e corredata di carte geografiche e di varie figure e dissertazioni sulla terra, sugli animali e sugli abitatori del Messico; Cesena, 4°, 4 v. vii, 302 p. 4 pls.; 276 p. 17 pls.; 260 p. 1 pl.; 331 p. Spanish ed. London, 1826, 8°, 2 v. Among other editions, London, 1787, (English), 4°, 2 v.; Leipzig, 1789, (German); Richmond, Va.; 1806, London, 1807, Philadelphia 1817, (English); London, 1826, (Italian); Mexico, 1844 and 1853; Jacapa, 1868, (Spanish). 1st ed. v. 4 (1781) p. 262-263 has the following:

*Catologo d'alcuni autori Europei e Creogli, che hanno scritto della dottrina e morale christiana nelle lingue della Nuova Spagna.* Ed. 1826, v. 2, p. 396 and later Spanish editions have the following:

*Catologo de algunos autores Europeos y Criollos que han escrito sobre la doctrina y moral cristianas en las lenguas de Anahuac.* **150, 154.**

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- 1620 *Arte en lengua de Maya recopilado y enmendado*: Mexico, 24°, 54 ff. [Gates reproduction.] 163, 172.  
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- 1852 *Cartas* [1st letter lost.] In its place the letter of the Municipality of Vera Cruz, dated July 10, 1519, may be substituted. This printed in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, v. 1, and in *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*: Madrid 1852, v. 1. (See MacNutt ed. of letters, New York, 1908, 8°, v. 1, p. 123-182.) 180.  
 1866 *Cartas y relaciones al Emperador Carlos V*: Paris, 8°, li, 575 p. (Best edition by MacNutt, New York and London, 1908, 8°, 2 v. xi, 354; vii, 374 p.) 180.

## CROWE, FREDERICK

- 1850 *The Gospel in Central America*; containing a sketch of the country . . . a history of the Baptist mission in British Honduras, etc.: London, 12°, xii, 588 p. 199.

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1905 De la non-parenté de certaines langues de l'ancien monde (en particulier du japonais) avec celles du Nouveau, et spécialement, du groupe Maya: in *Proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Americanists*, New York (1902), p. 245-247. 161.

(1) Mémoire sur les affinités du Maya avec certaines langues de l'Amérique Méridionale: 8°, 17 p. (reprint). 161, 179.



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- 1882 *La carie américaine, mère, en civilisation de l'antique Égypte d'après les documents de M. l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg*: Paris, 8°, 64 p. 160.

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- 4°, Mss. MSS. en lengua Maya. 324 p. dating from about 1638 to 1829. (Gates reproduction.) 204.

ECHANO, AGUSTIN DE

- 1758 *Aprobacion*: in Dominguez, 1758. 183.

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- 1755 *Bibliotheca Mexicana, sive eruditorum historia virorum, qui in America Boreali nati, vel alibi geniti in ipsam domicilio aut studijs asciti, quavis lingua scripto aliquid tradiderunt*: v. 1, A. B. C.: Mexico, 4°, 80 ff., 543 p. (Other portions exist in manuscript.) 151, 153.

EICHORN, ALBERT

- 1896 *Nauual; oder Die hohe Wissenschaft (scientia mirabilis) der architectonischen und künstlerischen Composition bei den Maya-Völkern, deren Descendenten und Schülern*: Berlin, 4°, 126 p. 177.

- 1905 *Die Hieroglyphen-Bildschrift der Maya-Völker in ihrer stufenweisen Entwicklung bis zur Ornamentbildschrift dargestellt und an den Hieroglyphen der 20 Monatstage erläutert*: Berlin, 4°, iv, 236 (2), p. 177.

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Filología, gramática, y escritura, p. 83-474. **162, 165, 168, 177, 182.**

Disquisiciones historicas, p. 475-712.

Voces aztecas castellanizadas y sus equivalentes en Maya, p. 718-735. **138.**

Voces mayas castellanizadas, p. 735-738. **178.**

Dioses y genios malignos de la mitología maya, p. 742-7.

La serie de los katunes (Perez, 1842). **186.**

## PARISIO, NICOLA

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- 1897 Division y clasificación de las lenguas y dialectos que usaron los antiguos habitantes del actual territorio Mexicano. Su estado presente: in *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Americanists*, Mexico, (1895), p. 91-96. **159.**
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## PERALTA, ANTONIO

- 1869 See Nolasco de los Reyes, 1869.

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- 1803 See Cervera, José Tiburcio.

PEREZ, JUAN PIO 143.

1836 [Copy of the Diccionario de Ticul.] (Missing.) 173.

1838 Tomo 2º, de la coordinacion alfabética de las palabras reunidas en los apuntes ó cuadernos hechos para la formacion de un diccionario de la lengua Maya (Letras L-Ů): 4º MS. 108 ff. (The first volume has no title nor date. It contains letters A-K, 84 ff.) 175.

1838a Diccionario de la lengua Maya, ó mas bien, apuntes para la formacion de un diccionario de la lengua Maya y Española: 4º, MS. 1108 (4) ff. 175.

[1840] Carta á Don Vicente Calero Quintana sobre la literatura de los Indios. Written at Peto: in *Registro Yucateco*, v. 2. (Republished in Carrillo y Ancona, 1883, p. 591-592.) 191.

1842 Principales epocas de la historia antigua de Yucatan: (Original MS., a part of the Chilam Balam de Mani, copied and translated by Perez, Peto, 1842. His copy (8º, 13, 2 p.) given to Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 465-469) who published it and presented the MS. to the New York Historical Society. Copy in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 43-1). (See Mani, Chilam Balam de.) (Also called the Codex Perez.) 144, 180, 184.

[1842a] Notas sobre la lengua Maya [pronunciation of various Maya sounds and letters adopted for these sounds. MS. given to Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 178) and now in the New York Historical Society as a preliminary notice to the Codex Perez]. 166, 168.

[1842b] [Dictionary of 4000 Maya words. MS. given to Stephens (1843, v. 2, p. 278) and now in the New York Historical Society.] 175.

1843 Cronologia antigua de Yucatan y exámen del método con que los Indios contaban el tiempo, sacados de varios documentos antiguos: English translation in Stephens, 1843, v. 1, p. 434-459. There is a Brasseur de Bourbourg-Pilling copy with the following title: *Explicacion | del Calendario y de la cronologica | antigua de Yucatan, | escrita por D. Pio Perez, | juez que fué de Peto*: folio, MS. 14 ff. There is also a copy in the Peabody Museum with the following title: *Cronologia antigua | de Yucatan | y examen del método con que los Indios contaban el tiempo. | Sacada de varios documentos antiguos, por D. Juan Pio Perez | jefe político de Peto, Yucatan*: 8º, MS. 20 ff. (See Pilling, 1885, No. 2950.) 145, 186.

[1844] Carta á Don Vicente Calero Quintana (sobre el idioma Maya). Peto: in Carrillo y Ancona, 1870; ed. 1872, p. 182-185. 166.

1845 Apuntes del diccionario de la lengua Maya, compuestos en vista de varios catálogos antiguos de sus voces y aumentado con gran suma de las de uso comun y otras que se han extractado de manuscritos antiguos por un Yucateco aficionado á la lengua: 4º, MS. 4, 468 p. 8 ff. in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 5. (A partial copy was made by Berendt.) 175.

PEREZ, JUAN PIO (*continued*).

1847 [2d copy of the Diccionario de Ticul: 4°, MS. 146 p.] 175.

1847a Coordinacion alfabética de las palabras Mayas que se hallan en la anterior parte Castellana: 4°, MS. 133 p. (This is the Diccionario de Ticul arranged by Perez in Maya-Spanish order. Copied by Berendt in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. v. 2.) 173, 175.

1848 Una proclama destinada á los Indios sublevados. (Translated into Maya by Perez and Meneses.) 206.

1866-77 Diccionario de la lengua Maya: Merida, 4°, x, xx, 437 p. (Maya-Spanish). 175.

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- (1) Apuntes para una gramática Maya, etc., copia de los fragmentos en poder de D. Pedro Regil: Merida, 12°, MS., 144 p. (Copied by Berendt from notes of Perez in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 11.) This is a note-book with pages numbered 1 to 188. It contains:

Apuntes para una gramática, p. 45-132, 173-179. 166.

Indice alfabético, p. 132.

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- (2) Chilam Balam. Artículos y fragmentos de manuscritos antiguos en lengua Maya colectados por Perez: MS. (Copy by Berendt (1870), 4°, vi, 258 p. in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 50) 144, 183 (2), 205.

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Parte primera.

1. Calendario español para todos los días del año en relacion con el calendario yucateco, con pronosticos para todos los días y todos los meses; p. 1.
2. Relaciones astrologicas entre los siete planetas y los días de la semana; p. 25.
3. Historieta de la Donsella Teodora; p. 31. 184.
4. Influencias planetarias; p. 38.
5. Influencias de los signos del zodiaco; p. 39.
6. Indicaciones sobre sangrias; p. 39.
7. Pronósticos de los años segun comienzan con uno ú otro día de la semana; p. 41.
8. Pronósticos de los signos del zodiaco; p. 43.
9. Nota de D. Pio Perez; p. 47.
10. Apuntes historias del Chilam Balam de Mani; p. 48. 18

11. Relacion del año yucateco con el español; p. 50.
12. Calendario español para todos los dias del año en su relacion al calendario yucateco; p. 51.

Parte segunda.

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§ (2) Noticias sagradas y profanas de las antigüedades y conversion de  
los Indios de Yucatan: MS. xvi century (missing). 196.  
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 12°, MS. en la lengua Maya, 30, 76 p. circa 1865-1884. (Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.) **202.**
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owns second copy, 8°, 35 ff., also reproduced by him.) (This  
MS. is also called the *Codice Anónimo*.) **189.**

**TORQUEMADA, JUAN DE**

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**TORRALVA, FRANCISCO DE**

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los dias, en lengua Maya ó Iucateca, mui clara i elegante:*  
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national Congress of Americanists*, Mexico (1910), p. 233-237.  
**167.**

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- 1898 Notes on Maya and Malay: in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, v. 7, p. 101-108. **161.**

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- 1865 American literary intelligence: in *American and Oriental Literary Record*, No. 1, London. **170.**

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- 1863 Sur l'identité du mot *mère* dans les idiomes de tous les peuples: in *Revue Orientale et Américaine, Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie*, Series 1, Paris, v. 8, p. 335-338. **179.**

URRUTIA, J. A.

- 1857 See Squier, 1857.

VALENTINI, PHILIPP J[OHANN] J[OSEF]

- 1880 The katunes of Maya history: in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, (1879), p. 71-117. (Published separately, Worcester, 1880.) **185, 186.**

- 1896 Das geschichtliche in den mythischen Städten "Tulan": in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. 28, p. 44-55. **185.**

VALES, JOSÉ PILAR. Translator.

- [1870] U cibhuun hach noh tzicbenil Ahaucaan Ahmiaz Leandro Rodriguez de la Gala ti ú hach yamailoob mohenoob yanoob tu nachilcahtaliloob Nohol y Chlkin ti le luumcabil Yucatan laa: Ho (Merida), 8°, 8 p. (Pastoral sermon translated into Maya.) (Gates reproduction.) **202.**

VALEZ, MANUEL A.

- 1893 Vocabularios comparativos del estado de Yucatan, 250 palabras en la lengua Maya y Castellano del pueblo de Sotuta: Copy, 4°, MS., 4 ff. in Peabody Museum. **177, 181.**

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- § (1) Conclusiones de todas las materias de los Sacramentos en Latin y en Yucateco: MS. xvii century (missing). 197.
- § (2) Dioscórides en lengua de Yucatan, con adiciones et conciones theologicas en idioma Yucateco: MS. xvii century (missing). 201.
- § (3) Vocabulario: MS. xvii century, [?] missing. (After Ludewig, 1858, p. 103.) 172.

## VATER, JOHANN SEVERIN

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1810 Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung aus dem alten Kontinente dem Herrn Kammerherrn Alexander von Humboldt: Leipzig, 8°, xii, 212 p. 179.

1815 *Linguarum totius orbis index alphabeticus, quarum grammaticæ, lexica, collectiones vocabularum recensentur, patria significatur historia adumbratur*: Berlin, 8°, 10,259 p. (Text in German and Latin. This contains the bibliographical notices in first two volumes and the first part of v. 3 of Adelung, 1806-1817. German edition by B. Jülz, Berlin, 1847.) 154.

## VELA, JOSÉ CANUTO. Translator.

1848 *Pastoral del Ilustrísimo Señor Obispo (José María Guerra) dirigida á los indígenas de esta diócesis*: Merida, 16°, 8 p. in Maya and Spanish. (Gates reproduction.) (There is possibly a later edition of this. See Carrillo y Ancona, 1870; ed. 1872, p. 186.) 202.

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## VIDALES, LUIS

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- § (2) *Sintáxis de la lengua Maya*: MS. xvii century (missing). 163.
- § (3) *Florilegio medicinal propio de la provincia de Yucatan*: MS. xvii century (missing?). 195.

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1701 *Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, reduccion y progressos de la de el Lacandon y otras naciones de Indios barbaros, de la mediacion de el reyno de Guatimala, a las provincias de Yucatan, en la America Septentrional*; Primera parte. 4°, Madrid, 33 ff., 660 p., 17 ff. 153, 180.

VILLALPANDO, LUIS DE 144.

1571 Diccionario de la lengua Maya: Mexico, 4° (see 1). (Brinton, 1882, p. 74, states one copy at least is in existence.) 169.

§ (1) Arte de la lengua Maya: MS. xvi century (missing). 162, 169.

§ (2) Doctrina Cristiana en idioma Yucateco ó Maya: MS. xvi century (missing). 196.

VILLANUEVA, JUAN JOSÉ. Translator.

1864 Proclama del Comisario. Traducida en lengua Maya. Impreso en hoja suelta. (Copy, 12°, 5 p. by Berendt in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-17.) 206.

VIÑAZA, [CIPRIANO MANZANO], CONDE DE LA

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WALDECK, FRÉDÉRIC

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Vocabulaire Maya avec les noms de nombre et quelques phrases à l'usage des voyageurs (Spanish, French, Maya), p. 79-80. (Copy in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-13.) 176 (2), 180, 181, 206.

WILKINS, E. PERCIVAL

1919 [Report and translation of one chapter of Ritual of the Bacabs, read by Gates at meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Cambridge, December, 1919]. 196.

(1) Ritual of the Bacabs. (Text and translation in preparation.) 196.

[WILKINSON, PAUL]

1914 The library of . . . scarce books, manuscripts and other material relating to Mexico: New York, 8°, 81 p. (Sale catalogue.) 156, 158.

1915 Illustrated catalogue of books, maps and documents relating to Mexico, Central America and the Maya Indians of Yucatan: New York, 8°, 483 nos. (Sale catalogue.) 156, 158, 204.

(1) Bio-bibliographical accounts of the writers on Yucatan and Central America with special relation to those who have treated of the Maya race and "Mayaland": 4°, MS. contained in a loose-leaved note-book in the Library of Congress, Washington (Handbook of manuscripts, p. 265). 156. Among other items this volume contains:

An incomplete list of the works of Acosta, Berendt, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Brinton, Carrillo y Ancona, Las Casas, Cortes, Bernal Diaz, Juan Diaz, Gage, Gomara, Herrera, Martyr, Oviedo, Perez, Ruz, Solis, and Squier.

List of the *Relaciones* (from *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (1898-1900)).

Tentative arrangement of the Maya dialects. 160.  
 Definition of Spanish terms, such as *adelantado*, *audiencia*, etc.  
 Article on Folk-Lore.  
 List of Maya codices.  
 List of Books of Chilam Balam and Maya prophecies.  
 List of Chronicles.  
 Bibliographies of bibliographies.  
 Special bibliographies such as Bandelier and Haebler.  
 General bibliographies such as León Pinelo and Nicolas Antonio.  
 Bibliography of general works such as Fiske and Winsor.  
 Bibliography of writers on Maya inscriptions (four entries only).  
 Entries regarding Columbus.  
 Books on the discovery of America.  
 Early maps and navigation.  
 Early suggestions and accounts of Yucatan.  
 The main body of the manuscript is taken up with a general bibliography, arranged chronologically, of books and manuscripts dating from 1524 to 1912. The entries are taken, for the most part, from Medina (1898-1907), Martínez Alomía (1906), Squier (1861), Beristain y Souza (1816-21), and Gates (2).

**WINSOR, JUSTIN**

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**XIU, GASPAR ANTONIO** [also called CHI or HERRERA]

§ 1582 Relacion sobre las costumbres de los indios de Yucatan (missing). 169.

§ (1) Vocabulario Maya ó de la lengua de Yucatan: MS. XVI century (missing). 169.

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**XIU CHRONICLES**

1608 *et seq.* 4°, MS. 1608-1817, 164 p., owned by Peabody Museum. (Reproduced by Gates and by C. P. Bowditch, latter with introduction by A. C. Breton.) (Also called the Ticul MS. and the Crónica de Oxkutzcab.) 203.

**XIU DE OXKUTZCAB**

See Oxkutzcab, Chilam Balam de

**XTEPEN, PAPELES DE**

Dos piezas de las papeles de la Hacienda Xtepen de Don Joaquín Hübbe (en lengua Maya). (Copy, 12°, 2 p. in Berendt Linguistic Collection No. 44-8.) 205.

**ZAVALA, M.**

1896 Gramatica Maya: Merida, 8°, 94 p. 167.



ZAVALA, M. and MEDINA, A.

1898 Vocabulario Español-Maya: Merida, 8°, 72 p. 177.

ZAYAS ENRÍQUEZ, RAFAEL DE

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ZÚÑIGA, P.

(1) [MS. formerly in Carrillo y Ancona collection regarding derivation of word Yucatan.] 180.

ANON.

1514-72 Un libro que contiene varias cartas escritas á S. M. por los gobernadores, obispos, oficiales reales, caciques, é indios de la provincia de Yucatan: 4°, MS. in *El Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla. (Several of the letters are in the Maya language.) 206.

1542 [Official document in Maya still preserved on authority of D. G. Brinton.] 203.

1803 Modo de confesar en lengua Maya: 12°, MS. from Campeche, 38 ff. in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 26. (Copy by Berendt in Berendt, 1868a, p. 231-257. This copy reproduced by Gates.) 198.

1820 Apuntes sobre algunas plantas medicinales de Yucatan, escritos por un fraile franciscano de Campeche: 4°, MS., 20 ff. (Owned by Gates.) 195.

1845 Manuscrito antiguo (probably the Chilam Balam de Oxkutzcab): in *Registro Yucateco*, v. 1, p. 360. 190.

1860 Colección polidiónica Mexicana que contiene la Oración Dominical vertida en cincuenta y dos idiomas indígenas de aquella República: Mexico, l. 8°, vii, 52 p. (Reprint in *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica y Estadística de la República Mexicana* (Ser. 4), v. 1, 1888, p. 151-179.) (Pilling mentions an earlier ed. of 1859.) 199.

1868 Bibliotheca Mexicana. Catalogue d'une collection de livres rares (principalement sur l'histoire et la linguistique) réunie au Mexique par M. \* \* \* : Paris, 8°, 47 p. 155, 158.

1871 Dos oraciones en lengua Maya. (Copiados de una hoja suelta numerada 21, que es de alguno libro: MS. en poder de Carrillo y Ancona. Copy, 12°, 4 p., in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 44-10). 202.

1883 Doctrina anónima (en lengua Maya): Merida (with approval of Bishop de la Gala by Secretary, Carrillo y Ancona). (See Baeza, 1883.) 198.

1891 The Lord's Prayer in three hundred languages: London. 199.

[1893] Vocabularios comparativos del estado de Yucatan. 250 palabras en la lengua Maya y Castellano del pueblo de Sotuta: Copy, 4°, MS., 4 ff. in Peabody Museum. 177, 181.

- 1897 *Modo de administrar los santos Sacramentos de Sagrada Viático Matrimonio Extrema Uncion en lengua Maya con una breve explicacion acerca del examen de Conciencia y la Comunión: Merida, 16°, 52 p.* 198.
- 1897a *Homenajes fúnebres tributados a la memoria del Ilustrísimo Señor Doctor Don Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, Obispo de Yucatan, con motivo de su muerte, acaecida el 19 de Marzo de 1897: Merida.* 147.
- 1898 *Vocabulario de las palabras de las lenguas Maya y Mejicana usadas y explicadas de las relaciones: in Colección de Documentos Inéditos, (2d series), v. 11, p. 435-436.* 178.
- 1900 *The Henderson Maya dictionary: in American Anthropologist (N. S.) v. 2, p. 403-404. (See Report, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1867, p. 420-421.)* 174.
- 1905 See Audomaro Molina, 1905.
- (1) *Acto de Contrición en Maya: 12°, MS., 38 ff. ("Copiado de un cuadernito ms. . . . en poder de D. J. Dolores Espinoza, Merida," by Berendt in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-14.)* 198.
  - (2) *Algunos apuntes sobre la historia antigua de Yucatan: 16°, MS. 14 ff. in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (Gates reproduction.)* 168.
  - (3) *Alocución de Indios Mayas á Maximilian (en lengua Maya.) (Copy by Berendt, 12°, 2 p., in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-18.)* 208.
  - (4) *Borrador de un sermón (en lengua Maya): 12°, MS., 4 p. ("MS. del autor del Vocabulario en lengua de Maya en Providence" (Motul dictionary): in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-4). (See Anon, 30.)* 201.
  - (5) *Diccionario de la lengua Maya: 12° MS. xviii century, 1 f. No. 277 "va." Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.* 174.
  - (6) *Doctrina en el dialecto de la Montaña de Holmul (Peten): 4°, MS. 12 ff. (Berendt copy, Sacluc, 1867, in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-10.)* 197.
  - (7) *Doctrina en lengua Maya: 8°, MS. xviii century, 34 p. (Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.)* 197.
  - (8) *Documentos en la lengua Maya desde el año 1571, 1663, etc.: Mss. MSS. (mostly 4°). (Owned by Gates and reproduced, 4°, 101 p., by him.)* 203.
  - (9) *Doctrina necesaria para confesarse en la regla. Dispuesta en lengua Maya: Merida, 24 p. (This is probably the same work as Baeza, 1883.)* 198.
  - (10) *"Especie de circular ó manifiesto de la reina de Inglaterra . . . á manera de cartelón, con grandes y hermosos caracteres en idioma Maya, el cual fué desprendido de una esquina de calle pública." (Mentioned by Carrillo y Ancona, 1870; ed. 1872, p. 190.)* 206.

ANON. (*continued*).

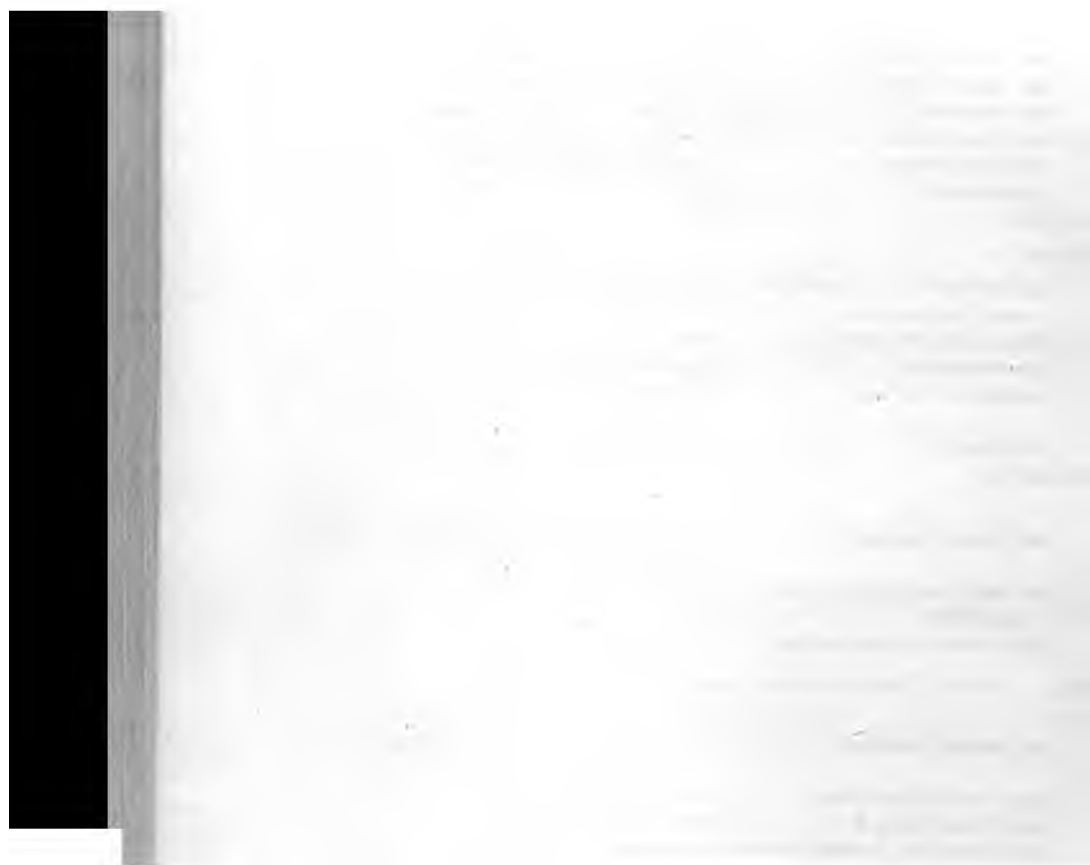
- (11) Forma de administrar el Viatico en lengua Maya. ("Copia [12°, 12 p.] tomada de un ms. moderno de principios de este siglo, en poder de Presbitero D. Crescencio Carrillo, Merida, September, 1868" by Berendt in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-12.) 198.
- (12) Hari va vuh ru lokolah evangelio cheri Kanim Ahauh, Kanima Kolonel, Jesu Christo Incheel Tantzibatal Rome San Marco: 16°, 79 p. 200.
- (13) Judio, Libro del: 16°, MS. en lengua Maya, 156 p. (Original in Peabody Museum, Gates reproduction.) 195.
- (14) El libro de los medicos, yervateros de Yucatan ó noticias sobre yervas y animales medicinales Yucatecos sacados de los antiguos libros Mayas de Chilam Balam, calendarios y demas copias curiosas. 8°, MS., 72-117 ff. of a note book. (Gates reproduction.) 195.
- (15) Medicina, Libro de: 12°, MS. en lengua Maya, 176 p. (Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.) 195.
- (16) Medicina Maya. 4°, MS. in lengua Maya. 94, 2 ff. (ff. 8, 52-57, 60-73, 75-92 missing. Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.) 195.
- (17) Modo de administrar el sagrado viatico en lengua Maya. Copiado del Via Crusis: 12°, MS. 2 p. (in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-16. See Nolasco de los Reyes, 1869). 198 (2).
- (18) Modo de administrar el Santissimo Sacramento de la Eucaristia como viatico (en lengua Maya). MS. (copy 12°, 7 p. by Berendt in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42-15). 198.
- (19) Noticias de varias plantas y sus virtudes (de Yucatan). MS. in Merida (copy by Berendt, 16°, 29 p. Reproduction by Gates of Berendt copy). 195.
- (20) Pasion domini en la lengua Maya: 12°, MS., 44 p. (Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.) 198.
- (21) Sermones en la lengua Maya: 4°, MS., 144 p. (Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.) 202.
- (22) Sermones en la lengua Maya: 4°, MS., 196 ff., XVIII century. (Copy by Berendt, 1868a. p. 119-229: in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 47. Reproduction by Gates of Berendt copy.) 201.
- (23) De Trinitate Dei en la lengua Maya ó del Ser de Dios: 8°, MS., incomplete, 12 p. (Gates reproduction.) 198.
- (24) U mutil vinc zanzamal (fama diaria del hombre): MS. 1 p.: in Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 50-18. (See Perez, 2, p. 94.) 206.
- (25) Vocabulario de la lengua Maya: 8°, MS., (in la Libreria de San Gregorio de Mexico, after Viñaza, No. 1134). 177.
- (26) Vocabulario de la lengua Maya (with a short list of grammatical forms): 8°, MS. modern, 98 p. (Owned by Gates and reproduced by him.) 166, 177.

- (27) Vocabulaire de la langue Maya en Anglais, d'environ deux mille mots, travail moderne, très-incomplet fait à Bélize. (MS. once belonging to Brasseur de Bourbourg. See his 1857-59, v. 1, p. lxxxix.) 176.
- §(28) Vocabulario grande Yucatano (after Cogolludo lib. iv. cap. vi.) 171.
- (29) Cuento de vieja. U tzichbal xnuc: Broadside, 1 sheet. Parallel columns, Spanish and Maya. Merida. 207.
- (30) [Two sermons in Maya] 16°, MS. 6 ff. in John Carter Brown Library, Providence. (This is probably the same as Anon, 4.) 201.
- §(31) Un librito escrito . . . en el idioma de los Indios. MS. xvi century (missing, after Cogolludo, lib. 2, cap. xiv.) 192.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
May 21, 1921



## APPENDICES



# APPENDIX I

## PARADIGMS

### VERB CLASSIFICATION

#### CLASS IA. *Verbs of action or state.*

##### Transitive

Present	<b>tin (tan-in) het-ik</b>	I am opening something, my opening something
Future	<b>hên (he-in) het-ik-e</b> <b>kin (ki-in) het-ik</b> <b>bin in het-e</b>	I shall open something I may open something I am going to open something
Past	<b>tin (t-in) het-ah</b> <b>ɔ'in (ɔ'on-in) het-ah</b> <b>in het-m-ah</b>	I opened something I have just opened something I opened something a long time ago
Imperative	<b>het-e</b>	open it

##### Intransitive

Present	<b>tin (tan-in) het-el or het-el-in-kah (het-l-in-kah)</b>	I am performing the act of opening
Future	<b>hên (he-in) het-el-e</b> <b>bin-het-âk-en</b>	I shall open I am going to open
Past	<b>het-en or t'-het-en</b>  <b>ɔ'in het-el</b>	I performed the act of opening, I opened I have just opened
Imperative	<b>het-en</b>	open

##### Passive

Present	<b>tun (tan-u) het-s-el</b>	it is being opened, its being affected by someone causing it to open
Future	<b>hu (he-u) het-s-el-e, or bin het-s-âk-i</b>	it will be opened
Past	<b>het-s-ah-b-i, or het-s-ah-n-i</b>	it was opened

#### CLASS IB. *Verbs of action or state with causal*

##### Transitive

Present	<b>tin (tan-in), kim-s-ik</b>	I am killing something, my causing death to something
Future	<b>hên (he-in) kim-s-ik-e</b> <b>kin (ki-in) kim-s-ik</b> <b>bin in kim-s-e, or bin in kim-e-s</b>	I shall kill something I may kill something I am going to kill something
Past	<b>tin (t-in) kim-s-ah</b> <b>ɔ'in (ɔ'ok-in) kim-s-ah</b> <b>in kim-s-m-ah</b>	I killed something I have just killed something I killed something a long time ago
Imperative	<b>kim-s-e or kim-e-s</b>	kill it



CLASS IB. *Verbs of action or state with causal (continued).*

## Intransitive

Present	tin (tan-in) kim-il, or kim-il-in-kah (kim-l-in-kah)	I am dying, my being affected by death
Future	hên (he-in) kim-il-e bin kim-âk-en	I shall die I am going to die
Past	kim-l, or t'-kim-l ɔ'u kim-l	he died he has just died
Imperative	kim-en	die

## Passive

Present	tin (tan-in) kim-s-il	I am being killed, my being affected by someone causing my death
Future	hên (he-in) kim-s-il-e, or bin kim-s-âk-en	I shall be killed I am going to be killed.
Past	kim-s-ah-b-l, or kim-s-ah-n-l	he was killed

CLASS II. *Verbs in t-al, "endowed with."*

Present	tin (tan-in) kuš-t-al	I am living
Future	hên (he-in) kuš-t-al-e bin kuš-tal-âk-en	I shall be living I am going to live
Past	kuš-t-al-ah-en or kuš-l-ah-en	I lived
Imperative	kuš-t-en or kuš-t-al-en	live

CLASS IIIA. *Nominal verbs*

## Transitive

Present	tin (tan-in) ɔ'on-ik	I am shooting something, my gunning something
Future	hên (he-in) ɔ'on-ik-e kin (ki-in), ɔ'on-ik bin in ɔ'on-e	I shall shoot something I may shoot something I am going to shoot something
Past	tin (t-in) ɔ'on-ah ɔ'in (ɔ'ok-in) ɔ'on-ah in ɔ'on-m-ah	I shot something I have just shot something I shot something a long time ago
Imperative	ɔ'on-e	shoot it

## Intransitive

Present	tin (tan-in) ɔ'on (ɔ'on-in-kah)	I am shooting or my gunning
Future	hên (he-in) ɔ'on-e bin ɔ'on-âk-en	I shall shoot I am going to shoot
Past	ɔ'on-n-ah-en ɔ'in (ɔ'ok-in) ɔ'on ɔ'on-n-ah-ah-en	I shot I have just shot I shot a long time ago
Imperative	ɔ'on-en	shoot

## Passive

Present	tin (tan-in) ɔ'on-ol	I am being shot, I am affected by a gun
Future	hên (he-in) ɔ'on-ol-e	I shall be shot
Past	ɔ'on-ah-b-en or ɔ'on-ah-n-en	I was shot, I was gunned

CLASS IIIb. *Nominal verbs with agent*

## Transitive

Present	tin (tan-in) ɔ'ib-t-ik	I am writing something, my writing something
Future	hēn (he-in) ɔ'ib-t-ik-e	I shall write something
	kin (ki-in) ɔ'ib-t-ik	I may write something
	bin in ɔ'ib-t-e	I am going to write something
Past	tin (t-in) ɔ'ib-t-ah	I wrote something
	ɔ'in (ɔ'ok-in) ɔ'ib-t-ah	I have just written something
	in ɔ'ib-t-m-ah	I wrote something a long time ago
Imperative	ɔ'ib-t-e	write it

## Intransitive

Present	tin (tan-in) ɔ'ib	I am writing, my writing
Future	hēn (he-in) ɔ'ib-e	I shall write
	bin ɔ'ib-n-āk-en	I am going to write
	ɔ'ib-n-ah-en	I wrote
Past	ɔ'in (ɔ'ok-in) ɔ'ib	I have just written
	ɔ'ib-n-ah-ah-n-en	I wrote a long time ago
Imperative	ɔ'ib-en	write

## Passive

Present	tun (tan-u) ɔ'ib-t-il or ɔ'ib-t-al	it is being written
Future	hu (he-u) ɔ'ib-t-il-e	it will be written
Past	ɔ'ib-t-ah-b-i, or ɔ'ib-t-ah-n-i	it was written

CLASS IV. *Verb "to be"*

Present	winik-en	I am a man
Future	hēn (he-in) winik-tal-e, or winik-tīal-e	I shall be a man, I shall become a man
	bin winik-tal-āk-en	I am going to become a man
	winik-h-en	I was a man

## APPENDIX II

PARADIGMS FROM BELTRAN, SAN BUENAVENTURA, CORONEL, LOPEZ, AND TOZZER<sup>1</sup>

	FIRST CONJUGATION; nakal, ascend, climb			
	BELTRAN	SAN BUENAVENTURA	CORONEL	TOZZER
Intransitive, Indicative				
Present	nakal in kah	nakal in kah	nakal in kah	ten kin nakal or nakal in kah
Imperfect	nakal in kah kutši	nakal in kah kutši	nakal in kah kutši	nakal in kah utši (?)
Preterit	naken	naken	naken (naken)	naken, ɔ'ok in nakal (\$106)
Pluperfect	naken ili kutši	naken ili kutši	naken ili kutši	ɔ'okili in nakal
Future	bin nakaken	bin nakaken	bin nakaken	bin nakaken or he in nakale (\$107)
Fut. perf.	naken ili kotšom	naken ili kutšom	naken ili kutšom	hén nakale or bin nakáken
Imperative				
Present	naken	naken	naken	naken
Future		kat nakaketš	kat nakaketš	
Participle				
Pres., fut.,	ah nakal	ah nakal	ah nakal	H nakal
Preterit	nakan	nakan	nakan	nakan
Passive	naksabal			naksabal
Pas. stem	naksal			naksal

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 52.<sup>2</sup> The verb hanal is used by Lopez (§77) for forms corresponding to this conjugation.

## SECOND CONJUGATION; kambesah, show

	BELTRAN	SAN BUENAVENTURA	CORONEL	TOZZER
Transitive, Indicative				
Present	ten kambesik	kambesah in kah	kambesah in kah	tin kambesik
Imperfect	ten kambesik kutši	kambesah in kah kutši	kambesah in kah kutši	tin kambesik utši (?)
Preterit	in kambesah	in kambesah	in kambesah	tin kambesah
Pluperfect	in kambesah illi kutši	in kambesah illi kutši	in kambesah illi kutši	
Future	bin in kambes	bin in kambes	bin in kambes	hên kambesike, bin in kambes(e)
Future perfect	in kambesah illi kotšom	in kambesah illi kotšom	in kambesah illi kutšom	
Imperative				
Present	kambes	kambes	kambes	kambes(e)
Future		kat a kambes	kat a kambes	
Participles				
Present	a kambesah	ah kambesah	ah kambesah	H kambes
Passive	ah kambesabil	ah kambesabal	ah kambesabal	kambesabal
Preterit	kambesahan or kambesan	kambesan or kambesahaan	kambesahan	kambesan
Passive stem	kambesabal	kambesabal	kambesabal	kambesal

THIRD CONJUGATION; *olk*, obey

	BELTRAN	SAN BUENAVENTURA	CORONEL	TOZZER
Transitive, Indicative				
Present	ten <i>olkik</i>	<i>olk</i> in <i>kah</i>	<i>olk</i> in <i>kah</i>	tin <i>olkik</i>
Imperfect	ten <i>olkik</i> <i>kutši</i>	<i>olk</i> in <i>kah</i> <i>kutši</i>	<i>olk</i> in <i>kah</i> <i>kutši</i>	tin <i>olkik</i> <i>utši</i> (?)
Preterit	in <i>olkah</i>	in <i>olkah</i>	in <i>olkah</i>	tin <i>olkah</i>
Pluperfect	in <i>olkah</i> illi <i>kutši</i>	in <i>olkah</i> illi <i>kutši</i>	in <i>olkah</i> illi <i>kutši</i>	
Future	bin in <i>olke</i> or <i>olkib</i>	bin in <i>olkib</i>	bin in <i>olkib</i>	hén <i>olkike</i> ( <i>olke</i> ), bin in <i>olke</i>
Future perfect	in <i>olkah</i> illi <i>kotšom</i>	in <i>olkah</i> illi <i>kotšom</i>	in <i>olkah</i> illi <i>kutšom</i>	
Imperative				
Present	<i>olke</i>	<i>olkil</i>	<i>olkil</i>	<i>olke</i>
Future		kat a <i>olkib</i>	kat a <i>olkib</i>	
Participle				
Present	ah <i>olk</i>	ah <i>olk</i>	ah <i>olk</i>	H <i>olk</i>
Preterit	<i>olkan</i>	<i>olkan</i>		<i>olkan</i>
Passive	ah <i>olkbil</i> or ah <i>olkil</i>	ah <i>olkil</i>	ah <i>olkil</i>	<i>olkabal</i>
Passive stem	<i>olkil</i>	<i>olkil</i>	<i>olkil</i>	<i>olkil</i>
Intransitive, Indicative				
Present	<i>olk</i> in <i>kah</i> (§63)			tin <i>olk</i> or <i>olk</i> in <i>kah</i>
Preterit	<i>olknahen</i> (§113)			<i>olknahen</i>
Future	bin <i>olknaken</i>	<i>olknaken</i> (p. 6 ob) bin <i>olknaken</i>		hén <i>olke</i> or bin <i>olknaken</i>

FOURTH CONJUGATION; *kanan*, protect

	BELTRAN	SAN BUENAVENTURA	CORONEL	LOPEZ <sup>1</sup>	TOZZER
Transitive, Indicative					
Present	ten <i>kanantik</i>	<i>kanan in kah</i>	<i>kanan in kah</i>	ten <i>kin kanantik</i>	tin <i>kanantik</i>
Imperfect	ten <i>kanantik kutši</i>	<i>kanan in kah kutši</i>	<i>kanan in kah kutši</i>	ten <i>kin kanantik kutši</i>	tin <i>kanantik utši (?)</i>
Preterit	in <i>kanantah</i>	in <i>kanantah</i>	in <i>kanantah</i>	ten <i>tin kanantah</i>	tin <i>kanantah</i>
Pluperfect	in <i>kanantah illi kutši</i>	in <i>kanantah illi kutši</i>	in <i>kanantah illi kutši</i>	c'okili in <i>kanantik</i>	
Future	bin in <i>kanante</i>	bin in <i>kanante</i>	bin in <i>kanante</i>	bin in <i>kanante</i> , he in kanantike (§107)	hén <i>kanantike</i> , bin in <i>kanante</i>
Fut. per.	in <i>kanantah illi kotšom</i>	in <i>kanantah illi kotšom</i>			
Imperative					
Present	<i>kanante</i>	<i>kanante</i>	<i>kanante</i>	<i>kanante</i>	<i>kanante</i>
Future		<i>kat a kanante</i>	<i>kat a kanante</i>		
Participle					
Present	ah <i>kanan</i>	ah <i>kanan</i>			H <i>kanan</i>
Pres. pas.	ah <i>kanantabal</i>	ah <i>kanantabal</i>		<i>kanantabal</i>	<i>kanantabal</i>
Preterit	<i>kanan</i> , <i>kanantan</i> or <i>kanantaban</i>	<i>kanan</i> or <i>kanantaban</i>		<i>kanantean</i> or <i>kanantaban</i>	<i>kananan</i>
Pas. stem	<i>kanantabal</i>	<i>kanantabal</i>		<i>kanantaal</i> or <i>kanantabal</i>	<i>kanantabal</i>

<sup>1</sup> The verb *hantik* is used by Lopez (§ 82) for forms corresponding to this conjugation.

## APPENDIX III

### LIST OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS<sup>1</sup>

- Ak.** For canoes, boats, houses, lots, seats, earthen vessels, churches, altars, caves, holes or pits, troughs, villages, or maize fields.
- Ahau.** For the twenty-year groups of the Maya calendar, which are like our indictions, although they consist of a larger number of years than these. The native century or era contained 13 *ahaues*, or 260 years.
- Awat.** For distances; miles or quarters of leagues.
- Baq.** For 400; because just as we count by thousands, the Indians counted by 400, saying *hunbaq*, *kabaq*, etc.
- Bal.** For ends of ropes, of thread, etc.  
For things [z].
- Balatš.** For strokes, of measurements made by rule, line or compass.
- Balaq.** For the turns given to cords laid in circles, or to similar things which are twisted or twined. (Compare *Koo'*.)
- Ban.** For things in heaps. The same as *banab*, which also serves for counting small flocks or herds of animals.
- Em.** For births.
- Kat.** For quadrupeds [z].
- Kot.** For quadrupeds.
- Koo.** For lengths of threads, cords, rods or staffs; for "pieces" of time.
- Koo'.** For rolls or circular twists, "a roll of cord" (made of native vines). Compare *Balaq*.
- Kuk.** For elbow measurements.
- Kutš.** For loads.
- Kul.** For shrubs, young trees, maize plants, and balls or lumps of dough.
- Qan.** For rope.
- Qas.** For closets, rooms, etc.
- Tšatš.** For handfuls of herbs or hair.
- Tšinab.** For what is measured by *gemes*, i.e., the space from the end of the thumb to the end of the forefinger extended.
- Tš'ilk.** For incised wounds made by arrows, lances, knives, sticks, etc., which are thrown and remain sticking in the flesh.
- Tš'ot.** For counts of skeins of thread.
- Tš'ul.** For bunches of fruit, strings of beads, necklaces, braids, bags, and things which are carried hanging from the hand.
- Hah.** For splinters [z].

<sup>1</sup> This list was originally published by Beltran (1746; ed. 1859, p. 203-208). An English translation was made by Nuttall (1903, p. 674-678). Several additions have been made from Zavala (indicated by Z) and from the author's own investigations.

- Hat.** For mantles or "*pai*" for *piernas* of mantles or *pai*; also for splinters of wood.
- Hau.** For gourd vessels split into halves, pages of writing, quarters of dead animals, and slices of fruit.
- Heb, Hebal, Hebé.** For *piernas* of mantles or *pai*; also for the counting of provinces.
- Hetš.** For hours and pages of books. Also used in counting strings of bells.
- Heq.** For branches or bunches.
- Lat'.** For dishes of food.
- Lat'abqin.** For hours; *hun lat'abqin* "one hour."
- Lem.** For times; *hun lem* "once." (Compare **Mal** and **Muk**.)
- Lot.** For counting in pairs, such as *kan lot* "four pairs."
- Lub.** For counting leagues.
- Mal.** For counting numbers of times. (Compare **Lem**.)
- Muk.** For the same count of times and for duplications, such as paying "twice as much" "three times as much," etc.
- Mutš'.** For small heaps of seeds, stones, earth, or for crowds of animals, birds, and people.
- Mol.** For things that are united or congregated.
- Nab.** For handbreadths as a measure.
- Nak.** For things that are close to each other, such as jugs, staffs, or seated men.
- Nakat.** For recumbent living beings.
- Num.** For times, when expressed by ordinal numbers.
- Ok.** For things measured by handfuls.
- Paak.** For mantles or *paties* of four edges (i.e., square pieces of stuff).
- Paq.** For blows, times, years.
- Patš.** For birds and other animals; employed from number 9 to 19, after which the expression *hun tab*, "twenty" is used.
- Pal.** For things which are long and not thin, such as beehives, canoes, sea-boats, wooden beams, bales of cloth, and skeins of thread.
- Pek.** For circular things, such as consecrated wafers, maize-cakes, and others which are flat.
- Pet.** For maize-fields and for pastures.
- Pec'.** For chapters of books and for orations and songs.
- Pis.** For years, days, months, and coin currency (a *real* or *peso* or dollar).
- Pitš'.** For pieces of a thing cut off and for mouthfuls.
- Poq.** For fish, birds, and animals.
- Pul.** For lashes given with a whip or blows dealt with the flat side of the blade of a sword.
- P'eel.** For all inanimate things in general.
- P'ik.** For a written chapter or articles of faith; or for rows of stones, each row or stone being above the other.
- P'is.** For any kind of measure or weight. At the same time this particle usually expresses a *fanega* or measure consisting of twelve *almudes*.
- P'otš.** For bunches of fruit.
- P'uuk.** For plants and trees. The particle *šek* is more popularly used.



- P'uk.** For mouthfuls of food or swallows of liquid.
- Sap.** For counts of arm's lengths; each contains two yards.
- Šek.** For trees and other plants.
- Tas.** For things which follow each other in order or in line; also for heavens.
- Té.** For counts of years, months, days, leagues, cocoa, eggs, and calabashes or squashes.
- Ten, Tenak.** For numbers of times, and **tenak** for past times. **Tenel** is also used for times, but with the particle **bahun** or **bahunš** or another.
- Tenel.** For number of times in questions. (s)
- Tuk.** For heaps of things.
- Tul.** For men, women, angels, and souls.
- T'ul, cool.** For things placed in order or file and for the subdivisions of a house.
- T'ol.** For lines, furrows, ditches, or trenches, and for pages, printed columns, naves of churches, etc.
- Ull.** For the selva of mantles or cloths and for folds of paper or the leaves of books.
- Uuk.** For towns, paragraphs, articles, chapters, notices, heaps or piles, divisions of a whole in various parts.
- U'ak.** For steps, grades, crowns, or things which are placed one over the other, or for something that succeeds another, such as one governor after another. It is then an ordinal number.
- U'am.** For consecrated wafers, pamphlets, shoes, and of all things which are counted in pairs.
- U'ik.** For persons, this particle being specially dedicated to the persons of the Holy Trinity. It is also employed for counting fingers as well as for the husbands or wives that a person has had.
- U'it.** For candles; cane pipes; long fruits, such as bananas; also alligator pears, ears of corn, the mamey fruit, etc.
- Wal.** For leaves of tobacco, of banana trees, etc.
- Wao'.** For counting journeys or the number of times a person goes and comes in performing some business.
- Wol.** For balls of dough, bundles of cotton or of wool, balls of thread and other round things.
- Wuo'.** For folded cloths and similar things.
- Yal.** For sheaths or things that are brought together.

## APPENDIX IV

### COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

#### INTRODUCTION

THE following vocabulary is made up, first of all, of a collection of Maya words gathered in 1893 from various towns in Yucatan. The document, which is a typewritten copy of the original lists of words, was purchased from Paul Wilkinson in the sale of his library by Mr. Charles P. Bowditch and presented by him to the Peabody Museum. This manuscript has an introduction on Maya pronunciation by Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona. It is probable that the collection of words was made for a contemplated work by him on the Maya language.

The vocabulary from Peto was made by Presbítero D. Manuel A. Valez, that from Valladolid by Licenciado L. Manzano, that from Tizimin by Francisco Rejón Espínola, and that from Sotuta is unsigned. These towns are widely separated. Valladolid is the most eastern town in the settled portion of the peninsula, Tizimin is almost directly north of Valladolid, about half way to the coast, Peto is in the south-central part of Yucatan, and Sotuta is north of Peto about a third of the way to the northern coast.<sup>1</sup>

A careful study of these words together with grammatical forms collected in the same areas would probably show slight dialectical differences in the language.<sup>2</sup>

In order that a comparison may be made between these modern vocabularies and those of early date, corresponding terms are given, wherever possible, from the Motul, the San Francisco, and the Ticul dictionaries. These early works probably date from the end of the xvi to the end of the xvii century.

There are comparatively few cases where words of the three early authorities differ entirely from those of the four modern

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<sup>1</sup> It is well to point out that there is a Book of Chilam Balam from Tizimin and a collection of documents in Maya from Sotuta as well as a *Libro del Judio* from the same locality.

<sup>2</sup> See note by Palma y Palma, Part I, p. 14.

lists. It is much more common to find the earlier terms for the same word differ among themselves and the later words agreeing some with one and some with others of the older lists. Of the later vocabularies, the words in the Peto, Tizimin, and Valladolid lists are much more frequently in agreement than the corresponding words from the Sotuta collection.

In words where there is a possibility for single or double vowels, the Peto collector is more inclined to use the double vowels than any of the others. In the Sotuta and Ticul vocabularies, on the other hand, the single vowel occurs most frequently. The Peto list, for example, uses eight single to seventeen double vowels while the Sotuta uses fifteen single to six double vowels and the Ticul eleven single to three double vowels.<sup>1</sup>

In the Valladolid and the Tizimin lists the use of *n* in place of *m* is common. There is also often a different usage in the earlier vocabularies in this respect, the Motul and the Valladolid using *šinbal*, and all the others have the more common form, *šimbal*. In the later lists, the Peto, the Sotuta, and the Valladolid use *hun*, the Tizimin alone using *hum*.

The use of the fortis forms differs greatly. In the Peto and Sotuta vocabularies one finds *ɔa*, or *ɔah*, to give; in all the others the form is *ɔ'a* or *ɔ'ah*.

The differences in many of the verbal forms are due to the fact that in some cases the verb is understood in a transitive sense and in others as an intransitive.

Disregarding the failure to recognize the proper form of the verb, the use of the semi-vowels, *w* and *y*, before vowel stems, and the use of the masculine and feminine prefixes, there is a surprising agreement between the earlier and later vocabularies. It is only fair to point out, however, that the words given in the lists are common every-day terms and one would not expect to find many changes in these. Words for spring, summer, autumn, and winter are given in the later vocabularies except the Tizimin, the author of which notes, quite properly, that there are no words in Maya exactly corresponding to these terms. The words for ice and snow are naturally not found in the earlier lists.

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<sup>1</sup> Note the discussion of the use of the double vowel in Part I, p. 30.

VOCABULARIES <sup>1</sup>

abdomen,	naq, p, s, v, z : m. homtan-il, s. qo, m.
afternoon,	o-qin, m, f, t. o-qin-al, z. o-qn-al, z. o-qin-il, z. okan-qin, p, v. sis-qin, s.
all,	lah —, z. tulakal, all. tu-sin-il, m, f.
arch ( <i>arco</i> ),	pun, s. p'un, z. p'um, p : m, t. uo'-bil-tše, v.
arm,	qab, s, z : m, f, t. noh-qab, p. o'ik-qab, p. o'it-qab, v.
armadillo,	wetš, p, z. h-wetš, s, v. ibatš, t.
arrow,	hul, s, v, z. hul-eb, p. hal-al, t.
autumn,	itš-ha-ha-lil, p. qini-yaš-le, v. no word, z.
axe,	baat, all.
bad,	lob, s, v : m, f, t. qas, p, s, z. ma patan, m.
bark ( <i>ladrar</i> ),	tši-bal, p, z. ha-hai-tši-bal, s. awat-tši-bal, v. yawat-peq, m, f. u qeyah-peq, m, f.
bark ( <i>corteza</i> ),	sool, z. sol-tše, s. sool-tše, p. patš, v. boš, f, t. boš-el-tše, f.
bat,	soč', p, s, v, z : t.
bear ( <i>oso</i> ),	san-hool, p. saan-hool, z. sam-hoi, t. kab-noh, m, f.
beard,	notš, s. nootš, p, v, z. meš, m. meeš, f, t. keb, m.
bird,	tš'itš', s : m, f, t. tšilitš, v. tš'ilitš, p. tš'ilitš', z.
black,	boš, p, s, v, z : f, t. eq, z : f. eeq, p : f.
blood,	qiq, s : m, f, t. qiliq, p, v, z.
blue,	yaš, z. ya-yaš, t. yaš-kab, m, f. yaš-kaben, f. yaš-top'en, f. yaš-sak-nohen, v. yaš-il-kaan, z. sak-yaš, p.
boar ( <i>jabali</i> ),	kitam, s, z. qas-i-qeqen, p, v. qaš-il-qeqem, s.
body,	winkil, p. winkilil, s, z. h-wikilil, v. kukut, m, f, t.
bone,	bak, all.
boy,	pal, z. paal, m. ši-pal, p, s, v, z. šibi-pal, z.
breast,	cem, p, s, v, z. tan, m, f.
breasts of woman,	im, p, s, z. yim, v.
brother, elder,	sukun, s : m, t. sukuun, p, z : f. nohotš sukun, v.
brother, younger,	ic'in, s : m, f, t. wic'in, p. wic'in, p, z. h-wic'in, v.
buzzard,	tš'om, p, s, v, z.
canoe,	tšem, p, s, v, z. tš'em, p.
chatter ( <i>charlar</i> ),	oik-bal, p. ban-kab-kiu-bal, s. tš'o-tš'op-tši, v. sakatš-t'an, z. t'an-t'an-ah, z.
chief,	holil, p. noh-tšil, p. halatš winik, s, z. yun-oil, v. H-meq-tan, z. kutš-kab, z. meq-tan-kah, z.
child,	tšam-pal, p, v. tšan-tšan-pal, m, f, t. tšan-ši-pal, s. tšan-tš'u-pal, s. mehen-pal, m, f.

<sup>1</sup> The letters following the Maya words refer to the various vocabularies where the terms occur: p, Peto; s, Sotuta; v, Valladolid; z, Tizimin; m, Motul; s, San Francisco; and t, Ticul. A colon separates the older from the later authorities.

chile,	ik, p, z : t. iq, s, v.
cigarette,	tšamal, z. tš'utš'-lem, f. tšutš-lem, t.
cold,	sis, s : t. sils, p, z. keel, p, v : m, f. keel-en, t.
come,	tal, z : m, f. tal-el, p, s : m, f, t. u-tal, v.
corn,	išim, s : m, f, t. šilim, p, v, z. išim, p, z.
coyote,	u-peqil-qaaš, p. h-wayu, v.
cradle ( <i>cuna</i> ),	tas-tše-qan, p. qu-pal, s. kutš-il u ɔ'a-bal pal-al tan tu sihil, v. qu-tšam-pal, z.
crow ( <i>cuervo</i> ),	tšom, s. tš'om, v, z. tšim-toq, p.
crow ( <i>cacarear</i> ),	qo-qoan-kil, z. qo-qoan-kil u-lum, t. tokan-kil u kal u lum, m. to-tokan-kil u kal u lum, f. to-tok-t'ere, p, s. tša-tšak t'oloan-kil, z. awat u lum, m. awat u lum, f.
cry out ( <i>gritar</i> ),	awat, all. ta-tah-awat, m.
dance,	oqot, all.
daughter, by father,	š-mehen, z. iš-mehen, m, f, t. wiš-mehen, p, z. š- tš'upu-iš-mehen, s. ts'up-lal, v.
daughter, by mother,	al, m, f. wal, z. tšu-pal, t. tšup-lal, m. tš'u-pal, p. tš'up-lal, f. š-tšup-wal, s, z. tšupu-al, v.
day,	qin, all. sasil-qin, s. sasil, t.
dead,	kimen, all.
deer,	keh, v, z : f, t. keeh, p. šibil-keh, s.
dog,	peq, all.
drink,	uq-ul, all.
drop ( <i>gotear</i> ),	tš'ah, v, z. tš'ah-al, p. tš'ah-al-haa, m. tšah-al-haa, f. t'ah-al, t. t'ah-al-haa, m, f. t'unul-haa, m, f. tš'ab-il, s.
duck,	kuc-a, f. kuc-ha, p, z : t. kuc-haa, s. patuš-ha, p.
ear,	šikin, p, v, z : m, f, t. lee šikin, s.
earth ( <i>tierra</i> ),	lum, s : m. luum, p, v, z : f, t. kab, z.
eat,	han-al, all. centah-ba, z.
eel,	kan-il-ha, p.
egg,	he, p, v, z : f, t. hee, s. eel, s, z.
eye,	itš, s, z : m, f, t. witš, v. tuq-nel-itš, p.
face,	itš, p, s, z : m, f, t. witš, v. tan-itš, p.
far,	natš, s, z : f. naatš, p, v, z. natš-il, z.
father,	yum, s, z : m, f, t. llum, p. yum-bil, t. tata, v. tat, z.
feather,	qu-qum, all.
finger,	al-qab, z. yal-qab, p, s, z. ts'il-bl-qab, v. motš, z : m. motš-qab, m. motš'-qab, f, t.
finger-nail,	its'ak, p, s, v, z.
fire,	qaq, s, z : m, f. qaaq, p, v.
fish ( <i>pez</i> ),	kai, p, s, v, z : m, t. ɔaqin, f. yio, f. tš'a, f.
fish ( <i>bobo</i> ),	sohol-kai, v.
fish ( <i>bagre</i> ),	lu, p, v, z. lun, s. boš-kai, p.
fly,	yaš-katš, s, v, z : m, f. yaaš-katš, p.
foot,	ook, all.

forehead,	lek, s, z : m, f, t. lek-tši, z. tši-lek, p, v.
forest,	qaš, m. qaaš, p, s, v, z. pok-tš'e, m. tš'en-tše, m.
forget,	tub-ul, s : m, t. tub-olal, z. tub-sa, v. tub-sah, p : f. tub-esah, m.
friend,	etool, p. etall, z : m, f, t. yukunah winik, s. yukuna h-winik, v. nup-t'an, m, f. hun-pel u lak, f. hun- p'el u lak, m.
frijol,	buul, all.
fox ( <i>zorra</i> ),	otš, p, s, v. tšomac, z. tšamak, m. tš'amak, f.
girl,	š-tš'u-pal, s, v, z. š-tš'upu-pal, z. tš'up-lal-paal, f. tšup-lal-paal, m.
give,	ca, p. cah, s. c'a, m, f, t. c'ah, p, z. u-c'a-bal, v. hah, s.
go,	bin, p, v. bin-el, p, s, z : t. ben, m, f. ben-el, m, f, t.
god,	qu, all. kitš-kelem-yum, s.
gold,	qan-maskab, p. qan-qan-taqin, m, f, t.
good,	uo, all. mal-ob, p, s, z. tibil, m, f, t.
goodness,	uo-il, p, z : m, f. yuo-il-in-puqsiqal, v. tibil uo-il, f.
goose ( <i>qanso</i> ),	yak-bok, p.
gourd,	qum, s, z. quum, p, v : m, f.
grave,	muk-nal, p, s, v, z : t. muk-sah, f. muk-kimen, f.
green,	yaš, s. yaaš, p, v, z : m, f, t. ya-yaš, m, f. yaašil-kaaš, z. ("se confunden el verde y el azul" z).
groan ( <i>bramar</i> ),	akan, all.
hair,	ooco, all. ooc-el, z.
hand,	qab, p, v, z : m, f, t. tan-qab, s.
he,	le, p, z. leti, p, s, v, z.
head,	pol, p, s, v, z : m, t. hool, p, z : m, f, t.
heart,	pusiql, z. puksiqal, all.
herb,	šiu, all.
here,	wai, z : m. waye, p, v, z : t. tela, s, z.
hill,	puuk, p, z : f, t. wio, s. mul, z. muul, v. noh-muul, v. qaaš, p.
horse,	oimin, all.
house,	na, p, v, z : m, f, t. nah, s. ototš, z : m, f.
house of palm,	šani-na, v. šanil-na, p, s, z. pasel, z. yukil-na, z.
husband,	itšam, m, f. h-witšam, v. witšam, p, s, z.
I,	ten, p, s, v, z.
ice,	yeeb, p. noh-tat-yeeb, p. bat, s, v, z.
indian,	masewal, p, v, z. H-maya-bil, z.
island,	peten, z. petem, s. cukub-luum, p. hay luum itš ha, v.
kettle,	maskab-kum, p, z : f. kum maskab, t. u-kuššil, v. lokansa-ha, v.
kill,	kim-sah, p, s, z : m, f. kin-sah, v.
knife,	qupeb, p. šoteb, p, s, z. tšan-qab-maskab, v.
lake,	šoc-ha, v. c'ač', z. aqal, p, z. tši-tšan-qanaab, p.
large,	noh, m, f, t. nohotš, p, s, v, z : t.

laugh,	tšeh, v. tšeeh, p. s : f, t. muqluk u tšeeh, m. tšek, s.
laziness,	ma-qol, m. ma-qobal, s. ma-qolal, v, s : f, t. ma-qolil, p.
leaf,	le, p, v, s : m, f. u-leh tše, t. leh tše, s.
leg,	ok, s : f. muq-ok, p. p'ul-ok, v, s. celek, s.
lie ( <i>mentir</i> ),	tus, all.
lightning,	lemba, t. lemba-kaan, m, f. lemba-tšak, p, s. lemba-tšaak, z.
living,	ku-šan, s, z. ku-šaan, p, v.
lizard,	tolok, p, z. iš-metš, m. iš-me-metš, s, s : f. meretš, v. iš-be-betš, s. š-selutš, s. pikuneil, s. silwoh, s. iš-tulub, s, z.
love ( <i>amar</i> ),	yakuna, v. yakunah, p, s : m, f, t. yakunah-il, s.
love ( <i>amor</i> ),	yukuna, v, z. yakunah, p, s : m, f, t.
man,	winik, s : m, f, t. bal-kab winik, m. šib, v, s. H-šib, p, z.
many,	yab, s. yaab, p, v, s : m, f.
meat,	baq, all.
memory,	qah-sa, v. qah-sah, p, s : f. qah-lai, s, s : m.
moon,	u, all.
morning,	samal, p, s : m, f. hao-kab, v, z. hao-kab-qin, s.
mosquito,	qaš-ol, m. qoš-ol, p, s, v, s : f.
mother,	na, p, z. naa, m, t. nah, s. na-il, z. mama, v.
mouse,	ts'o, p, v, z : m, f, t. ts'oo, s.
mouth,	tši, p, v, s : m, f. tšil, s : t.
name,	qaba, all.
near,	nao-ti, p. nao'-ti, s, v, z. naq-lik, z.
neck,	kal, all.
night,	aqab, all.
no,	ma, p, s, v, z : m. maa, f. matan, m, f.
nose,	ni, p, v, z : m. nil, s : f, t.
ocean,	qab-nab, s, v. qa-naab, p. qaq-nab, m. qaq-nab-e, m. qaq-naab, z.
old,	noh-šib, f, t. nu-šib, p, s, v, z. lab, z. utšben, z.
people,	maak, p, z. winik, s, v.
pigeon,	ukum, s, z : m, f, t. kastran-ukum, p. kastian-ukum, s. sak-pakal, z. ku-kut-kib, z. oucui, z.
pine,	hu-hub, p.
pipe,	hobon-tše, v.
plain ( <i>llano</i> ),	taš-kab, p, z. ta-taš-luum, s. uoi-luum, v.
priest,	ah-qin, m, f. H-qin, p, s, z. yun-qin, v. yun-h-qin, z. pišnal-yum-oll, s. ah-meqtan-pišan, z. iq-kab, z.
puma,	koh, v : m, f. tšak-koh, p. qan-koh, s. balam, t. tšak-bolai, m.
rabbit,	t'ul, s, v : m, f, t. t'uul, p, z.
rain ( <i>lluvia</i> ),	ha, p. kašal-ha, s, z. kašal-haa, m. ha-hal, v. haa-haal, m. tšaak, p, z.

rain ( <i>Uoviznar</i> ),	tos-ha, p, s, v, z : t. tos-haa, f, m. to-tos-ha, p. tosol-ha, z. cabal-ha, f. cabal-haa, m.
rain water,	tšulub, z. tšulub-ha, z : t. tšakil-haa, m. tšakiqal-haa, f. kanil-haa, m. kaanil-haa, f.
rattle-snake,	cab-kan, p, s, v, z. ahau-kan, z.
reason,	naat, m, f. toh-t'an, p, s. kušolal, z : m, f, t. u nuk-t'an, v.
red,	tšak, p, v, z : m, f. tša-tšak, p, z : m, f, t. tšu-tšak, s.
river,	bekan, z. bekan-ha, p. hal-ha, v. yatš-ha, z. yok-ha, f, t. yok-haa, m.
rob,	okol, p, s, v, z. koc, m, f, t. paa-koc, m, f.
run,	alkab, all.
salt,	taab, all.
sandal ( <i>guarache</i> )	šanab, p, z. šanab-kewel, p, s, v, z.
scorpion,	sinan, s. sinaan, p, v, z : m, f.
see,	ilah, s, z. ilmah, ( <i>permitir</i> ) m, f, t. pakat, p, v.
silver,	sak-maskab, p. sak-taqin, m, f, t.
sing,	qai, all.
sister, elder,	kik, p, s, z : f, t. kilik, m. nohotš kik, v.
sister, younger,	io'in, m, f, t. wio'in, p, z. tšup-io'in, s. tšupu-io'in, v.
sit,	kutal, p, s, v, z. šekba, z.
sky,	kaan, all.
sleep,	wen-el, all.
small,	tši-tšan, p, s, v, z. tšan-tšan, m, t. ma-tšan-tšan, m, f. manob, m. mehen, m, f. o'eo', t.
soldier,	qatun, m, f, t. H-qatun, z. qaatun, v. qatun-maak, s. bateel, p. batel-naal, p. H-batel, z. boteel, m. H-p'isba, z. holkan, f.
snake,	kan, v, z : m, f, t. qanal-kan, s. quqi-kan, p, v. quqil-kan, s.
snow,	yeeb, p, s, v.
son, by mother,	al, m, f, t. wal, p, z. šibi-al, s, v. šibi-bal, z.
son, by father,	mehen, p, z : m, f, t. laq-pal, v, z. šibi-iš-mehen, s.
speak,	t'an, s, v, z : m, f, t. tetan, p.
spring,	yaš-qin, m. itš-yaš-qin, p. yaš-tšun-hab, v. no word, z.
squirrel,	kuuk, p, s, v, z.
stand ( <i>pararse</i> ),	watal, all.
star,	eq, all.
stone,	tun, p. tunitš, all. buq-tun, z.
strong,	t'a, s. tšitš, p, v, z. qaam, z. um-qan, v. mu-qaan, z.
summer,	yaš-qin, p. qin-un-yabil, t. qin tun yaabil, m, f. qini-qil-kab, v. lub-tšak, p. no word, z.
sun,	qin, all.
tejon,	tšab, p. šib, s. emutš, v.
temple,	quna, p, v, z : m, f. qunah, s. yototš qu, m, f.
that,	le — e, z. lai, s. lailo, z. le letieele, p. leti-wale, v. helo, m.



there,	te, f. telo, v, z. tel-lo, t. tlo, z. tolo, p, s, z. lelo, p. — o, z.
they,	leti-ob, v, z. le-ob-ti, p, s, z. te-ob-ti-ob, p.
this,	le, z. lela, z. le — a, z. letiela, p, s, v.
thought,	tukul, all.
thumb,	na-qab, p, v, z : m, f, t. naa-qab, s.
thunder,	kil-ba, v. kil-bal, p. amba, z. ambah, s.
thunder-clap,	tšaak, s. amba-tšak, s. hum-tšaak, p, s. u pek-tšak, t. yakan-tšak, v.
tiger ( <i>tigre</i> )	balam, s : m. balam-tšak-eqel, z. tšak-mool, p, v, z. tšak-eqel, s, z.
time,	qin, z : t. qin-il, p, s, z. u-qin-il, v : m, f.
toad,	mutš, all. uo, p, s.
tobacco,	quc, s, v, z : f. quuc, p.
to-day,	hele, f. be-hele, z. be-hela, s. be-heiae, z. be-helak, v. ba-hele, p, s.
toe,	al-ok, z. yal-ok, p, s. tšil-bi-ok, v. sau, m.
to-morrow,	samal, p, s, v, z. hao-kab, v : m, f.
tongue,	aq, p, s, z : m, f, t. hu-aq, v.
tooth,	ko, all.
tree,	kul, z. kulul-tše, p. watal-tše, s. wikilil un p'el tše, v. ts'e, m. tše, t. tše-el, f.
true,	ha, s. hah, v, z : m, f, t. ha-hil, p, z. ha-hi-lil, p.
turkey,	oo, p, z. ooo, s. oon, s. ulum, v, z. tuš, z.
turtle,	ak, m, f, t. aak, p, s, v, z.
valley,	qop, m, f, t. qoop, z. qom, m, f, t. tša-qan, p. ta-luum, v. hem-lum, t.
village,	kah, all. noh-kah, s. tan-kah, p. tšan-kah, s. kah-talil, p. noh-kab, p. ka-kab, z.
walk,	šimbal, p, s, z : f, t. šinbal, v : m.
warble ( <i>gorjeat</i> ),	qal, z : m. qo-qo-qal, p. hum, m, awat, m.
warm,	tšoko, p, s, z. tšokoh, v. tšakau, m, f.
water,	ha, p, v, z : t. haa, s : m, f.
we,	toon, p, s, v, z.
who,	mak, m, f. makš, t. maš, s, z. maaš, p, v. he-maš, s. heken-maaš, z.
white,	sak, p, s, v, z : f, t. sasak, p, s : f, t.
wife,	watan, p, s, z. h-waten, v.
will ( <i>voluntad</i> ),	olah, p, s, z. u sihil tin puqsiqal, v.
wind,	iq, all.
wing,	siq, all.
winter,	itš-kelil, p. qini-keel, v. aq-yebil ( <i>tiempo de aguas</i> ), m, f, t. no word, z.
wolf ( <i>lobo</i> ),	kab-koh, p, s.
woman,	š-tš'up, p, s, v, z. tšup-lal, f. tš'up-lal, m.
wood,	tše, all.

work,	meya, v. meyah, p, s. menyah, s : m, f, t.
world,	yoqol-kab, s : m, f, t. baal-kah, f. bal-kal, t. baal-kal, m.
yellow,	qan, p, v, s : m, f, t. qan-qan, p, s : m. qun-qan, s.
yes,	bel, p, v. bal, p. la, s, s.
yesterday,	holhe, p, s, v, s : f, t. holohe, p.
you (plural),	teeš, p, s, s. toon, v. mulanil, v.
you,	tetš, p, s, v, s.
young,	tan-kelem, p, s, v, s.

NUMERATION<sup>1</sup>

Peto	Sotuta	Tizimin	Valladolid
1. hun	hun	hum	un
2. ka	ka	ka	ka
3. oš	oš	oš	oš
4. kam	kan	kan	kan
5. ho	ho	ho	hok
6. wak	wak	wak	wak
7. ušuk	wuk	wuk	huk
8. wašak	wašak	wašak	wašak
9. bolom	bolon	bolon	bolon
10. la-hun	la-hun	la-hun	la-hun
11. buluk-hun	buluk	buluk	buluk
			un la-hun
12. lah-ka	lah-ka	lah-ka	ka-la-hun
20. hun-qaal	hun-qal	hun-qal	un-qal
30. la-hun-ka-qaal	la-hu-ka-qal	la-hun-ka-qal	oš-qal <sup>2</sup>
40. ka-qaal	ka-qal	ka-qaal	kan-la-hun
50. la-hun-yoš qaal	la-hu-yoš-qal	la-hu-yoš-qaal	la-hun-yoš-qal
60. oš-qaal	oš-qal	oš-qal	un-la-hun-yoš-qal
70. la-hun-kan-qaal	la-hu-kan-qal	la-hun-kan-qaal	ka-la-hun-yoš-qal
80. kan-qaal	kan-qal	kan-qaal	kan-qal
90. la-hun-ho-qaal	la-hu-yo-qal	la-hun-ho-qaal	un-kan-la-hun-qal
100. ho-qaal	ho-qal	ho-qal	ho-qal
1000. plk	hum-plk	la-hun-oš-baaq hum-plk <sup>3</sup>	un-plk

<sup>1</sup> The numbers given here may be compared with those of Beltran on p. 99-100.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the Tizimin list states that anciently plk means 8000. See the statement regarding the present use of the term plk in Part I, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Many of the terms from this point onward are obviously incorrect.

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